The New Volume

HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor K. G. MASHRUWALA

VOL. XVI No. 1 AHMEDABAD — SATURDAY MARCH 1 1952 TWO ANNAS

NOTES

Celebration of Gandhiji's Anniversary

A correspondent from Rangoon writes

"A [illegible] Gujarati organization of Rangoon had a cinema show of *Apna Desh* on the [illegible] birthday anniversary of Mahatma Gandhi. The last year the same body organized a dance show on the very occasion.

I am trying to convince [illegible] that this day, being a day of Mahatma[illegible] assassination, should be a day of national mourning and repentance.

However, the organizers are being advanced but Gandhiji being [illegible] on this very day [illegible] cinema show is a suitable cinema [illegible] cultural dance performance. Frankly I have failed [illegible] the organizers and hence I shall thank you to [illegible] your directions on the matter."

The correspondent's opinion is correct. A day connected with Gandhiji's memory must not be made a day of merry making and festivals. Let them consider how Bapu himself observed Bapu's anniversary. It must be a day of austerity, [illegible] of the people, prayer and spinning or doing other physical labour. Cinema shows and dance performances are not in harmony with Gandhiji's way of life.

Wardha 19-2-'52

Workers for "Harijan"

Shrivuts Niranjan Dave, Manohar Jai and K. K. Mody out of their regard for the *Harijan* papers have come out spontaneously to work for enrolling new subscribers for the papers. They have issued a public appeal, which has already appeared in various dailies and need not be reproduced here. They hope to enroll 10,000 subscribers within a month. The Navajivan Trust has authorized them to receive the subscriptions. I hope they will succeed in doing as much as they have expected. Their address is C/o Vyavahar Shuddhi Mandal 187, Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay 1.

Many other friends and bodies in other parts of India have also expressed a desire to make similar efforts in their respective spheres of work. I hope they will not slacken their efforts with the idea that they can spread their work over a period of six months now. This would be insecure. The work should be done promptly.

Wardha, 23-2-'52 K. G. M.

Payment of Subscriptions

1. Explanation — From the manner in which the notice of continuance of *Harijan* papers has appeared in the Press some subscribers — new as well as old — seem to labour under the impression that they need remit subscription for a half-year only. This would be rather embarrassing to the management. For they would not know how many of them will continue thereafter. If the papers can pay then own way the Navajivan Trust would certainly endeavour to run them indefinitely. Hence it is requested that all those who can afford to do so should remit the full annual subscription — Rs. six for each edition. They may take it that if at the close of six months, the paper which they may have subscribed for is closed finally, they will be returned their balance of subscription.

2. Subscriptions may be remitted by M.O., Postal Orders or paid in cash at any of the following offices:

1. Navajivan Karyalaya, P. Box 105, Navrangpura, Ahmedabad 9.

2. Any of the local branches or accredited agents of the Navajivan Karyalaya.

JIVANJI D. DESAI

All India Spinners' Association

1. The sales of Charkha Sangh publications having been entrusted to Sarva Seva Sangh from 1st Feb. 1952, all orders for its publications must be hereafter placed with the Sarva Seva Sangh, Publications Department, Kakawadi, Wardha, M. P.

2. Except as above, the part of the Charkha Sangh department which had been brought from Sevagram to Bajajwadi, Wardha has now been retransferred to Sevagram. All correspondence etc., may, therefore, be addressed at Sevagram, M. P.

Sevagram, M. P. A. V. SAHASRABUDDHE
20-2-'52 Secretary, A.I.S.A.

Gandhiji's Humour

Gandhiji [illegible] used to say that had [illegible] been [illegible] robust sense of humour [illegible] could not [illegible] into an old age. The remembrance [illegible] interested in [illegible] instances of [illegible] humour along with anecdotes and remarks [illegible] related them with [illegible] will be obliged if any reader forwards to him instances known to him or contained in any book about the letter of Gandhiji.

The correspondent is a disciple of the late Dr. Ananda Coomaraswamy. About forty days before Gandhiji's death the writer had sent him in advance copy of a book of tributes to Dr. Ananda Coomaraswamy with a request for a message. The writer is anxious to know if any one of Gandhiji's then associates can say if Gandhiji wrote any message as requested or said anything about it to his knowledge. The writer would also be obliged if any reader will point out to him references to Dr. Coomaraswamy in any of Gandhiji's writings, speeches or conversations with any one.

S. DURAI RAJA SINGAM
Abdullah School, Kuantan, Malaya

SHRI VINOBA'S TELANGANA TOUR XVI

April 21: Deverkonda — Nalgonda (Thirteen Halt 9 miles)

[illegible] Deverkonda [illegible] was halt [illegible]. For the first time in our tour we put up at a place where we had all the facilities that we expected. Though a village it had the appearance of a city. It is the chief place of the Nalgonda District. The population consists of about twelve hundred families, all of which two hundred are Muslims and [illegible] Hindus. Wherever there was a fairly good number of Harijans [illegible] what was remarkable the Harijan part of the village was cleaner than the rest. Vinoba had a talk with the zamindars of the place at noon and altogether we received 158 acres of land.

Difference Between Town and Village

From Hyderabad onwards most of the meetings we had were village meetings. But they were remarkably well attended the number at time exceeding ten thousand people. There were unmistakable signs of general awakening in the rural area, for which the credit was of course due to the Communists. Deverkonda — literally the hill of gods — though urbanized seemed to lag behind in respect of awakening. It was less clean than the villages and the attendance at the meeting was also poor. There were hardly two thousand persons. In the village-meetings there was always a high proportion of women as much as 50 per cent or even more, but here they were conspicuous only in their absence. The difference was marked and as usual it drew Vinoba's vigilant attention. Of course the place wore a look of well being and economic contentment but that was because the poverty and its sorrows have all been driven out of the cities to the villages.

Vinoba referred to this difference between the villages in general and this urbanised village. He said: In the villages the women attended the meetings in equal number with menfolk. Here we found that they were very few. It meant that the town-dweller put them behind the purdah. In the villages both men and women moved about freely. It was often claimed that the cities had made a better progress than the villages. But from what he had seen he could say that women enjoyed greater freedom in the villages than in the cities. In the cities they had separate schools for boys and girls. In the village however, the same school served for both. The [illegible]

[illegible] the villagers. They had this [illegible] them and unfortunately they called [illegible] out-of-date and [illegible] to co-operation from the villagers [illegible] implements. The other chiefs also had the same experience. The villages took to their [illegible] strenuously and sincerely. It was [illegible] other name for heaps of village [illegible] places by the winds and got [illegible] cities augmented in size day by day. [illegible] promised to have pledged [illegible] all, namely whatever [illegible] with their hands. They [illegible] anything for them. The women [illegible] educated but they [illegible] village sisters. And [illegible] and remarks [illegible] cities. Every [illegible] And there was nothing [illegible] of comfort [illegible] about working for them [illegible] of exploiting the people. [illegible] the khadi [illegible] reprehensible theft practised by the [illegible] practised thieving on [illegible] passing strange that [illegible] civilized professions [illegible] forms of thieving.

Village Awakening and Communists

Vinoba asked the audience to beware of the cities and [illegible] that he himself was afraid of them lest those [illegible] might like to exploit him as well. It was therefore in the good of all that the villages were now [illegible] though this awakening was at times misdirected and misdirected as in the case of the Communists there. The presence of the Communists brought awakening but the wars they propagated were fought with hatred. It was the duty of the wise among them to bring round these awakened but misguided brothers to the right path.

Vinoba explained his point regarding the right path by referring to the verse from the Quran which was sung in the prayer. He said: Lord lead us on to the straight (right) path. The Communist way was different from even approx to this Quranic straight path. However he was glad that the people were no longer asleep but awake and moving. Because where the people were awake it was not difficult to point out the right path to them.

The awakening in the villages was a manifestation of God's will and the cities would be well advised to take note of it and adjust themselves gracefully to the changes which it implied. Vinoba said, the cities had received the fruits of village labour in an abundant measure. It was now time that they returned something of their own to the latter. God now willed to unify the rich and the poor the educated and the illiterate into one whole with the hands of love. Vinoba was merely a tool in His mighty hands in this task. It was He who had demonstrated to Vinoba the way to fulfil this task the way of *Bhoodan Yajna*. If the cities brought their tribute to this cause the Communists would disappear in no time and love would triumph. An unmixed evil does not and cannot last for long. The Communists were gaining in influence because they too had some good in them. The good they had was that they were solicitous of the welfare of the

[illegible] people [illegible] Communists would [illegible]

Class-War

[illegible] audience to do away [illegible] against one another [illegible] like water which [illegible] will not allow [illegible] Time the best thing to do is to [illegible] Funds. Water is needed for the boat to keep it [illegible] across but without and below its body [illegible] the body. The same holds true in the case of [illegible] We need money but we need it outside our hearts [illegible] in the society.

Warning to Communists

Towards the end of his speech Vinoba warned the Communists that if they persisted in practising violence [illegible] trouble and indicate them for long because the call of violence was totally foreign to her genius. He said, he [illegible] upon himself as a representative of the poor. He [illegible] to Telangana and he was doing what he could [illegible] help the people out of their misery. He was teaching [illegible] the ways of love and people were listening to him. The Communists should take a lesson and follow him in [illegible] themselves in the work of service. If they did, [illegible] them that their work would grow [illegible] all over India.

After the speech some one sent him a slip asking him [illegible] thing to the students. Vinoba said he will not [illegible] to say anything particular [illegible] received from the society [illegible] They must work in the society and [illegible]

Questions and Answers

[illegible] are some of the important questions and [illegible] from the discussions which friends and [illegible] with Vinoba at Dernikonda.

Place of Legislation

Q. Why [illegible] you move for necessary legislation to [illegible] the land problem?

A. I do not deny the utility of legislation. But legislation [illegible] follow public opinion. It became possible to legislate for the removal of untouchability because public opinion was ready for it. Besides I do not think that legislation can [illegible] in any and every field. For example, legislation cannot root out caste-distinctions, nor intimate inter-caste marriages.

The Communist Aim

Q. The Communist movement here arises from economic causes. Remove these causes and the movement will automatically cease. How can mere speeches help in the matter?

A. I do not share your view. I do not believe that the Communists in India are too much worried about the poverty of the people. What they chiefly aim at is the subversion of government. They feel happy if the crops [illegible] because it gives them one more opportunity to step up their anti-government propaganda. Had they the desire to serve the people they could have taken to any of the numerous fields of service. The people of Telangana are so much addicted to Sinti (country liquor) are they doing anything to fight this evil? I know them well, [illegible] is not confined to this place. It is everywhere throughout India. I count many Communists among my friends. Their aim is political first and economic only afterwards. The whole fabric of their movement stands on a political foundation. They want to set right the economic structure only after they have captured political power.

As to the utility of the speeches I would grant that it is not much. But they have a place in the scheme of work. After all a majority of donors get inspiration to take out cash from speeches. But work is of course all important. [illegible]

The Fundamental Crisis

Q. Is there a food crisis in the country?

A. The fundamental crisis we suffer from [illegible] violence. People talk of grow more food [illegible] the peasants who are working as [illegible] thing for it. The remedy lies in the willing [illegible] hands. But when they are doing [illegible] which brought us to our goal [illegible] and the life of labour and simplicity [illegible]

Division of Labour

Q. [illegible] want all without exception to share [illegible] production? Cannot division of labour [illegible] at present achieve what we want?

A. It is a false division of labour which entrusts the total production work to one class of persons and the enjoyment to another class. This is not to deny that there does exist difference of capacities and propensities and that every one cannot provide himself with all the requirements. But there are certain fundamental things and all without exception should participate in creating and providing these things. Because God wants us to truthfully employ all our senses. He has granted all the senses [illegible] Otherwise He could very well have given [illegible] which he needed most and which [illegible] would have among us persons [illegible] lives of a big gramophone like [illegible]

Q. All the same you must recognise division of labour.

A. Oh [illegible] It is why all cooking is done by women. Some [illegible] but not all know it. Probably you [illegible] cooking [illegible] the [illegible] of the house?

Q. Yes. [illegible] who cooks?

A. Quite right. Because he has made it an occupation for gain. Where [illegible] labour has been commercialized men have [illegible] their work. It is the same in weaving which [illegible] women [illegible]

(Translated and abridged from Hindi) D. M.

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HARIJAN

March 1 1952

THE NEW VOLUME

With the new volumes of the *Harijan* [illegible] they begin a new chapter of their life [illegible] they have survived a crisis by the spontaneous [illegible] of their readers and sympathizers How long the new life will last will depend upon the amount of nourishment given by the subscribers hereafter The guardians of the papers the Navajivan Trust have guaranteed six months It is like a guarantee given by watch-makers Though it is not usually very long, it is well known that a good watch, if carefully used, gives much longer service than that guaranteed by the makers Indeed it often lasts a whole life-time So too might these journals

I fully endorse the principles accepted by the Navajivan Trust that the papers should not be maintained on advertisements or charitable donations to meet the losses They must be subscribed by their readers Earnest readers if they are too poor to pay for their copies, might be helped by well to-do friends Once you begin to take advertisements it will be difficult to draw a line between acceptable and non-acceptable ones in respect of some of them and once you have made a mistake, the tendency will always be to lower the standard A good thing must be advertised without charge or obligation because to do so would be a piece of service to the people Moreover those who give advertisements or donations for meeting the losses, will tend to be looked upon as patrons of the papers and occupy a soft corner of the heart of the editor or the management If there is aught to be said in public interest which might displease the patrons or harm their reputation the soft feeling for them will act as an inhibitor It requires considerable strength to resist such inhibition successfully

Gandhi Smarak Nidhi and similar Trusts might have willingly come to help *Harijan* Indeed this was suggested before the Navajivan Trust decided to close the papers I think it wisely declined to take that course Apart from the fact that it would have been against the injunctions of Gandhiji, the public would not have known in that case the true state of affairs about the papers, and hence not been able to express its opinion and will in the matter

Several correspondents suggested that the subscriptions might be raised A few offered to pay even the double of the present subscription I believe that this would result in reducing even the present number of subscribers While a part of *Harijan* readers might be fairly well-to-do middle class people, a greater part meets even the present charge with some difficulty The fall in the number of subscribers is, I believe, also [illegible] the readers [illegible] of [illegible] with very limited [illegible] Moreover [illegible] pay its own way if it had [illegible] about six thousand This is not at all [illegible] number for English Hindi or Gujarati [illegible] Indeed, Hindi alone should [illegible] circulation of more than eighteen thousand The well-known monthly *Readers' Digest* has a circulation of 1 55 00,000 copies in eleven different languages, that in English alone being 95 lakhs

The papers are not run for profit Their past history shows that they have more than once risked the total extinction of the Trust in the fearless discharge of their duty Also even when the circulation has been poor, sixteen page issues have been published if necessary without any additional charge

I do not write all this in order to shift the whole responsibility for the future continuance of the papers on to readers and subscribers The editor's responsibility is not less than theirs If he is unable to fulfil the expectations of the readers the papers are bound to fail even if the subscription were reduced to Rs 3 The expectations of 40 crores of people aspiring to be a prosperous and vigorous nation are too many and variformed Their difficulties are too complicated to be solved like a mathematical problem with a ready-made formula In life's problems it is easy to utter basic truths and high principles, but too difficult to show a way out of present realities And it is the latter that baffle the people A journal not meant for giving merely news or entertainment would be appreciated by them only to the extent it succeeds in solving their immediate problems

. Rationally it should be easier to speak and practise truth than untruth to trust than distrust to be simple and natural than to be sophisticated and affected to be good than to be wicked For untruth distrust affectation and wickedness require deliberate effort But human life has so back-geared in its evolution that it has become too difficult to be truthful simple and good and those who have nothing better to offer than constantly reiterate these hackneyed doctrines appear as unpractical and tiresome The more so if they are also unsympathetic towards the strugglers and have nothing but sneer and condemnation for them

The great lesson which Gandhiji taught and practised and which won for him the respect and friendship of even those whose acts occupations and policies he condemned and criticized was his universal and unlimited sympathy He understood that it was not the particular individuals who were to blame but the meshes in which man's life had become entangled In spite of Bapu's tenacious adherence to particular ideals of life, he bore no hatred for those who could not follow the ideals or even obstinately came in their way He was as approachable for guidance and advice on particular questions to his opponents

[illegible] of unimportant individu[illegible] whom others [illegible] regard [illegible] It was this that [illegible] his journals [illegible] their own

The sage Narad [illegible] Indians had the reputation of having [illegible] access to all types of life He visited without [illegible] among human beings, kings and paupers [illegible] women and children the virtuous and the vicious with equal regard But even Narad has been painted in two different colours One attributes to him the mischievous qualities of a lout that is a sower of seeds of dissension wherever he went. The other shows him as an int[illegible]rmediary who brought peace contentment connect[illegible] light divine grace to all and sundry His counsel was sought by gods demons and human beings alike with the perfect confidence that he would give the best advice Among human beings he was needed equally by the rich and the poor the worldly man and the recluse

Journals may be likened to Narad They too play a double role One of fomenting hatred jealousy low passions quarrels between man and man nation and nation The other of spreading peace friendliness and goodness

Harijan is expected to play the latter role It may be called the role of Sarvodaya or Gandhian spirit The editor may be as resourceful and immensely capable as Gandhiji as tenacious philosophical and learned as Vinoba or a simple, single-tracked plodder of limited capacities as I As long as it fulfils that role its extinction will not be looked upon by the people without a pang May God grant me and those who will replace me the capacity to carry on *Harijan* in the true spirit of Gandhiji

Wardha 18 2 '52 K G MASHRUWALA

THE ELECTIONS

The elections are well nigh over and it will not be too early to take a brief review now

The Election Organization has been generally regarded as having functioned very satisfactorily If there have been complaints of foul play by the presiding officers or the staff in some places they are very few and may be regarded as exceptional I take it that these cases will be carefully inquired into and there will be no miscing of matters if proper cases are made out

A certificate of similar satisfaction cannot be given to the various parties or 'independents' for the methods adopted by them for canvassing votes Appeal to caste or communal affinities may be regarded as the least of the offences committed though it has probably played a very decisive part in some cases The more reprehensible methods have been purchase of votes with money or by feeding or distributing liquor or sweets also by communal intimidation misrepresentation about the adversaries and their parti[illegible] exploitation of the ignorance of the [illegible] including spreading of [illegible] Not that all the candidates have [illegible] such methods But agents and workers [illegible] and I would be agreeably surprised if [illegible] party is shown to have been absolutely not guilty of any dishonourable method Almost every party — I do not say every candidate — has been guilty of setting low standards of public morality before the people They have often given miseducation to the electorate

The money spent by the candidates in addition to the expenses borne by their party organizations have been enormous They have far exceeded the limit set by law, though they may not admit this publicly and may make out their accounts in accordance with law

It seems that there is now a general trend towards the opinion that the present method of direct elections is prohibitively expensive and unsuited for our country Gandhiji had definitely declared himself in favour of indirect elections Both the methods have some drawbacks and it is possible that the choice has to be made between two evils Perhaps democracy through counting of votes is itself a crude method of ascertaining public opinion It is certainly not the right way of ascertaining the truth regarding any question But this is a fundamental question which is too large to be discussed here For the present we are in the stage of democracy through votes

That the Congress would be generally returned to power was not unexpected That it has failed to gain a clear majority in some of the States is significant if not surprising Still more significant is the fact that even where it has secured a comfortable majority it has failed to obtain even 50 per cent of the total votes cast It means that if it had to face only one or two equally organized strong parties it might have failed in many States if not all This must set it a thinking

Another significant feature of the elections has been the defeat of prominent men and leaders of many a party Some of the leading men and office-holders both of the Congress and the oppositions have been defeated Those who have defeated them are not always men of any known ability or reputation Some of them may have won by resorting to foul methods But the fact stands that the defeated leaders do not enjoy such confidence of the voters as to create a wave of enthusiasm in them to vote in their favour despite temptations offered by the opposing candidates Indeed the fact that some not very rich candidates have been returned in thumping majority being genuinely popular, shows that temptation has not always worked To my mind the meaning of these defeats is that people have lost faith in a good many of the old leaders They held offices or seats not because the people wanted them but because they were influential men in the Congress or other organizations, or

[illegible] leaders Whatever might [illegible] country the people do not want [illegible] ranks

[illegible] has not been without its freaks [illegible] really good men of the Congress [illegible] millions have been defeated

[illegible] number of ministers of [illegible] has raised a question of considerable [illegible] Should they continue in power until new ministries are formed? They might still [illegible] a vote of confidence from the [illegible] members of their respective Legislative [illegible] but the voters have definitely [illegible] against them What should be the [illegible] principle in such a case? It seems to me that this is a situation similar to what would [illegible] where there is a constitutional provision [illegible] of a member by his constituency [illegible] that a "recalled" member would not be [illegible] far less to retain office

[illegible] the Constitution of India does not [illegible] for recall the election time-table [illegible] by the Government itself has given the [illegible] advantage as they would have [illegible] provision for "recall" If this [illegible] none of the sitting members [illegible] and been defeated, should sit [illegible] legislatures not yet dissolved

Wardha 12 2 52 K G MASHRUWALA

GANDHIJI'S PLACE AMONG SAINTS

At the sarvodaya meeting at Etawah (U P) on 10th January last the fourth anniversary of Gandhiji's nirvana Shri Vinoba said

Gandhiji's Pre-eminent Desire

It was this day four years ago when Gandhiji left his mortal frame and became merged in the infinite and the personal to render greater service to humanity To [illegible] constant service of mankind was his foremost [illegible] but he became merged in the [illegible] *order to render as greater* [illegible] which sets [illegible] the kingdom of the world nor for [illegible] for salvation I want only the liberation of [illegible] from their miseries

[illegible] was predominant in Bapu's mind [illegible] particularly for it all his life Our own [illegible] to his wonderful career So many [illegible] through God's grace gone even [illegible] could then it is difficult to enumerate [illegible] but be reminded of Lord Buddha here [illegible] in his life meditated on the right way [illegible] miseries of all beings He made [illegible] and the way of mercy so that man [illegible] (salvation before death) by [illegible] from hatred for every life All our [illegible] principle Tulsidas has said [illegible] public that of all sin This [illegible] Mercy should guide our [illegible] must not have the pride [illegible] mercy [illegible] are kind and [illegible] Bhagat my consciousness or [illegible] should we be towards [illegible] thousands of our transgressions [illegible] repeated offences to [illegible] testified by every [illegible] sacrifice others also as [illegible] sell and show [illegible] all us that we are sparks [illegible] should possess mercy and [illegible]

[illegible] Gandhiji [illegible] taught [illegible] expected what [illegible] from [illegible] or even before him from the [illegible] seers in [illegible] Krishna had taught [illegible] the [illegible] Gandhiji gave [illegible] every teaching one did [illegible] indeed [illegible] all that all his humble [illegible] he tried to [illegible] upon the experience [illegible] our ancestors and their teachings But the distinctive feature of his life-work was that he did not [illegible] to practise virtues—like mercy forgiveness peace truthfulness non-violence iron malice *atmaupamya* (sense of oneness with all) etc—in the private life of an individual but extended them into the field of group and social life even into the solution of huge national and political problems He placed before the country the weapon of Truth and Non-violence and the conversion of hearts of others through self suffering for solving the very great problem of winning the country's freedom We saw that though our practice of his teaching was fruitful and impeccable it took some fruit and the world situation took such a shape that the problem to which the whole nation had fought for the last sixty years came to be solved This miracle was wrought before our own eyes To Gandhiji is due the credit of showing the way to bring into the arena the power of the Spirit to solve social and political problems

The Power of the Spirit

The power of the Spirit is not confined in its action to one physical body It pervades the entire universe Hence the belief that the Spirit can work only in the domain of individual or private life of man is erroneous Being all pervading it can work both in the smallest and the widest spheres It is the power of the arms that is limited There are some arms like the sword or the dagger which can work only upto a certain distance There are others like a gun which work only from beyond a certain distance But the Spirit has no such limitations Just as it works in the heart of an individual similarly it works in the hearts of all beings. History shows only the instances of the power of the Spirit in the individual life We have heard of saints who through the power of the Spirit felt Love made a saint of a sinner a loving friend of an attacking foe Such instances are also not unknown in other countries But the practice of the power of the Spirit on a group or a mass scale was a novel experiment The present generation feel proud to be indeed it was the hero of the age

Referring to the British rule in India Shri Vinoba observed that it had disarmed the people and thereby performed a feat never even attempted before by any emperor in bygone ages It could do so because it had the help of science In the Mughal times some viceroy passed before an audience set up by Aurangzeb, could be executed in the country It took in those days such a long time for an order to reach every part of the territory But at present within a few hours of making an announcement in London it was heard throughout the remotest corner of India

Gandhi — A Historical Necessity

When such a great nation as ours (than) was hundred to three hundred million units rich with an ancient civilization and a long history of brilliant attainments in culture and moral development was deprived of arms and weapons it could save itself only by forging a different kind of weapon from one known to ordinary man It could not be that a great nation like India could remain in slavery for all time to come Thus Gandhiji's appearance was a historical necessity If Gandhiji had not come some one else would have done that work The present age and the history of India were favourable to an experiment of non violence on a nationwide scale The extensive employment of the non violent weapon could not be conceived of in past ages because in the absence of scientific advance the power of force the rulers was restricted to time space and intensity It was given to Gandhiji to manifest the power of non violence on a mass scale, because India has [illegible] in the world,

[illegible] were [illegible]

[illegible] I was [illegible]

[illegible] mean [illegible] of life

[illegible] said was [illegible] India. He was invited [illegible] saying that he would [illegible] his country completed [illegible] known in the social [illegible] said he was not qualified [illegible] world. He was right [illegible] about India [illegible] or country! With [illegible] nobody suggested [illegible] should now retire [illegible] life in the meditation [illegible] event to the [illegible] The service [illegible] meditation [illegible] in the Himalayas? [illegible] the Himalayas and the Shiva [illegible] of the Mother [illegible] a life of sketch [illegible] were not images of stone [illegible] Shiva had [illegible]

[illegible] realise our potential powers. He [illegible] and inspired courage. Even [illegible] moved out of the four walls of [illegible] the battlefield and faced armed [illegible] that a man who bore arms in [illegible] was not as brave as he who [illegible] to do so. The armed man was brave [illegible] prepared to die but he was a [illegible] wanted to save himself and [illegible] the help of arms. Truly brave [illegible] without killing. He wrought [illegible] because he perceived the power latent in [illegible] he had a conviction that India would [illegible] nonviolence. His life as we saw with [illegible] journal of this conviction and it [illegible] faith that that power can be made [illegible] country.

Lives of Mahatmas

[illegible] and thus are mirrors in which we are [illegible] the image of our own self. Vinoba narrated [illegible] the story [illegible] lion who having been [illegible] lambs had forgotten his true [illegible] himself a lamb, and came to [illegible] when he saw another lion. Similarly [illegible] are all lions who should see our true [illegible] saints. The life of Gandhiji was one [illegible] help us see in him our potential.

[illegible] the significance of *Bhooden-Yajna*, [illegible] said that though it looked small in appearance [illegible] the seeds of a revolution in it. [illegible] revolution is as much the need of India [illegible] it was before it indeed it is no less [illegible] Swaraj. And what am I trying to do? [illegible] legs I am trying to walk on the path [illegible] Gandhiji. It is a way peculiar to our own [illegible] of our own traditions. If we realise this [illegible] the lion in us we shall also turn into lions. [illegible] not say that it was the way of Gandhiji [illegible] be our own. If we look upon the lives [illegible]

Land Problem

[illegible] the land problem [illegible] I am trying [illegible] difficult. I say that [illegible] when I put the [illegible] is a gift of God [illegible] all His children [illegible] duty to get it [illegible] I cannot [illegible] for land to till [illegible] personal [illegible] that [illegible] shake [illegible] faction that [illegible] have been able to retain [illegible] All this I have [illegible] people feel [illegible] Even foreign journals [illegible] experiment is going on [illegible] land problem. [illegible] and tell it strange [illegible] tional allocation. But this [illegible] tions cannot regard [illegible] feel it to be the proper [illegible] which will ensure [illegible] quickly transform [illegible] way which brings about [illegible] ging revolution. I have [illegible] want to set up [illegible] and reflect in your heart the [illegible] tribution. I hope you will all be [illegible] been [illegible] ficient way and [illegible] work and give me full [illegible] of the country's problem [illegible] in India."

(Translated and abridged from Hindi) D. M.

SOYA-EMULSION AND NOT "SOYA-MILK"

(*By Satish Chandra Das Gupta*)

I welcome this timely warning of Satish Babu.—K. G. M.)

I find that in the *Harijan* the phrase "soya-milk" is being used. Milk comes from the udder of animals. No plant product can be called milk. In the present case the fluid that comes out of maceration of soya bean is being described as "soya-milk." The use of the word 'milk' in connection with a plant-product is fraught with grave danger because in the hands of enterprising capitalists it is likely to be used for cheating or confusing people by adulteration of milk.

It is on this ground that in a meeting of the Dairy Science at New Delhi the technicians assembled resolved that the word 'milk' should not be used in connection with any artificial product. "Emulsion" was the word suggested. Call it "soya-emulsion" and not "soya-milk."

And what is this soya-emulsion? When you sprout (germinate) *mung* and chew it you get *mung*-emulsion made in your mouth and swallow that with the non-emulsible *mung* proteins.

Similarly in case of soya bean you do it just outside your mouth. You soak soya, germinate it, peel off the outer skin, macerate after pounding and get the fluid on straining. This is soya-

[illegible]

[illegible] *vanaspati* or soya-emulsion [illegible] emulsion ' may be retained in diets

Whatever the personal experiences [illegible] diets may be, it is very hazardous [illegible] opinion on the nourishment value of [illegible] emulsion from individual experience [illegible] when a comparison is attempted [illegible] milk

At one time there was a craze in favour of the use of soya bean Soya bean could not justify the praises bestowed on it for its nutritional value The craze died out Now comes soya milk It is still in experimental stage Let the biologists determine its comparative value after test on human babies for successive years Let them feed babies of different age groups with soya-emulsion as substitute for normal mother's milk and also let them feed similar groups with cow's milk With grown up children, let soya-emulsion be given in place of cow's milk in the diet and let the results be observed Then it may be time to bring out its comparative value *vis-a-vis* cow's milk Till then we should be extremely careful so that people may not be deluded into believing that in soya-emulsion a substitute for milk has been found Emulsion from beans is for feeding babies of the bean plant and mother's milk is for feeding babies of mammals There can be no comparison between the two

Incalculable harm has been done by *vanaspati* " ghee " We shall carefully avoid any suggestion that milk can have a substitute *Vanaspati* should stand as a warning Ventures are likely to be floated for supplying this soya-emulsion as cheap milk with disastrous consequences

RURAL WELFARE DEPARTMENT, MADRAS

Applications are invited for appointment to the following categories of posts in the Rural Welfare Department of the Government of Madras

Category	No of posts for which appointments are to be made		
	Tamilnad	Andhra	Kerala
I Probationary Khadi Officers	7	7	1
II Probationary Khadi Assistants	10	10	5

Qualifications Category I B A, B Sc or B Sc (Agriculture) or higher Age not less than 20 or not more than 26 on 1-4-1952

Category II S S L C Candidates with higher educational qualifications will be preferred Age not less than 19 and not more than 25 on 1-4-1952

Candidates who have exceeded this age will also be considered if they have to their credit any special experience in rural welfare or Khadi fields

Men who have specialized in subjects connected with rural reconstruction, rural economics [illegible] a bias for [illegible]

[illegible] desire their [illegible] Category II also [illegible] health and [illegible] be expected to reside with [illegible] villages to which they are [illegible]

Future and Prospects Candidates selected for [illegible] will be [illegible] on Rs 100 - per mensem [illegible] selected for Category II on Rs 70/- [illegible] This will be on probation for one [illegible] which the first [illegible] months will be on [illegible]

[illegible] Candidates permitted to Category I will [illegible] posts of Centre Khadi Officers [illegible] 1951 [illegible] arise The [illegible] to Category II will be eligible [illegible] as First Grade Assistants and also [illegible] Officers in the course according [illegible] and ability

[illegible] Category I will also be eligible for appointment [illegible] Rural Welfare Officers and other [illegible] in the Rural Welfare Department, depending [illegible] and ability Candidates appointed [illegible] Category II will also be eligible for promotion [illegible] First Grade Assistants and Centre Khadi Officers [illegible] Rural Welfare Officers if found fit [illegible] course The candidates will be required [illegible] thinking that they will continue [illegible] the Government for not less than [illegible] in default they will refund to Government the cost of their training as determined by Government

The prescribed form of application will be sent to intending applicants on their application to the Director of Rural Welfare Fort St George, Madras 9 The [illegible] in the prescribed form should be addressed to the Director of Rural Welfare so as to reach him not later than 20th March 1952 The applicants should be prepared to appear for an interview at Madras if required, at their own cost

Madras 15 2-52 } VENKATACHALAPATHI
Fort St George, } Director of Rural Welfare
(Abridged)

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HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)
Editor : K. G. MASHRUWALA

VOL. XVI No 2 AHMEDABAD—SATURDAY, MARCH 8 1952 TWO ANNAS

THE PRACTICAL IDEALIST *

(By Pyarelal)

I—Pursuit of Truth

As I stand before you, memories of thirty years back come crowding in upon my mind when I was a college student like you at the threshold of life The story of the intervening years has been a stirring saga We have passed from bondage into political freedom The question that is presenting itself to the minds of all thinking people is whether its advent has fulfilled the expectations with which it was hailed and which filled the minds and actuated the efforts of those who strove to win it

We have learnt to be wary of catchwords and slogans Again and again mankind has dreamt great dreams, made reckless, sometimes even foolhardy sacrifices to realize them, only to end in bitter disillusionment We all remember the anguished cry of Madam Rolland, "Liberty, Liberty, what crimes have been committed in thy sacred name!" In our own times and nearer at home we have seen irreligion practised in the name of religion and crimes committed in its name which make one blush and almost despair of humanity

Let us therefore beware of being carried away by catchwords and slogans Let us try to analyse their contents and examine all propositions on their merits instead of being led away by prescriptive sanctities. Let us find out for ourselves what is the content of freedom which we want to realize for ourselves and what is the method by which it can be realized Is freedom to starve, to wallow in dirt, to oppress others, freedom? No it is a misnomer —you will agree The freedom which we fought for and strove to win was freedom in which the least should have as much right opportunity and scope to realize the highest in life as the tallest There are two ways of realizing this equality We can realize it by eliminating the weakest as so much uneconomical ballast This is the violent approach The other is to realize it by sharing with the weakest and denying ourselves what cannot be shared with them and till it can be shared with them This is the non violent approach to the question of freedom, democracy and equality which Gandhiji introduced.

Has Gandhiji's method and approach any validity today? Can it provide a solution to the many challenging problems that confront us—or is it only a spent force, an extinct tradition which has outlived its purpose and use and has now only historical interest? It is my conviction that never were his message and method needed more than they are today We are in the habit of kicking away the ladder by which we have climbed to success But it is also a truism that freedom can only be conserved retained and enlarged by the very methods by which it was attained If we stray away from the royal road on which we were launched by the Father of the Nation, we shall lose what we have gained and the golden apple of independence will turn to ashes in our mouth I go further and say that many of the ills from which we are suffering today and much of the frustration that today fills the hearts of our youth is traceable to our deviation from those principles and methods

Let us, therefore, examine and study in a spirit of research and scientific detachment some of those principles as exemplified in the life of Gandhiji and the epoch-making movement into which they efflorescence

To many of you the story of his career and the freedom struggle which he conducted has become only a legend or a vague myth It was my privilege to be associated with both in an intimate manner during the best part of my life I am therefore today here before you, so that you might hear about it from the mouth of one whose life was closely inter-woven with it For me it is a precious privilege and a sacred debt which it is a pleasure to discharge

What was it that made Gandhiji one of the biggest events of our time? If we examine his life closely, we shall find that at the core of it was his passion for truth It was the mainspring and fountain source of all the other things in his life They all flowed from it

What was his conception of truth and how did it become the core of his philosophy of life? He made a clear distinction between truth as a vow or means and absolute truth Relative truth (which is the basis of vows) is truth we perceive

* This is the first of the three Gandhi Memorial Lectures delivered by Shri Pyarelal at Kanpur under the auspices of the Agra University on 3rd, 4th and 5th December 1951 and published with its kind consent.

in relation to a particular set of circumstances It is not the whole truth What may be true under one set of circumstances may not be true in relation to a different set of circumstances To take a very simple instance, lukewarm water is hot in relation to cold water and cold in relation to hot water

As against relative truth is the absolute truth — the ultimate reality which alone is, was and for ever shall be In its absolute sense Gandhiji identified truth with God He worshipped God as Truth In this sense Truth is the end — the *summum bonum* of man's existence

But finite man cannot grasp the whole truth — not even relative truth in its entirety What may therefore appear as truth to one person may appear to be error to another person And yet both of them may be right from their relative points of view Proceeding on this reasoning Gandhiji early came to the conclusion that pursuit of truth does not admit of violence being inflicted upon one's opponent Hence the necessity of patience and patience means self-suffering Therefore the doctrine of truth or *satya* — which Gandhiji described by the word Satyagraha or holding on to truth — means vindication of truth through self-suffering, in other words love For you cannot suffer in your person for your opponent unless you have love for him

Gandhiji's truth and non-violence or *ahimsa* were not abstract ideals or cloistered virtues They were to be realized in life Truth to him meant not the uttered word not the professed belief but something that had to be lived If we say something and do another, profess one thing and do not practise it, we live untruth It was Gandhiji's constant endeavour to work out in his life to the full all the implications of the ideals he professed This was his *Sadhana* of truth. It made his entire life a ceaseless round of worship at the shrine of truth which is God

As a corollary to truth and *ahimsa* is Gandhiji's ideal of non-possession or *aparigraha* If we love our neighbours as ourselves, we cannot crave for or possess superfluities when others lack even the necessaries of life

Non-stealing, the fourth cardinal principle of his life is again derived from the interaction of truth and non-possession just as non-possession is derived from the interaction of truth and non-violence For, stealing is breach of non-possession plus breach of truth

The fifth and last basic principle of his life *brahmacharya* is the all-in complex of the other four principles and like them is derivable from truth and *ahimsa* *Brahmacharya* literally means to walk in the way of the Lord in other words complete dedication body, mind and soul to God — the immanent Spirit, the eternal ultimate Reality. In common parlance and in a restricted sense it means continence or chastity It includes complete control over one's sense organs particularly the organ of regeneration

If we have vowed undivided allegiance to Him we can have no carnal desire left in us Again, since true *ahimsa* must mean equal love for all argues Gandhiji one cannot fully live up to this ideal and indulge in carnal desire One cannot share carnal love with all women But one can give equal love to all by regarding all women as mothers and sisters Hence the necessity of continence in single or even in married life for one who aspires to realize the ideal of *ahimsa* in full It held a place of great importance in Gandhiji's plan of discipline for Satyagraha As he put it " Without *brahmacharya* the Satyagrahi will have no luster no inner strength to stand unarmed against the whole world His strength will fail him at the right moment "

It is a fascinating theme — this theme of Gandhiji's basic disciplines I have just touched on it in passing Gandhiji's outlook and approach in regard to them was not that of the orthodox moralist (he refused to accept their traditional interpretations of these disciplines), but of a revolutionary scientific mind, an experimental seeker after truth He poured into them a content which sometimes left orthodoxy gasping for breath But I may not pursue this theme further in the limited time at my and your disposal

I have shown how his intense idealism coupled with the passion not merely to find truth but to live it led to his adoption and practice of the other basic principles of his life Idealists are generally classed as visionaries, unpractical people Gandhiji's idealism was not Utopian He was no " ineffectual angel beating his luminous wings in the void " He claimed and proved himself to be a practical idealist He showed how goodness could be made effective how good ethics must be good economics and vice versa, and what was moral was also practical He wanted people to be good but not goody-goody " Good must be joined with knowledge Here goodness is not of much use as I have found in life " he remarked on one occasion " One must cultivate the fine discriminating quality which goes with spiritual courage and character One must know in a crucial situation when to speak and when to be silent when to act and when to refrain Action and non-action in these circumstances become identical instead of being contradictory " His insistence on truth and full practice thereof gave him a firm hold of reality and endowed him with that unrivalled knowledge of human nature — its potentialities as well as its weaknesses — which enabled him to choose his instruments with an unerring instinct and make heroes out of clay Perhaps no other person we know of was able to draw round him men and talent of such diverse types as Gandhiji or to hold them together as a team

(To be continued)

DISTINCTLY BENEFICIAL

The review of the progress of the policy of Total Prohibition for the second quarter of the second year of Prohibition, i e July-September 1951 in Bombay State brings forth a good deal of evidence to show that the majority of former drinkers have greatly benefited by that policy and they are now better off in every respect, especially in the matter of food, housing, clothing, etc When viewed on the background of the general economic conditions, which are so difficult, the rise in the standard of living attained by these people at once becomes noteworthy

Backward Tribes and Classes

The Director of Backward Class Welfare has reported several instances where the members of the backward classes, who were previously given to the drink habit, have now been able to reduce their indebtedness and redeem their mortgaged lands In the village of Simoda, in Chorasi Taluka of Surat District, five backward class families, with an average monthly income of Rs 70 per family repaid half of their total debt of Rs 1,000 from the moneys they could save because of the Prohibition policy A family of eight members of the village of Bhamadla, in Baroda District, paid off its debt of Rs 600 and bought two bullocks for Rs 500 and a cart for Rs 150 Similar reports indicating definite improvement in the economic condition of the Backward Classes have been received from other parts of the State also

Peasants Invest Money in Land

Such farmers as were formerly accustomed to drinks and drugs are now investing money in land and agricultural equipment The instance of three confirmed "liquor addicts" of the village of Kaujalgi, in Gokak Taluka of Belgaum District, is worth mentioning They used to spend all their earnings on drinks before Prohibition and lead miserable life, but now they have formed a society of their own for manufacturing mats ropes etc which is flourishing A resident of Pandharpur in Sholapur District, who used to drink liquor heavily and was spending everything he earned on liquor, is now maintaining taxis and doing excellent business

Better Turnover by Artisans

The reports received from various centres indicate that Prohibition has, on the whole, proved very beneficial to artisans such as tanners and leather workers, weavers, potters, carpenters, blacksmiths, etc A good number of these people are now paying greater attention to their work resulting in better turnover In Sholapur District the share capital and profits of the co operative societies of artisans are increasing The Harijan weavers and farmers of the Sabarkantha District have now been able to purchase additional quantities of raw materials They are also investing their savings in the share capital of the societies

Happier Home Life for Workers

As a result of the moneys saved on account of Prohibition, the working classes are purchasing useful domestic articles and clothing and are spending more money on education and entertainment. Womenfolk in labour areas appear to be materially better off and also happier A report from Ratnagiri states that a resident of the village of Shingaon in Chiplun Taluka, who had left his family and was living separately because of his drink habits, has now come back to his family and is cultivating his lands personally

Municipal Sweepers Do Better

The Administrator of the Nandurbar Municipality states that the condition of the sweepers in his town is steadily improving The general atmosphere is more peaceful and quarrels have decreased The President of the Sirsi Municipality says that most of the ex-drinkers are now saving money out of their earnings and contributing the same towards life insurance The Administrator of Haliyal Municipality reports that Municipal sweepers are economically better off today and the moneys that were being wasted on alcoholic drinks are now being utilized for the purchase of necessaries of life such as foodstuffs and clothes

Permits for Consumption of Liquor

During the quarter under review, 9,595 permits of various categories were issued for the possession and consumption of foreign liquor as against 20,338 in the previous quarter During the same period, 4,79b applications were received for health permits in Greater Bombay, out of which 844 were rejected. The total quantity of foreign liquor issued against all kinds of permits, during the quarter, was 81,567 units, as against 63,213 units during the corresponding quarter of the last year The increase is mainly due to the fact that the maximum quantity of foreign liquor under health permits was raised from two to four units after the High Court judgment in the Prohibition Case

During the quarter under review 6,598 permits were issued for the consumption and use of opium and hemp drugs and about 604 seers of such drugs were issued from departmental depots

Relief Measures

During the quarter under review, 43 Prohibition-affected persons were granted various kinds of relief under the rehabilitation scheme and five persons were granted Prohibition-affected persons certificate Four forest labourers co-operative societies of Prohibition-affected persons — three in Thana District and one in Kolaba District — have been granted forest coupes for the year 1951-52 When these societies start the work of felling and cutting trees in the coupes allotted to them a good number of Prohibition-affected persons are likely to get employment.

Recreation Activities

Recreation activities continued to engage attention of the authorities during the quarter under review *Powada* parties gave 1,185 performances attended by about 3½ lakh persons and the *Kalapathak* parties staged 308 programmes attracting about two lakh persons

At the end of September, there were 144 *Sanskar Kendras* in the State The average daily attendance at these *Sanskar Kendras*, during the quarter was 8 400 as against 6,600 during the previous quarter

HARIJAN

March 8 1952

BADSHAH KHAN

Kazi Ataullah, Khan Saheb Abdul Ghaffar Khan's loyal co-worker, has just laid down his life having been released from custody only when he was dying It is frequently reported that Khan Saheb himself has not been keeping good health for a long time His illness as a prisoner of the Pakistan Government necessarily causes much anxiety and pain to the lovers of Sarvodaya There is nothing political in this feeling I doubt if there is any instance in history in which a country or a nation has risen in prosperity and power after wilfully taking the life of a saintly soul Badshah Khan, as Khan Saheb's countrymen love to call him, is a *Khudai Khidmatgar* (servant of God) in the truest sense of the term, i e a friend of humanity He wants to raise the moral and economic condition of the Pathans and for that purpose their political status But there is no narrowness in his patriotism That the Pakistan Government should consider him their enemy and keep him in prison is as tragic as was the British Indian Government's act in keeping Gandhiji in jail and hoping that he would meet his end there

The British Government must have realized later that Providence was very kind towards them in not granting them their dangerously foolish desire I pray God will show the same kindness to the Pakistan Government and save them even against their infatuated will from the dangerous consequences of allowing a true *fakir* to linger in their prisons.

Wardha 25-2-'52 K G MASHRUWALA

A PILGRIMAGE FOR PEACE

Gandhi & Frontier Gandhi among N W F Pathans

By Pyarelal

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MAHAMMUD GANDHI

(By Manubehn Gandhi)

7-4-47, Bhangi Niwas, New Delhi

Bapuji's post today consisted of some very amusing arrivals A cover bore the address, 'Mahammud Gandhi', a few spoke of him as a Communist Some correspondents however, had performed a more daring feat, they called him 'a hireling of Jinnah Saheb' I read out the contents to him Bapuji wrote out smilingly 'It was the people who conferred on me the epithet of 'Mahatma', that other appellation, 'Bapu' was also given me by the people, (albeit by those who were close to me), should I not welcome also all the other titles that they give me?"

In the evening, in course of the post-prayer address Bapuji referred to the above post, and said, "I do not mind them and am not afraid of them I am a student of the Gita, the Quran, the Bible, the teachings of Zarthustra, and many other religions And so God gives me and will give me the strength to bear with patience all the reproach that may be heaped on me I have full faith in the teachings of the masters of the various religions and I pray to God to give me enough of His forbearance so that I will not let my mind be tinged with anger against those who are pleased to traduce me Even if they riddle my body with bullets, I would, I should depart with a smile on my face and the Lord's sacred name on my lips I have firm belief that if I adhere to my faith unflinchingly and if I have been essaying sincerely to protect both Hinduism and Islam, God shall grant my request You may take down my words I will not wish ill of my assassin or be angry with him even in those last moments If I do, you may call me a hypocrite, a false Mahatma' Proceeding, he said that a man's worth could be assessed only after his death And only after his death, people would know whether he was a slave of Jinnah Saheb, or Mahammud Gandhi, or the destroyer of Hinduism and Islam or else a real protector of them.

Rawalpindi, he pointed out was on fire, the same Rawalpindi where once all communities had combined to give him and the Ali brothers a most enthusiastic reception Why should they not erase all feelings of revenge? They should realize that it was given to God alone to avenge a wrong, and they should have full trust in Him

(Extracted from Manubehn Gandhi's Gujarati Diary published in *Bhavnagar Samachar*, 22 12 51)

Correction

I regret to have committed three inaccuracies in my article 'BA' The year of her death should have been mentioned 1944 and not 1943, so Bapu died four years after Ba's death, and not five years later, as stated Also the statement that the Hindu Lunar and Gregorian Solar dates of her death fell on the same day this time is erroneous

K G. M.

SARVODAYA MELA, PAUNAR

(The readers may have read in daily paper that this year the Sarvodaya *mela* at Paunar was marked by the opening of Gandhi *chhatri* by H E Shri Mangaldas Pakvasa the Governor of Madhya Pradesh The pillar of the *chhatri* is an octagonal structure on each side of which is placed a marble tablet with selected utterances of Gandhiji in Gujarati and Hindi

As Shri Vinoba could not attend the mela this year he had sent the following message in Marathi on the occasion H M V]

"This year I shall not be able to participate in the Sarvodaya *mela* at Paunar I am helpless for it, as I am in a walking tour from village to village doing work for the poor I am trying to bring home to the people that the landless have a right on land The earth is the mother of one and all Hence how can it be right that only a few persons can exercise ownership over it? Most humbly I am trying to explain this in different ways to the people They have begun to realize it I have received about sixty thousand acres of land until today the 22nd January

"A Committee has been appointed to carry on the work of the Land-Gifts-Sacrifice in Madhya Pradesh To give momentum to it, it is required of everyone to give his best co-operation to the Committee The Land-Gifts-Movement should be carried on with love and we should obtain one lakh acres of land from Madhya Pradesh and justify Gandhiji's choice of Sevagram for his residence

"The idea of offering of one hank of self-spun yarn in the memory of Bapu has appealed to all. It is a vote for the Sarvodaya ideology Even children and old men can participate in it It is not difficult to offer annually one hank of self-spun yarn Why should not the Paunar Sarvodaya *mela* fetch one lakh of yarn hanks? India has from ancient times four *dhams* (holy places) in four directions God has now created a fifth one at *Paramdham* in the central part of the country It was here that the idea of offering a yarn hank was born Gandhiji's Ashram is hereafter not to run on money It has pledged itself to do so only on labour and donation of labour People from five or six districts round about participate in the Paunar Sarvodaya *yatra* and it cannot be difficult for such a great circle to collect one lakh yarn hanks It, no doubt, requires effort, but can any great task be achieved without effort? A resolve should be made this time to collect not less than one lakh hanks next year and the work for it should be planned in this *yatra*

"Our *yatra* should become an occasion to purify the social mind For that a varied programme should be organized, such as bathing in the river observing a total or a partial fast, reading of the *Gita bhajan* offering of yarn hanks a determinate resolve for the next year programme for work during the ensuing year propagation of Sarvodaya literature, congregational spinning and observance of silence etc Efforts should be made to raise the standard of purity of *yatra* every year.

[illegible] experiment of [illegible] *mukti* (freedom [illegible] money) is going [illegible] the Paramdham Ashram The people should know its details and should make similar effort in their respective places"

THE NOOSE?

(By J C Kumarappa)

About a month ago an agreement was signed between the U S A and India by which a grant of 50 million dollars was made available to India for developmental purposes The U S A. has been an octopus with financial tentacles in all other parts of the world Britain specialized in political imperialism while the American speciality is financial imperialism Is this going to gag us on world questions? Let us beware of baits of all kinds including "rural-urban development"

Not content with a contribution of a mere 50 million dollars, the American Ambassador, Mr Chester Bowles suggests an aid of 1,000 millions to put forward the "progress" of India American 'experts' have already begun to come in

There is danger in all this The American penetration will bring in commercialism and tractors Basing our agriculture on crude oil and machines will deliver us body soul and spirit into American hands If we chafe at anything that the Americans dictate later, all that they will have to do to "bring us to our senses" is to stop crude oil supplies Then we shall be starved into subjection Prior to the last war some well-to-do cultivators had installed crude oil pump sets in some district places near Madras Their economy was dislocated during the war as they could not get any supplies of the needed fuel. Some of them were even ruined by this handicap

To base our economic order on things our country does not possess or produce is suicidal Let us profit by Japan's experience Japan surrendered, not so much for fear of the Atom bomb, but because they had no stock of petrol to carry on the war any longer Hiroshima provided only an honourable excuse Humble though our progress may be let us be on our own legs Any attempt to hasten the pace may be fatal In the end any foreign aid of this magnitude from which we cannot easily shake ourselves free, will prove a halter round our neck and jeopardize our newly found independence

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ELIMINATION OF MECHANIZED ARTICLES OF DAILY USE

(By Vithaldas Jerajani)

We are today faced with the problem of making a choice between village and mechanized articles of daily use It is a problem that brooks no delay A section of the people holds fast to the view that we shall be able to meet the needs of the people only through machines It is now upto those who have faith in village industries to demonstrate that it can be achieved through village industries in a quiet and easy manner

The responsibility of this task rests on the shoulders of constructive workers They have the experience of thirty years of the village people at their back With this asset to their credit they must go ahead

In order to meet the annual requirements of the people of the villages in respect of food and cloth through decentralization only that is, on a self sufficient basis constructive workers shall have to initiate a movement for the elimination of mechanized articles of food and cloth from their daily consumption

This movement may be started from villages. A *panchayat* may be appointed in villages for the purpose. Where there are groups of spinners, they may undertake this work These *panchayats* or groups should organize villages for self-sufficiency in food and cloth They should persuade the people of the villages and ask them to take a pledge to eliminate from their daily use machine-made articles of food and cloth

Local *bhajan mandalis* may also be properly utilized for the purpose of awakening the people

Local goods thus awakened will produce their needs of food and cloth during the next year Consolidated areas of a fifty or hundred villages might resolve to completely abstain from machine-made products of food and cloth They might then request the machine minded Government that they have produced their needs of food and cloth and now no more need mill goods The surplus goods may either be diverted to other areas or be exported to foreign countries to earn dollars

Constructive workers should bend all their energies on achieving this object in the course of the next year and demonstrate their claim of village industries against mechanized industries

Bihar has come forward to accomplish this task By January 30th 1952, preliminary arrangements will be over and by 30th January 1953 a group that will have been organized in a corner in Bihar will send the information as stated above to the Government A small spark in a corner of Bihar will kindle fire in the whole of Bihar and will spread all over the country

Let constructive workers of other provinces also prepare themselves to organize the movement for elimination of machine-made articles of daily use and demonstrate the efficacy of constructive work

Kora Centre,
Bonvali 18 12 '51

(Translated from Gujarati *Khadi and Gramodyoga Patrika* Jan '52)

SHRI VINOBA'S TELANGANA TOUR XVII

April 28, Miradgon (Fourteenth Halt 9 miles)

With the Lambadas

At Miradgon we put up at a house which still bore the marks of having been set fire to by the Communists They had failed to carry out their destructive design Vinoba as a messenger of peace preferred to lodge in the same house In order to apply the healing unction on afflicted hearts

Shortly after our arrival a party of Lambadas — men, women and children — came to see Vinoba. Lambadas are a tribe originally come from Rajasthan but now settled in various parts of Hyderabad They have been already introduced once to the reader They still preserve their old customs dress dialect etc and live an isolated life, away on the hills The Government suspected that they harboured the Communists and ordered them to leave their settlements on the hills and come down and live in the villages The Lad got there in serious difficulties since they found it hard to look after their fields and farms from the far away village We noted their complaints and difficulties

A Wrong Impression about Backward Tribes

Later a long talk, which threw considerable light on their social and economic conditions ensued It also revealed the psychology of this and similar tribes It is often said that these tribes prefer to live in isolation and that it would not do any good to them to disturb them from their long cherished ways Even some eminent anthropologists had held this view But the talk that the Lambadas had with Vinoba disclosed that much of our fear in this regard is imaginary For if the right approach is made there is no reason why they should not be won over to civilization and integrated into the larger fabric of the community

Vinoba had an interesting conversation with them He put a few hyde questions and answers

Vinoba I have look into your complaints and shall try to get them redressed But I would like to ask you one or two questions not about your present but about your future arrangements say of ten years hence We shall go like to see town and live in a village along with others or would you rather prefer to stay away?

Lambadas Sir we have to live far away on the hills since our fields are there

Vinoba Suppose we provide fields for you here then?

Lambadas We shall be happy to stay here with the others We shall no longer have to walk long distances to go to the market nor to live in fear of wild animals, which destroy our crops

Next Vinoba asked them whether they would have any objection to people from the village going and establishing colonies in lands adjacent to their fields To this they replied that they would only be too happy to have a new village rise in their midst so that they would be no longer lonely Vinoba then referred to their customs and costumes and asked them whether they could not change some of them He spoke to them of a leader of their community whom he had met at Mandvi and told them how he (a Lambada) had introduced many reforms in his home The women in his house no longer wear the old heavy ornaments or the long flowing garments They have taken to simpler ways of dressing, much neater and more convenient for the kind of work they have to do Would you not like to do the same?" Vinoba

asked When d[illegible] the negativ[illegible] that they would tha[illegible] live as Lami[illegible] Vinoba asked them a[illegible] that [illegible] their women of th[illegible] those of them [illegible] them that oth[illegible] they dues [illegible] the needs of the tim[illegible] H[illegible] no difference between them and others who had changed [illegible] bel we are too old to learn new [illegible] to give up old customs You may educate one children, and they may accept new ways"

Taking Work from the Cow

[illegible] Lambadas make use of the cow for ploughing [illegible] fields They complained that the police force that had been posted there forced them to discontinue the practice But they could not afford to purchase bullocks [illegible] had become too costly Vinoba told them that there was no law to prevent them from using cows for ploughing their fields But he asked them not to yoke cows that [illegible] They said that they could never do so, as it would be sacrilegious to burden a pregnant cow with the yoke

Land Cannot Be Priced

[illegible] land received in the village was only 40 [illegible] Vinoba deemed it valuable beyond its actual [illegible] it had come from the poor

In his post-prayer speech while expounding the im[illegible] of providing land to every one who needed it, Vinoba said that land was not to be had in plenty in our country and the population it had to support was vast That land therefore for more than one's share of land was wrong It meant the snatching of the sustenance of life from the hungry and the helpless Even as it [illegible] not keep possession ever land for very long While [illegible] generation it would get divided among the claimants and the possession would dwindle in quantity

Explaining his idea further Vinoba said that water and air were inviolable to life and were indispensable for the production of wealth So also was land But water and air do not — must not — have price nor should land have it He was opposed to the possession of land being used as the means of getting rich by the [illegible] not however he understood to be opposed to wealth

Industry — The Way to Wealth

He wanted the country and the people to be rich and prosperous but not by establishing exclusive possession over land "The way to wealth lay through industry Let us live on land he said and grow prosperous on industry" Land should be divided that all may live But land could not bring in prosperity by itself He did not hold and would not hold out that hope to them For plenty and prosperity he would urge on them to take to industry in its several forms [illegible] carry it into the villages so that they may manufacture all their needs from the raw materials there How could they be rich if they continued to purchase their cloth and oil from the cities? Industry was the only vehicle for Lakshmi

Destructive Role of Communists

Referring to the Communists he said that they claimed that they were fighting for the welfare of the poor He could not understand however how the burning of farms and houses could conduce to that end If they wanted to serve the poor they too should undertake to teach the people various industries But they would not because primarily they wanted power and not the welfare of the poor

Vinoba ended the speech by advising the village people to give their attention and protection to the welfare of the Lambadas who were their backward brethren He asked the Lambada women to leave off their ways, such as the wearing of ornaments which were like so many fetters shackling the body and did no good to them

(Translated and abridged from Hindi) D M

THAKKAR BAPA'S FIRST ANNIVERSARY

Observance at Harijan Colony, Kingsway, Delhi

Shri Vivogi Hari the General Secretary of Harijan Sevak Sangh arranged a programme of touring in some villages adjacent to Delhi for 5 days from the 15th to 19th January 1952 The part consisted of 13 representatives from the staff of Harijan Sevak Sangh, Bharatiya Adimjati Sevak Sangh and Harijan Udyogshala and also a few students of the Udyogshala and was led by Shri Vivogi Hari They covered a distance of 60 miles on foot and after covering eight villages in four days, reached the banks of Jamuna near Delhi on the morning of 19-1 1952 where they were received by all the inmates of Harijan Colony After a bath in the sacred river the whole of the *Gita* was read In the afternoon there was mass spinning for one hour and a meeting in the Harijan Colony in which all the inmates of the Colony took part Shri Vivogi Hari addressed the meeting in a feeling manner, stressing the two important qualities of Thakkar Bapa namely *shraddha* (faith) and *pramanikata* (honesty) and exhorted the audience to follow his footsteps and work for the uplift of backward classes — the Harijans and the Adivasis

During the tour the party kept two aims in view namely (1) cleaning the Harijan Bastis and (2) investigating into the grievances of the Chamars and the Bhangis At every place Shri Vivogi Hari explained to the people the object of the visit, the work of the late Thakkar Bapa and the necessity for the removal of untouchability The tour has brought out the following important features in the conditions of the Harijans in the villages visited

(1) Though in cities untouchability is not very much noticed it is still prevalent in a very bad form in the villages

(2) In two villages Hiranki and Bankoli, where there are no separate wells for the Bhangis they are not allowed to draw water from even the wells of the Chamars not to speak of from the wells of the Caste Hindus

(3) Apart from the prevailing attitude of Caste Hindus looking down upon the Harijans, the recent elections have estranged the feelings between the two communities still further in some villages as the Harijans of those villages voted for the Congress The party who were unfortunately identified by the Caste Hindus as being the agents of the Congress were refused permission to sit even on the *tals* of the houses of Caste Hindus This was the case at Holambi In some villages the party was refused accommodation even by Chamars as they were afraid of harassment by the Caste Hindus At another place the party was refused even fresh water to drink

(4) In most of the Bhangi Bastis there are no drinking water wells Immediate attention requires to be paid by the Government as well as public bodies for removing this grievance

(5) In Delhi State half school fees are charged from Harijan students while in other States Harijan students are fully exempted from school fees The result is that not very many Harijan boys are studying in the schools in this State

D RANGAIYA

Sarva Seva Sangh Resolutions

The Sarva Seva Sangh Wardha has [illegible] following resolutions in its meeting held on [illegible]

I

The question of taking over the [illegible] of the *Harijan* was discussed and after a careful consideration of all the aspects of the question the Sangh came to the conclusion as the Prabandh Samiti itself had earlier indicated * that it would be desirable that the Navajivan Trust itself continued the publication of all the three *Harijan* weeklies. In its latest resolution (see *Harijan* 23-2-52 p. 47) the Trust has expressed its preparedness to continue publication of the *Harijan* for another six months. The Sangh welcomes this and appeals to all constructive workers and institutions throughout the country to make energetic efforts to enrol more subscribers for these weeklies and to render it possible for the Navajivan Trust to ensure the continued publication of the *Harijan* weeklies.

However if for any reason this was not possible the Sangh authorizes the Prabandh Samiti to make arrangements necessary for taking over the *Harijan* on behalf of the Sarva Seva Sangh.

The Sangh is of opinion that the publication of the *Harijansevak* (Hindi) is as necessary as that of the *Harijan* and is therefore happy to learn from the resolution of the Trust that the question of discontinuing the *Harijansevak* does not arise at present. The Sangh however authorizes the Prabandh Samiti to make arrangements necessary for continuing the publication of the *Harijansevak* also if the Trust finds itself unable to do so.

II

Concession Rates for "Harijan" & "Harijansevak"

The Sangh feels that for the purpose of increasing subscribers of *Harijan* and *Harijansevak* and propagation of Sarvodaya Ideology

* The resolution of the Prabandh Samiti (23-1-52) reads as follows:

Shri Shri Krishnadas Jaju has informed the Sangh that the Navajivan Trust is thinking of discontinue the publication of the *Harijan* weeklies. The Prabandh Samiti has considered the matter resolved that on behalf of the Sarva Seva Sangh the Navajivan Trust be requested [illegible] the publication of the said weeklies or at least [illegible] the same. The (Hindi) Sarvodaya Patrika might be regarded as a substitute for its Hindi edition. The Sarva Seva Sangh is prepared to offer the Trust [illegible] the Prabandh Samiti for the continuance of the English edition.

[illegible] the English edition is found [illegible] any circumstances the Sarva Seva Sangh desires [illegible] the responsibility. The Navajivan Trust would [illegible] as much help under the circumstances as [illegible] possible. The Secretary is hereby directed to [illegible] the [illegible] talk to this connection with the Navajivan Trust.

among [illegible] and constructive workers, the Sarva S[illegible] should assist fifteen hundred new [illegible] to obtain *Harijan* or *Harijan sevak* [illegible] that is to say, it should bear [illegible] upto rupees four thousand five hundred [illegible] Prabandh Samiti is empowered to [illegible] purpose.

Wardha 24-2-52 VALLABHSWAMI,
Joint Secretary Sarva Seva Sangha

EARTH, THE MOTHER OF EVERYONE

(By Marjorie Sykes)

The following is a fairly close English rendering of a poem by one of the best known Hindi poets, Shri Maithili Sharan Gupta inspired by Vinoba's pilgrimage.

Fickle is Lakshmi unstable for ever wayward as lightning flickering gone
Constant is Earth the Mother, whom never may any man take for himself alone

How many sons of Man your brethren, are elevated of bliss
They have no part in the land, who then shall answer for this
Now is the God-given moment, now will the gift avail
Give for their sakes of your riches let justice and mercy prevail

Glory is yours for the gathering now, like ripe fruit fallen before you strown
Constant is Earth the Mother, whom never may any man take for himself alone

A prophet a leader is with us, the pathway of right to make straight
Could there be greater good fortune than this which is now our fate?
Behold! the merit you sought for hath come of itself — Oh heed!
Lo! the call of life unheeded, of death may be the seed

Yes where the sap of Truth springs not, there is the blight of poison thrown
Constant is Earth the Mother whom never may any man take for himself alone

(From an article in *The Friendly Way*, Feb. 52)

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(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)
Editor K G MASHRUWALA

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1625

THE PRACTICAL IDEALIST

(By Pyarelal)

II — The Secret of Gandhiji's Leadership

Pandit Nehru has recently described with his usual brilliance how Gandhiji gathered round him not only the homage of the multitude but also the devotion of a curious assemblage of human beings "We were an odd assortment,' he writes very different from each other different in our background ways of life and ways of thinking, but from our different view-points we all looked up differently to him as a great and magnificent personality'

Let us take a few of them His intimate circle included shrewd capitalists and businessmen like G D Birla and Seth Jamnalal Bajaj, sceptics like Acharya Kripalani and intellectuals and revolutionaries like Pandit Nehru statesmen and astute politicians like Pandit Motilal Nehru and Vithal bhai Patel, men of faith and renunciation like Vinoba Bhave, subtle-minded lawyers like Rajaji, humanitarians like Dr Rajendra Prasad, profound scholars and divines like the Maulana Azad, brilliant medicoes — geniuses in their own line — like the late Dr Ansari and Hakim Ajmal Khan Saheb, colourful personalities like the irreverant, motherly Nightingale of India — Shrimati Sarojini Naidu, blue-blooded society ladies like Mira Behn, and last but not least our Man of Iron the granite pillar of free India — alas now fallen — Sardar Patel. The list is only illustrative

What was the secret of this amazing hold over the minds and loyalties of men ? What made this illustrious company of heroes in their own rights look up to this man as the best of them and the best part of each one of them ? It was his intense and many-sided realism that draw them all to him He held them together by his tact deep sympathy — which is the key to right understanding — and by his delicacy and personal charm which are the hall-mark of true *ahimsa*

For instance, G D Birla and Seth Jamnalalji were drawn to him by his shrewdness in practical affairs sincerity and courage, Acharya Kripalani became his bondslave when he found in him the rebel and revolutionary that he himself aspired to be, Pandit Nehru — refined and intellectual — was captured by his dynamism and perfect artistry in life I remember how on one occasion in the course of a heated discussion, Panditji impatiently broke out "I want revolution, this is reformism" to which Gandhiji rejoined ' I have made revolutions while others have talked about them When your exuberance has subsided and your lungs are exhausted, you will come to me, if you are really serious about making a revolution !" There was no more argument after that Pandit Motilalji with his patrician pride and aristocratic temperament found in him a political astuteness and statesmanship which he envied Once I was asked by Gandhiji to escort the old Pandit back to his residence after a visit to Gandhiji Gandhiji was at that time at Juhu convalescing from his operation for appendicitis We were proceeding silently together on the Juhu sands when suddenly pointing to a tall palm tree the old Pandit broke out ' That is the Mahatma among the trees — head and shoulders above the rest" He then proceeded to reminisce "I have told Mahatmaji I do not believe in your spirituality and am not going to believe in God at least in this life I am an atheist. Our difficulty is that in politics you beat us at our own game" "And what did he say in reply ?" I asked. Pandit Motilalji replied He only laughed And then becoming serious added — ' People admire the rebel in me who has dared to challenge the might of the British Empire They little realize that the power of my assault springs from my capacity and ceaseless striving for complete self-surrender ' !" The Maulana Saheb found in him a divine to match and a religious catholicity in action which he had himself tried to derive from his voluminous studies of the Koran To Vinoba Bhave his *Satya sadhana* (relentless search after Truth), *Bhagwad-bhakti* and *tapashcharya* were reminiscent of the Vedic *rishis* of old. Rajaji found in him a clarity of thinking and perspicacity, a marvellous, quick grasp of the opponent's case and a legal acumen which put to shame the forensic acrobatics of the conventional legal celebrities Dr Rajendra Prasad found in him a personification of the passion for the service of the poor for which his own heart had always yearned Dr Ansari — like many of his contemporary medical celebrities whom I need not name, found in him a fellow savant with a scientific outlook and approach to the question of

26 SEP 1982

health and disease The [illegible] activity of Gandhiji's experiments in [illegible] cure, his quackery as he delighted to describe it, often confounded and set at nought their academic medical theories and the 'laws of science' which they had been taught Mrs Naidu with her poetic insight discovered in him a poet in action, the deliverer from bondage of an ancient, proud people and a heart as tender and womanly as her own To Mira Behn he brought that deep spirituality which the starved soul of the Mammon-worshipping West hungered for The bridge-playing chain-smoking barrister Patel sardonically scanning the Indian political scene from the seclusion of his *Bhajan* club at Ahmedabad, found that in Gandhiji at last there was a political leader who was no talker, but a man of action who made things happen and who never failed to deliver goods once he had undertaken to do so

And so they all became his bondslaves and found it difficult — nay almost impossible — to tear themselves away from him in later years when their varying temperaments and the diverse settings in which they had to function made it more and more difficult for them to adhere to his ideologies in action

The power and universality of his appeal was due to the fact that he never exploited his instruments A military dictator uses his soldiers as cannon fodder to win glory Gandhiji never put anybody to a use which was not in the best interests of the person concerned He so used his instruments as to draw out and develop the best in them so that they grew in strength and stature from day to day

He never expected others to make sacrifices which he was not prepared himself to make He was as tolerant of the weaknesses of others as he was intolerant of his own Remembrance of the hard way by which he had himself achieved the mastery over self made him tolerant of other people's faults In fact he often used to say that one must view one's own shortcomings by a convex glass, those of others by a concave one He called it the "duty of exaggeration" He strove consciously to be partial to his opponents, to those who differed from him, in order to be fair, knowing how prone human nature is to be biassed in one's own favour In argument he never tried to overbear or overwhelm the opponent by intellectual bludgeoning He made the opponent a fellow seeker after truth and helped him to discover the flaw in his (the opponent's) reasoning and in the process sometimes discovered gaps in his own. The aim always was to convert, never to coerce or suppress The opponent never smarted under the humiliation of defeat but shared in full the thrill and joy of the discovery of truth which he was made to feel was as much his as Gandhiji's This made the mind of the opponent receptive, instead of being resistant

This [illegible] in spiritual identification with the opponent gave him the power to utter the bluntest truths without causing hurt, to perform the most drastic spiritual surgery with the full and joyful co-operation of the patient. I have advisedly used the word 'patient' here, as Gandhiji regarded all kinds of delinquency and deviation from normal behaviour as a species of mental and spiritual sickness This was particularly illustrated during his 'Do or Die' mission in Noakhali, where day after day he had to address and parley with audiences of people who had taken part in the disturbances. He told them the bluntest truths, spared nobody, suppressed nothing, glozed over nothing, held back nothing Yet it did not hurt Everybody in the audience felt as if he were hearing the voice of his own better self speak The anguished voice of love they heard excluded nobody, not even the oppressors It felt and suffered equally for all What came from the heart went straight to the heart

(To be continued)

NOTES

Goseva Training Course

The Krishi Goseva Vibhag of the All India Sarva Seva Sangh will commence an eleven months course in Goseva Training from June 1, 1952 at its Pipri centre, 3 miles away from Wardha The course will consist of a theoretical and practical training in Cow-keeping and Veterinary science, along with other allied subjects as the growing and tending of fodder-grass, the organization of Goras Bhandar (milk depot), improvement in cattle-breeding book-keeping tanning etc A longer period will be required for advanced training in these subjects. The medium of instruction will be Hindi The student therefore must have a good working knowledge of Hindi, and should also understand English of the Matriculation standard. Only such students will be selected as wear *khadi* and intend and plan to pursue this work. For the present only twenty students will be selected Capable and deserving students may be granted scholarships up to Rs 25/- per month Applications should reach the undersigned by May 10

20-2-'52

RADHAKRISHNA BAJAJ
Secretary Krishi Goseva Vibhag
Gopuri, Wardha

Correction

In 'Soya-milk and Curds — II' by Krishna Chandra (*Harijan*, February 16, 1952), the sentence 'Such milk lacks vitamins B and C' (which occurs just above the second para from the end of the article) should read "Such milk lacks vitamin C'

K G M

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COST OF LIVING IN NEW CHINA

(By Suresh Ramabhai)

The article, "Salaries in New China" published in these columns in the issue dated January 5, 1952, has naturally given rise to the question of the cost of living in New China.

At the outset it may be stated that millet, wheat and rice are three main staple cereal foods of the people in different parts of China. Meat is taken almost all over the country. The vast dimensions and the variegated life therein render it difficult to give an exact estimate of the average expenditure of an adult on the bare necessities of food, clothing etc. Attempt is here, however, made to give a rough though incomplete idea of the same.

The general rates of some essential commodities in New China are as follows:

1. Very fine rice, 1½ Indian seers per Indian rupee
2. Ordinary rice, 3 Indian seers per Indian rupee
3. Wheat, millet and other cereals, 3 to 5 seers per Indian rupee
4. Milk, 1½ Indian seers per Indian rupee

Meat, vegetables and fruits are generally slightly cheaper than in India.

Below is the average food expenditure incurred by a normal adult:

1. Cereals	12 chhataks	Rs	0-4-0
2. Meat	8		0-2-0
3. Vegetable	8		0-2-0
4. Salt and spices			0-0-6
5. Firewood			0-0-6
6. Oils etc			0-1-6
	Total	Rs	0-10-0

This comes to about Rupees 20/- per mensem, equivalent to about 100 catties of grain per month. The average rate of foodgrains in China is calculated to be slightly over three Indian seers for an Indian rupee.

As regards clothing, a piece of white *khadi* (hand spun and hand-woven), 10 yds by 21 ins, cost 5½,000 yens (4,770 yens are equivalent to an Indian Rupee) blue *khadi* piece, 11 yds by 21 ins 73 000 yens and ordinary jute cloth, 18 yds. by 19 ins, about 83,000 yens, which comes to about Re 1-1-0, 1-4-0 and as 14 respectively. It may be stated that the per capita consumption of cloth in China is not much. On account of cold climate an average Chinese changes his dress not too often. The average cloth consumption may be taken as about 20 yds per capita, which means an expenditure of Rs 20/- to Rs 25/- per year coming to about two rupees a month.

As regards lodging the charges in a good hotel at Canton are 20 000 yens per day, i.e. about four rupees while about a fourth as much or even less in an ordinary hotel or lodge. House accommodation is easily available all over China, and at very reasonable rates. Thus a man can support himself even in the capital city of Peking, with 125 catties of grain per month or about Rs 30/- only.

Thus the cost of living in New China is slightly less than in our own country. The purchasing power of the people is much higher, having risen from 50 to 70 per cent since October 1949. Moreover all commodities can be had in plenty.

It may also be noted that salaries in New China are all calculated in terms of commodities, mainly foodgrains. The actual payment in currency, month by month, varies according to the rates of commodities in the market prevailing at the time. No employee, therefore, has aught to fear from the rise in prices. In fact, prices have been steadily, though slowly, coming down for the last two years in New China.

HYDERABAD LAND PROGRAMME

At Shravasti, U.P. (2nd March, 1952) Vinobaji was informed of the reported decision of the Hyderabad Government to give priority to the programme of resolving the land problem of that State. Vinoba congratulated the Government on their decision. He also sounded a note of warning. He did not know, Vinoba said, what the form of distribution was to be and how the Government was going to acquire land from landlords, nor did he know how much land they were going to leave with the zamindars. He, however, hoped that the Government decision would not be with the view of giving only a nominal relief to the people but would be inspired with a wider outlook and courage.

During his Telangana tour he had already drawn the attention of both the Congress and the Government towards this problem. It would have been better if the time lost had been saved. But, possibly they were waiting for a new government to come into being.

Referring to the proposed legislation Vinobaji said that it would reflect the mind of the Congress. He hoped that whatever the Government did they would do promptly, liberally and with foresight. No one should run away with the idea that the problem would be solved by providing some meagre relief. It could be solved only when every landless labourer capable and desirous of tilling land for his bread got his share of land.

He had realized during his tour of Hyderabad, Vinobaji continued, that unless the problem of land was solved the trouble there would not end. It was only with that idea that he started the mission of asking for land. When land was so dear and man was so much attached to it, it was no doubt a bold attempt to ask for land. Vinobaji however made the attempt, and he was glad that the people had responded. He hoped that the Government would realize the gravity and the implications of the problem and leave no stone unturned to resolve the problem.

Balarampur 3-3-52 D. M.

HARIJAN

March 15 1952

DEMOCRATIC OFFICE-HOLDING

The last annual meeting (Jan 20th to 22nd) of the Trustees of the All India Spinners' Association (Charkha Sangh) was marked by fresh elections and appointments to the principal offices of the Sangh Explaining the policy and approach of the trustees on this matter, Shri D V Lele, Assistant Secretary of the Sangh writes in an article in the Hindi *Sarvodaya* (Feb '52)

'For several years, there was no time-limit in regard to the tenure of Branch Secretaries of provinces It was decided in 1945 that no Branch Secretary should hold office for more than five years This meant that the same incumbent was not to be re appointed

Under the Constitution of the Sangh the office of the General Secretary is tenable for three years but the same incumbent is eligible for re-election for any number of times When Shri Shrikrishnadas Jaju became the General Secretary he suggested that the five-year limit should be applied to the holder of that office also, and submitted his resignation upon the expiry of his five years As he was firm his resignation had to be accepted and Shri Krishnadas Gandhi was elected to succeed him. Shri Krishnadas Gandhi also holds the same view as Shri Jajuji and hence submitted his resignation on the eve of the completion of his five year term and Shri A V (alias Annasaheb) Sahasrabuddha has been elected in his place Shri Sahasrabuddha is one of the vanlor-mani workers of the Charkha Sangh and has held several responsible positions in the Sangh as well as in the constructive organizations of the Bombay State, particularly in Maharashtra (Last year he visited Japan to study the village and small-scale industries there and) has returned with rich experience)

The responsible leaders of the Charkha Sangh lay more importance upon service than upon the designation of their office The Branch Secretary who retires after his five year term does not thereafter sever his connection with the Sangh He may not hold any office or may hold an office of even a lower designation than before but he does not cease to serve the Sangh

When Shri Jajuji resigned he offered to work as an Assistant Secretary under Shri Gandhi but having regard to his age and health the trustees did not accept his suggestion and he has been ever since rendering his assistance without holding any office Similarly Shri Krishnadas Gandhi has taken up the position of the Accountant under Shriyuts Sahasrabuddha and Lele, the new Secretary and Assistant Secretary respectively of the Sangh

Under ordinary conventions this would look as though Shri Krishnadas Gandhi had been degraded No one who knows his capacity and experience and the successful manner in which he has held responsibilities of various types throughout his career as also his strong character could ever think of this possibility But such an impression is possible because the Charkha Sangh conventions are different from the ordinary ones In the first place, there is no salary attached to a particular office For instance, an assistant cashier does not draw a higher salary simply because of his promotion to a higher post An assistant might be drawing even a higher salary than his superiors in office Secondly designations merely indicate particular functions in the organization Although within that frame work one worker would have to take orders from another for the time being, all are co-workers with equal status Their standard of living is common Every one who shows the capacity to discharge a particular function may at any time be asked to take that office whether he is a junior or a senior in point of time and salary This gives scope and opportunity to make use of, test and try the capacity of every promising worker

If democracy means equal status for every citizen this system provides an example in action It also enables a person to give the best of his physical and mental capacities to the institution, whatever that best may be for the time being Physical and intellectual capacities might change with age and health When they are growing in a person, it is necessary that he should have onerous but secondary positions requiring both physical and mental strain, and a limited opportunity to use his judgment and originality When he is at his best he should have onerous duties free scope and full employment of his energies When he is aging, his experience and intellect might be very valuable, but it may not be possible for him to undergo the physical and mental strain accompanying an office of strenuous duties Should the conventional hierarchy of office gradations stand in the way ? Should he either absolutely retire or be promoted to respectable, but practical sinecure posts ? The present conventional order is so made that the higher the office the less the amount of work and real responsibility, but the greater the salary and respectability The result is that if say, a Deputy Commissioner is found to be inefficient in that position but happens to be senior-most among people eligible for that place he cannot be asked to work under one of them To avoid facing the truth, he is actually promoted (or, as they say kicked up) to the Commissionership, or even a sinecure office is created for him This is not democracy but hierarchy — the maintenance of high and low grades, not for discharge of duties but for the glorification of individuals.

The convention adopted by the A I S A enables every one to share such responsibility as the occasion might need without creating a complex of inferiority or superiority in any Moreover, when an incumbent knows that he has to lay down his office definitely at the end of his term, both he and his colleagues and the managing body are on the look-out for the next successor If he is elected again and again, in course of time a feeling grows that he is indispensable and none can replace him The experience of the Charkha Sangh is that since the adoption of the rule, it has been always

possible to find a suitable successor and none need be regarded as indispensable Shri Krishnadas Gandhi in following the convention laid down by Jajuji even while his capacities are still unimpaired has set an example of a better type of democracy

Wardha, 26 2-'52 K G MASHRUWALA

MANILAL GANDHI FASTS AGAIN

From the 7th of March, Shri Manilal Gandhi has again imposed upon himself a twenty-one day fast for self-purification and in search of light in the thick darkness that prevails in the South African situation To all appearances the Malan Government has attained a position comparable to that of Hitler's during tha thirties It feels that it has enough strength at present to carry out its own will even if the whole world condemned its steps unequivocally It feels so, because it has reason to believe that the nations of the world that count in terms of military strength are not going to wage a war against it on the issues involved in its policy of apartheid and aggrandizement Hence it takes the condemnation of its policies by the U N or the Commonwealth lightly and it can safely disregard India and Pakistan the two Governments most directly interested in the matter

That the United Nations, the Commonwealth and India and Pakistan do not wish to resort to violence is good, so far as it goes But it is a zero attitude. It is a case of renouncement of violence without the development of alternative strength The latter has to be developed The U N O is unable to develop it, because in the final analysis it too puts its faith in violent sanctions for enforcing its will Moreover it has itself become a weak organization, because two of its mightiest members — the U S and Russia — are also the most inimical towards each other They will rather destroy each other than agree to coerce South Africa The two most fitted for developing non-violent strength — India and Pakistan — too, are not better disposed towards each other They themselves are so suspicious of each other that each feels that it must maintain sufficient military strength to prevent the other from taking an aggressive attitude Their children overseas take their cue from the mother countries and maintain the same communal factions in their adopted countries as at home The result is that non-violent strength finds no opportunity to grow Under the circumstances the spirit of non-violence has to work through a few individuals to manifest itself Since it is a force based on entirely different foundations from those of violence the ways of its development are different from those commonly known for resistance of evil Austere practices in one form or another have universally played an important role in that development Long fasts are one of the forms of these austerities Those who do not feel a call for them or cannot understand them must not speak lightly of them but watch them with goodwill and respect, so long as they agree with the cause espoused by them and see no hypocrisy in it

For the peace and welfare of man, it is imperative that a force should develop which is strong enough to destroy the evil of racialism and communalism from the human family Violent force might defeat a particular race or community, but can never remove the feeling of hatred Hence, the force *has* to be non-violent It cannot be discovered or developed by those who do not destroy their violent weapons even when they are strong enough to wield them Since Governments, in spite of all their mighty powers of organization do not evince the courage to do so, the force has to be nourished by a few dauntless individuals like Michael Scott and Manilal Gandhi At present both of them are fighting a lonely battle in accordance with their respective traditions. Michael Scott is fighting in accordance with the ways familiar to the Western world Manilal Gandhi, in accordance with the traditions of the East They are entitled to receive our support Let us give it unflinchingly

Wardha 8 3 '52 K G MASHRUWALA

PROHIBITION, EXCISE AND REVENUE

(By P Kodanda Rao)

Prohibition has been criticized on the ground among others, that the Excise revenue was lost and new taxes like the Sales-tax have been imposed Most critics of Prohibition have demanded that Prohibition should be repealed and Excise restored primarily for revenue considerations

It is generally admitted that the great bulk of Excise revenue on intoxicants is paid by a very small minority of the population in India, and that the great majority of this minority is economically the poorest and politically the most helpless Years ago Mr Hall Cain M P had said

> All these point to the melancholy conclusion that the customers of liquor and drug shops of the Indian Government are mostly drawn from the very poorest strata of Indian society

This is true to this day

The incidence of the Excise tax is perhaps the highest For instance in Madhya Pradesh where nearly half the population is under Excise the cost price to Government for a gallon of liquor in 1950 was Rs 2 and the selling price to the customers ranged from Rs 13 2-0 to Rs 52 3-0 The cost price to Government of opium was Rs 40 per seer, the selling price to the customer was Rs 450 to Rs 1 280 The cost price of *ganja* was Rs 3 per seer and the selling price was from Rs 240 to Rs 400 The cost price of *bhang* was Rs 2 per seer and the selling price was Rs 90 to Rs 160 The difference between the cost price to Government and the selling price to the customer was shared by the Government and the Abkari contractors Considering the economic status of the consumers, the incidence of taxation is unconscionably high Dr, B Das Gupta now

[illegible] Bengal [illegible] *Principal Taxation under* [illegible] Calcutta University Press, 1948) said

> [illegible] sale all questions of morality [illegible] of this group therefore, in [illegible] the utmost injustice It is, in fact taxation of extreme poverty at excessive ly high rates (p 170)

The bulk of the Excise revenue is collected [illegible] the consumers are inebriate and not sober Intoxicants are sold to consumers by contractors who bought the right to sell them at annual public auctions at competitive bids and have an incentive to stimulate consumption and inebria tion and often resort to questionable practices to make maximum profits in minimum time The bulk of the Excise revenue is spent for the benefit of those who contributed least to it Above all it is a tax on the consumption of intoxicants, of which both the consumers and the Government are apologetic

The profits of the Excise business which is perhaps the first instance of State Socialism in India are so large that the worst profiteer might well envy Such high incidence of taxation is very unusual with taxes on consumption levied for revenue purposes it can be defended only on the ground that it was meant to discourage consumption rather than encourage revenue Excise tax is more like Protective Duties designed to reduce imports and unlike Customs Duties designed to encourage revenue In its resolution of 1905 the then British Government of India formulated the policy of raising prices of intoxi cants by taxation solely for the purpose of redu cing consumption and enjoined that to this end all considerations of revenue should be absolutely subordinated In practice however, revenue con siderations prevailed over reduction in consump tion

The Majority of the Madhya Pradesh Prohi bition Enquiry Committee which came to the finding that Prohibition in the Dry half of the State was a dismal failure found that Excise in the Wet half was also heading for a collapse! They said that the present policy of Excise taxa tion was not calculated to minimize consumption, and that revenue considerations had predominated They also observed that the vicious element of speculation which underlay the Excise auc tions was a prolific source of a variety of scandalous malpractices and had largely been responsible for corrupting the Excise administra tion in the Wet districts

They unhesitatingly declared that revenue considerations should not govern Excise policy and recommended that Excise taxation should be levied solely for the purpose of controlling liquor and drug traffic and not for producing revenue and advocated that the auction system should be abolished forthwith in the Wet districts and that the prices of duty intoxicants should be scaled down to stitch illicit consumption It is obvious that [illegible] consumption the reduction in taxation [illegible] of the auction sys tem would [illegible] very considerably

With these [illegible] and recommendations concerning Excise the Minority was in full agreement though in the approval of the Prohibition in the Dry half of the State there was disagreement It may thus be stated that the whole Committee was unanimous in condemning Excise taxation for revenue purposes

Compared with the Excise tax and revenue, the Sales tax and revenue are more equitable and satisfying and even honourable In Madhya Pradesh the Sales tax is paid by a majority of the community of all economic levels, and not by a small minority of the poorest Its incidence is graded like Income tax with some reference to the economic status of the tax-payers concerned Articles like food and coarse cloth consumed by the poor, are exempt from the Sales tax while luxury articles are taxed at the rate of one anna in the rupee, while intermediate articles are taxed midway between Unlike the Excise tax which taxes the poorest at the highest rate of incidence, the Sales tax taxes the rich and exempts the poor, as it were There is no specula tive auctioning in the Sales tax as there is in the Excise tax It is not collected when the tax-payers are inebriate The increase in the Sales tax revenue is a better and more satisfying index of the rising standard of living of the people than the rise in Excise revenue Neither the con sumers nor the Government are apologetic about increases in Sales tax revenue, as they are in the case of Excise revenue Sales tax is not degrading as the Excise tax is Opinion of witnesses was unanimous that the Sales tax was more equitable than the Excise tax

There can be little doubt that the Excise tax is inequitous, inequitable and anti-social, while the Sales tax is the opposite It is to the infinite credit of Prohibition that it abolished this in-equitous Excise tax for revenue purposes, and replaced it by other taxes like the Sales tax which yield the same revenue and are capable of yielding more as production and prosperity increase There is no need to revert to the Excise tax for the sake of revenue it would be highly reactionary and anti-social, as it would amount to taxing the poorest at the highest rate when inebriate for the benefit of the rich, and farming out the revenue collection to speculators at annual public auctions

If more revenue is needed than the Sales tax and other taxes still open to Governments can furnish It is better to reimpose the Salt tax and the inheritance tax for instance and share the proceeds along with Income-tax revenue Even a poll-tax would be better than Excise tax as at present levied for it would be definite and not speculative it would be collected from the tax payers when they are sober and not inebriate

it would be collected by Government Excise Collectors and not by speculators and it will be paid by the whole community and not the poorest only

It is somewhat surprising that anybody, and above all those who espouse the cause of the economically poor and politically weak, should ask for the restoration of Excise taxation for the sake of revenue, particularly when other and better taxes are available and in operation It would be even more surprising that any Government in India run by the Congress Party, which takes the name of Mahatma Gandhi, should continue the Excise system where it still exists, or revive it where it has already been abolished It may be noted that the Madhya Pradesh Prohibition Enquiry Committee had notwithstanding differences on other matters unanimously condemned Excise taxation for revenue purposes

Correct Text

Sir

I beg to invite your attention to a mistake in the last issue of *Harijan* at page 439

Vinobaji in the course of his discussion with the Darvesh is reported to have cited the Quran 'The Quran says खातिमिल नबीयिन् (Khaatimin Nabeeyin) ' In fact, the actual words are खातमन् नबीयिन (Khaataman Nabeeyin) खातिम (Khaatim) means the 'last' whereas खातम (Khaatam) means 'Seal' Now if the words were खातिमिन् नबीयिन् (Khaatimin Nabeeyin) it would definitely support the belief held by the Muslims that Muhammad was the 'last' prophet and no other prophet need come now But the word used being खातम (Khaatam), the meaning of the actual expression will be 'The Seal of the Prophets' and the 'Seal of the Prophets' can be interpreted to mean one who put his seal of approval to and thereby confirmed whatever the prophets have said so far.

It will be thus obvious that Vinobaji's interpretation fits in with the word खातम (Khaatam) and not with खातिम (Khaatim)

Yours faithfully,
MUMTAZ ALI

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"THOU SHALT NOT STEAL"

(R R Kethahu)

I remember what a shock I received when I came to India, over twenty years ago, thinking I was rendering a great service and then reading in *Young India* the words of Gandhiji which ran somewhat as follows "If you have two chairs in your home, your neighbour is without any, and you do not need these chairs, you are a robber" I was in a bungalow having all conveniences Most of the families of India would not even have had a satisfactory house in which to live. Naturally Gandhiji's words troubled my conscience I believe that the conscience of those who read this article should also be troubled

Most of Us

Where most of us receive two rupees or more in wages the ordinary villager producing the necessary food and clothing for India receives only his two annas or less Is that not stealing? Many of us are busy adding house unto house and field unto field until there is no place in all the land for God's people! Although this problem was felt by the sensitive prophet 2500 years ago, yet the problem of landless agricultural labour in India is perhaps our greatest problem And it is not primarily a political problem It is a human problem But none of us do anything about it. Are we not robbing the lives of these millions?

Religious Leaders

I was at a recent retreat of religious leaders At the first meal at which I was present I found several people leaving some food on the leaf Is it not a custom of exploiters and a false culture? A little later I saw a scavenger family scraping these leaves and eating the food I felt so ashamed that at the next meal I asked my friends not to leave anything on the leaf and to give the hungry scavenger family good food from the kitchen itself We were robbing this family not only of food but even worse, of their very self-respect. We must become much more sensitive in these matters

and Students

Is not the average student robbing India? Much money is spent on his education by society and his parents Lakhs of rupees are spent on expensive buildings. Most of the people of India have to do without education Is not the student a robber?—if he does not study well and thoughtfully, if he does not share his blessings and serve, if he does not go to the villages to serve, whence most of the taxes come and where our greatest needs are to be found, if he is not determined to build a new society of justice, if he spends his money and time needlessly on cinemas athletics, clothes, and so forth Each student and each citizen should be more thoughtful in these matters

These are critical days—days of consolidation of our national freedom The contribution of every citizen is needed Should we not remind ourselves that there is a moral law thou shalt not steal"?

(From the *Guardian* 21-2-53)

APPOINTMENT OF HEALTH MINISTERS

To

The Editor, *Harijan*

'The appointment of new Ministers of Health will now come under the consideration of the Central and various State Governments of India

I on the public good f respectfully and humbly protest against the appointment of a medical man to the post of the Health Minister As Mr Bernard Shaw, the famous playwright truly said The interests of doctors are directly and vitally opposed to those of the public Doctors starve when we are well and make money when we are ill. Doctors are interested in making us ill and keeping us ill '

'To be healthy, people should be wholesomely fed decently housed and properly clothed That is all

The task of Government is, therefore to provide clean and sanitary surroundings and good nourishing food

To achieve this, it is not necessary to have a doctor as Health Minister In England a doctor is not appointed Health Minister and for very good reasons A doctor Health Minister, under the pretence of improving the public health, would by legislation compel people against their better judgment to be vaccinated and inoculated against various diseases and shut his eyes to sanitary reforms thereby actually spreading illness among the people for the pecuniary profit of doctors and vaccine manufacturers

Medical officials should be *subordinate* to a lay Health Minister to advise him on medical matters and this advice he would accept or reject according to whether in his view, it would be or would not be for the public good

The people of India following Mahatma Gandhi's counsel in his excellent book entitled *A Key to Health* * should be advised to reject vaccination and inoculation as useless and dangerous, which together with the almost equally dangerous drug-therapy, make up the European system of medicine.

I therefore respectfully suggest that a competent and disinterested gentleman who is not a doctor be appointed as Health Minister in the Government so that he can take action to get rid of the insanitary conditions that cause such diseases as small-pox, plague, typhoid fever, cholera tuberculosis and diphtheria resulting from filth dirt bad environment and mal-nutrition

SORABJI MISTRI

Note f think that the suggestion is worth consideration Of course, the holder of the portfolio must himself be healthy and that without the aid of drugs, allopathic or other, and should have studied rules of healthy life And he must be clean and have a keen sense for cleanliness sanitation and wholesome food It would be dangerous if the Health Minister as a person like me

Wardha 27 2 '52 K G M

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NOTES

An Ill Omen for Madhya Pradesh

This is just to draw the attention of the reader to the article of Shri Jia Kodanda Rao appearing in this issue As the reader probably knows Shri Kodanda Rao is an old and eminent member of the Servants of India Society and was a member of the Madhya Pradesh Prohibition Inquiry Committee It appears that this Committee, by majority, has now reported to the M P Government in favour of casting covetous eyes over the poor man's hard-earned money and against prohibition This is an alarming state of things to come in Madhya Pradesh The province be warned betimes against this ill omen Shri P Kodanda Rao is a minority member of that Committee I congratulate him for his dissent which has rendered a distinct service to the people of M P and the sacred cause of prohibition in our country f have not still seen the Report of the M P Prohibition Inquiry Committee f hope to write about it after going through it

11-3-'52 M P DESAI

Hindi-Hindustani Tisri Examination — April 1952

Some difficulty is experienced by the candidates of 'Hindi Tisri Examination' in getting *Kamkajki Hindi* and *Jawaharlal Nehru—Jivanaki Ek Jhalak* There would be an option in questions drawn from these two books, and the candidates will in no way suffer in the examination if they are not able to get these books

Gujarat Vidyapith GIRIRAJ KISHORE
Ahmedabad 9 Parikshaa Mantri
10-3-'52

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HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor: K. G. MASHRUWALA

VOL. XVI No. 4 AHMEDABAD — SATURDAY MARCH 22 1952 TWO ANNAS

NEW SUBSCRIBERS

The increase in the number of subscribers to the *Harijan* Weeklies from 28-2-'52 to 8-3-'52 is reported as follows

	Harijan	*Harijanbandhu*	*Harijansevak*	Total
28-2-'52	2,840	3,890	2,270	9,000
8-3-'52	3,401	4,796	2,638	10,835
Net increase	561	906	368	1,835

From one side, this increase, within the space of ten days, is satisfactory, but there is also an unsatisfactory element in it. Readers will see that the highest increase is in the number of subscribers of *Harijanbandhu* and lowest in that of *Harijansevak*. The figures I have received have not been classified province-wise, but my inference from the above figures is that greater interest has been shown by the people of Greater Gujarat and Bombay even in the case of *Harijan* and *Harijansevak* than by the people of other parts of India. I feel that, of the three Weeklies, the *Harijansevak* should have the maximum number of subscribers. But, whatever the reason, its subscribers have always been the least of the three. This was so even during the days of Gandhiji. This is regrettable.

I hope that the efforts to increase subscribers will not be slackened, until the target of at least 6,000 permanent subscribers for each of the Weeklies is reached. And it should be reached as quickly as possible.

At the same time I wish to express my deep appreciation of the efforts being made by several institutions and individuals, in various provinces for raising the number of subscribers. Some institutions have also expressed their readiness to come to the help of the poor class of readers by making the papers available to them either free of cost or at half the price. I regard these gestures as indicative of their love and reverence for Gandhiji's institutions of which these papers are one.

In this connection I must also reproduce the following warning from the veteran *khadi* worker, Shri Sistla Venkatakrishnaiah of Guntur:

> It is not enough if we simply make a few to contribute towards it by purchase (or let me add contribute for helping others to get it). If they do not read it carefully to understand the subject such sales mean influence sales and will undoubtedly fall in a short period. [illegible] we shall be deceiving ourselves and the people [illegible]. We [illegible] only those who we know sympathize with the [illegible] constructive programme with faith in it [illegible] to them we must continue to [illegible] then, and whenever possible [illegible] will [illegible] them.
>
> If the constructive work [illegible] such line of action I have [illegible] for *Harijan* will be [illegible]

Wardha, 10-3-52 K. G. MASHRUWALA

PS. Latest additions up to 14th March:

Harijan	*Harijanbandhu*	*Harijansevak*	Total
119	431	[illegible]	[illegible]

K. G. M.

TO CULTIVATORS AND ZAMINDARS

(By Gandhiji)

[Shri Manubehn Gandhi's diary under date 16-1-[illegible] reveals how Gandhiji was preparing the background for the present *Bhoodan Yajna* of Vinoba. Gandhiji's observations are of importance even now for the people of U.P. and Bihar. I reproduce below the relevant extract.

K. G. M.]

I want to address a few words to cultivators. We have now our own rule in our country and shortly we shall have full political freedom. For many years past there have been efforts to abolish zamindari. After Independence the work will proceed further. But it should not mean that the cultivator is hereafter to ride on the back of the landlord. I am informed that the cultivators resort even to violence nowadays. This way they cannot hope to better their lot. If they are wronged they should, no doubt, knock at the doors of the Government any time. But they cannot take the law into their own hands. Freedom does not mean freedom to do anything that one likes. On the contrary, it should make us more humble. We should work with goodwill and sympathy. That alone is the way for India to be happy, and that alone will make landlords ashamed of their owning thousands of acres of land while their brothers are starving. Then they will realize their duty to share a part of their land with the poor, so that the latter might cultivate for their own living. What I mean to convey is this: what can be achieved peacefully with love, sympathy and efficiency cannot be successfully achieved even by the best of laws. The zamindars should also understand that they can no longer rule on the backs of others and enjoy comforts as they have done hitherto.

(Translated from Gujarati *Bhavnagar Samachar*, 1-3-52)

THE PRACTICAL IDEALIST

(By Pyarelal)

III — His Personality

Because he excluded all brute force from his technique he became the greatest moulder of men that our age has seen It caused him to delve into the secrets of human psychology and made him master of all the varied strings of the human heart and proved him a born leader of men

The fact that he worked through non-violence also influenced the choice of his instruments They included children and illiterate women even decrepit old folk People often wondered how he could afford to give so much of his attention to sick and ailing patients women and children of his Ashram Thus he found time in the midst of his round-the-clock activity to give massage with his own hands to Parchure Shastri the leper When some Ashram people objected to his being kept in the Ashram, he told them that if there was no room in the Ashram for Parchure Shastri, there could be none for him The reason was that non-violence works best through insignificant little things His own life was made up of things which taken by themselves looked commonplace and small If Satyagraha did not turn upon the marshalling of little things it would be incapable of being wielded by the masses at large His instruments had to be commensurate with the capacity of the human material that had to be handled Nobody who has made a study of the mass movements which Gandhiji organized and led can miss the tremendous part which women and children played in them They constituted the inner leaven that gave to his movements their swelling energy

I cannot close this review of Gandhiji's personality without dwelling upon some of the paradoxes that his rich and varied personality presented He believed in simplicity but not in slovenliness or being untidy. His simplicity was not so simple an affair it was a highly complex art as he used to say Its artistry gave it an ineffable charm The Naked Fakir found himself at home with Viceroys, potentates and heads of States

He wanted people to be ready for all sorts of hardships and sufferings that might fall to their lot in bearing witness to truth, but he never made a cult of discomfort for its own sake He believed in living dangerously but only in respect to himself, not to others and always discouraged running foolhardy risks When during his 'Do or Die' mission in Noakhali, I once unwittingly ran into a nest of danger from which I came out barely by the skin of my teeth, he wrote "You are not to rush into danger needlessly but must be prepared to face all dangers that might come in your way in the natural course In this way if every one of you is wiped out, I would not shed a tear over it but on the contrary will rejoice People who go to work in [illegible] like the proverbial she elephant

There was not a trace of the martyrdom complex in his psychological make-up Indeed he regarded the desire for martyrdom to be unethical a sin — since it can be fulfilled only at the cost of someone else going to perdition

His heart was softer than a rose petal but he could also be harder than flint, He was the greatest democrat but he had no hesitation in proposing himself as a dictator Again, mark the paradox — his was a dictatorship that had no sanction behind it save that of love and persuasion — and he was the fittest person to be a dictator because he hated to dictate to anybody

"He who sheds tears cannot wipe the tears of others" he remarked on a memorable occasion Having constituted himself the champion of the downtrodden and oppressed poor, he steeled his heart against weak pity He had at times to be cruel to be kind because he knew that in this hard cruel world, weakness gets no quarter So he could talk unperturbed of India attaining her freedom through rivers of innocent blood — not of the opponent but of her own children — and set his face like flint against the whole present-day philosophy of contraceptives which suppress the consequences but sanctions the exploitation of the woman for man's lust

His iron will transmuted his deep emotion into a relentless self-discipline and self-denial which was often mistaken for self-mortification and self-suppression by casual and superficial observers but was as different from either as chalk is from cheese

That also explains his attitude towards sex Woman to him represented suffering and self-sacrifice personified He strove to transmute her self-sacrificing suffering into *shakti* and had the courage, alone perhaps with the author of *Kreutzer Sonata* to tell the whole truth in regard to her without prevarication or gloss

People have often talked about his asceticism. Whatever it was it was not devoid of spiritual gaiety It was so infectious that the late Maulana Mohammad Ali used to make grievance of it "Mahatmaji, you are very unfair to us" he once told him "we come to you full of grouse, to quarrel with you, but you make us smile and laugh inspite of ourselves So our grouse remains unventilated and you think it is all right with us" And he quoted the celebrated couplet of Ghalib to describe his dilemma

> मुझके दीवाने चहरे पे जो ना आती है रौनक
> वे समझते हैं कि बीमारका हाल अच्छा है ।

Finally, his asceticism never gave him a morbid dread of his fellow creatures but liberated him into the largest possible circle of pure and noble relationships. "I hope you have not missed the woman in me," he once wrote to Mrs Naidu. This is not a trait associated with the traditional picture of a monk but, as a contemporary has aptly pointed out, it was a striking characteristic of St Francis of Assisi —

his great faith great fortitude, great devotion great patience, great tenderness and great sympathy Women would sense that in him they had found a fellow-traveller one who had passed along the road they, too, were travelling, and could give him an affection deep, pure and untouched by any play of sex emotion" "I associate him (Gandhiji)," says the same writer with growing flowers, fresh fruit, the wide and open river the prayer before the morning star has risen, the walk in the unsullied air of dawn"

This was in brief the amazing personality that burst upon the Indian scene at the commencement of the first world war armed not only with the power but also with the sweet graces of his basic disciplines

We shall next examine the technique of action which he evolved out of these basic disciplines and some of the phenomenal results he obtained therefrom

(End of Lecture I)

BEAUTY ON PARADE

[The following appears as the leading article in *The Guardian* (Madras) of February 7 1952 It deserves to be read and pondered over by every thoughtful woman of India These movements have doubtless arisen originally from the minds of man and women living on prostitution Thoughtlessly even such women as should be expected to think better have become their prey

It is far better that charities are wound up for want of funds than that they should resort to these methods for maintaining them

Maybe this is a cry in the wilderness I have recently come across a case in which a municipality has accepted from a woman maintaining herself as a professional prostitute a handsome donation for a girls school along with the condition that it shall be named after her!

It is difficult to imagine to what depths of degradation mankind will be led by the lure for money —K G M]

Beauty contests are to be held in Madras, Bombay Calcutta, Lucknow and Bangalore for women between the ages of 18 and 28 The winners" will enter a final contest at Bombay for the choosing of a ' Miss India", who in turn will represent the beauty of Indian womanhood at a parade in Long Beach, California, U S A in a competition for the title ' Miss Universe" Her expenses will be met by different manufacturing firms, and an airline company. The young lady's fare will be paid for by a face-cream manufacturer, her travel kit will be provided by a Leather Works and she will wear a costly watch made by another concern Finally, she is required to parade at Long Beach in a particular brand of swim suits The funds collected through admission fees to the beauty parades and dances held in India are to go to "Indian Charities" Associated with this contest in Madras are well known welfare organizations, chiefly the Provincial Welfare Fund which will use the Madras proceeds for ex - T B patients Creches, the Seva Samajam the Boys' Home and similar other social projects in Madras

Beauty contests of this type are an innovation in India for Indian women Making a show of themselves at functions organized just for such a purpose comes more naturally to women of the West than to the women of India The contests will only import a new desire to Indian women and bring into vogue this practice of parading women in public for some "charity ' or other The organizers are deceiving themselves if they hope to discover and present to the rest of the world the best of the beauty of Indian womanhood by such contests, for the women who will come forward are few, while countless more beautiful women would prefer to shine in their homes, amid their daily tasks, in their domestic surroundings and shun the public gaze at organized parades At any rate, the judgments on beauty pronounced at such contests are to be based on a very limited and a very materialistic evaluation of the beauty of womanhood

There is no doubt that advertisement is the main object of the firms which are to finance the show for their wares and their trades are to be directly or indirectly advertised through the winner, and the film concern that will give the winner a contract is merely scouting a new star the easy way The entire contest is just another example of the commercialization of the beauty of womanhood which has been carried on to a ridiculous extent in the West It is regrettable that women leaders in India should associate themselves with what is obviously a commercial project, for many of them are those engaged in welfare work for and among women. The show at Madras will be graced by the presence of no less a personage than H E the Maharani of Bhavnagar

' Indian charities must be in a sorry state to have to resort to beauty contests for women to raise funds The cinema is decidedly a superior form of entertainment for raising money to a show at which men and women pay for the privilege of gazing at other women The welfare worker who considers it his duty to raise money by some means or other and give it for a project is not distinguishable from a man who overflows with wealth and thoughtlessly flings away some in the name of charity Surely welfare organizations can find other means of raising money than parading their women folk The announcements that newspapers carry are a degrading advertisement for the causes the organizations have espoused

That the winning Beauty is to be sent on an ' international goodwill mission" is a gross exaggeration of what is purely a commercial show in which welfare organizations seek to gather a share of money To represent her at international Press conferences India needs men and women of other mettle than winners at beauty contests are likely to be made of Let the high-minded men and women of India launch a scheme to discover the Man or the Woman of the Year who has waged a heroic battle in life in his or her own little sphere, or made some valuable contribution to national life and send such a person abroad each year as an example of brave and beautiful Indian manhood or womanhood We shall justly be proud of them.

HARIJAN

March 22 1952

AIM & OBJECT OF FOOD RESEARCH

The readers have now before them the note of Dr Moorjani and his colleagues as also that of Shri Krishna Chandra on soya-milk or to be more accurate, soya-emulsion, as suggested by Shri Satish Chandra Das Gupta Compared to the preparation of the Food Research experts, that of Shri Krishna Chandra will be regarded as crude, and some might doubt my sense of proportion in putting both together It is also clear that but for his acquaintance with science to a certain extent and the help of expert scientists, Shri Krishna Chandra would not have been able even to think of the possibility of a vegetable milk If he pursues his subject further, he might again and again have to consult the Food Research experts for the further improvement of his preparations Hence, the value of scientific research cannot be minimized I have not mentioned the Sevagram experiment in order to belittle the Mysore work But I want to show the difference between the objects of the two investigators

We are short of some essential items of a balanced and full diet A larger part of the nation does not get sufficient food both in quantity and quality Even those who have nothing to complain of regarding the quantity starve in quality The result is that a part of the quantity consumed is merely wasted on account of insufficient assimilation

Hence when food researchers suggest a new article of wholesome diet, which could be prepared out of the abundant but unknown or neglected vegetable kingdom, they should almost appear like apostles of a new gospel to a starving nation Its *sevaks* want to know from the researchers some domestic method of turning into wholesome food a vegetable substance which is regarded as inedible or indigestible, but is lying waste round about them, or can be easily grown by them on their waste grounds, or places where regular crops cannot be grown Herein, on account of the object with which research is undertaken by the experts, their work becomes disappointing, at times even harmful to the poor Their work adds to the list of man's menu They can be availed of by persons who earn their living in some other way and go to the market for purchasing apparently cheap and artificial food Most of those who can do so will take these things in addition to the things which are food both of the rich and the poor If the new types of food discovered or improvised by experts were such as would leave the entire stock of the ordinary foods — the grains, the pulses, the animal milk and the ordinary *ghee* and oil — to be consumed by the poor, it would be something worthy of attempt But these discoveries do not create new food for the poor They merely create new luxury articles varieties and dresses and they create trade and commerce Further, in making them they often use, as their base, articles which were once used by the poor only to supply their deficiencies in times of distress They deprive the poor even of the poor types of roots fruits and grains, because by their investigations they present these articles to the well-to-do in attractive forms These people were not any worse for want of these dishes on their table The result is that what was only poor man's food once now becomes wanted even by the rich and upper middle class A market is created for these articles They begin to bring good prices, even better prices than those of staple grains etc In course of time the demand for them increases to so great an extent that agriculturists cultivate them in preference to regular food They become what are significantly known as money-crops as opposed to food-crops

Rice and groundnuts are two typical instances of the way in which science has ill-served rather than helped the poor man in his search for food First, science gave a mechanized process of dehusking rice Being a device for reducing labourers, it gave the appearance of cheapness As it required a large plant it could be availed of only by the capital-owning trader Science added to it the perfection of polishing so that it became more attractive to the eye and sweeter to the palate Thus dehusking became an affair of pure trade and commerce Science did not care to know how it affected the poor He lost the employment of dehusking, also the husk and the wholesome rice

On further experience and research, science found that the pearl-white scientifically husked rice was rather an unwholesome food. Unless something was added to it, it was injurious to health So it sought methods of supplying deficiencies brought about by milling by subjecting the rice to further artificial treatment and adding deficient substances to it from outside Again it gave additional trade and commerce to the industrialist instead of more food and the wherewithal of obtaining it to the poor We know that even with sufficient rice in the country, people died of starvation in India, because of want of means to purchase even the apparently cheaper milled rice Can these people be expected to supply the deficiencies brought about by milling by supplementary articles or fortification ?

The same or even more tragic is the story of the groundnut It is a sweet wholesome article which people used on particular days That it contained oil was well known, but it was never cultivated for that purpose In the village *ghani* it could not be easily pressed The tradition also in India was opposed to commercializing oil. Selling of oil, milk and some other articles was

not regarded 'honourable' They were meant for domestic consumption A needy neighbour might be supplied with them gratis but the owner would not sell them in exchange of money Hence oil seeds were not generally cultivated on an extensive scale They were grown in small quantities along with grain crops

Science mechanized oil-pressing Tons of oil-seeds began to be pressed in a day in a central building The village *ghani* man and the manufacture of oil for domestic consumption only, as also the growing of oil-seeds as a secondary crop only gave place to commercialized oil-industry The machine oil-press would be able to crush even stones If there were oil in it Groundnut is not a hard substance for its compressors Hence, the oil mill did not need tiny *til*, rape and mustard seeds any longer The larger seeds of groundnut were more convenient Thus groundnut became a convenient money-crop

But oil manufactured in such large quantities cannot be easily sold of It might take even months before it can be consumed It would become rancid So, science was again sent for to solve the problem which commercialism had created It gave commerce refining devices. Refinement meant removal of odour, taste vitamins etc It became as *nirguna* (devoid of qualities) as possible By futher investigation science found out that this refined oil can be solidified and made to look like and used for *ghee* — the much coveted article of Indian diet If mixed with genuine *ghee*, the adulterated substance can be passed off as *ghee*, and beat the genuine thing in commercial competition It was a splendid research in the interest of trade

Time revealed that in the process of refinement this new cheap substance became deficient in important ingredients contributing to health and nutrition Hence, there was some stigma attached to it If this was removed, the trade would flourish still better So science was again sent for, and it gave suitable artificial aromatic substances vitamins etc for super addition All apparent difference between genuine *ghee* and solid oil was obliterated as far as possible Science came to the aid of commerce by making it an irresistible rival of *ghee* in the *ghee* market. *Ghee*-producers, that is, keepers of milch-cattle naturally abounding in villages only were displaced and disemployed — thanks to food research

Soya bean is not produced in India It is a fatty pulse (*dal*), but more difficult to digest than the various pulses eaten in India So as a food for daily consumption it is not well suited But science has discovered the process of making an emulsion out of it which is said to be almost as perfect in appearance and digestibility as animal milk It is devoid of some ingredients of milk, if made according to village methods like the one adopted by Shri Krishna Chandra The latter is not meant for marketing. Science should come to his aid [illegible] the villager improved ways which he can bring into use at home without an outlay beyond his means But the report of Dr Moorjani shows that a perfect milk-like emulsion could be prepared only if undertaken as a big or middle-sized industry This will mean not furnishing milk for the poor but creating a new money-crop and a new factorized industry How will this artificial milk go into the stomach of the undernourished poor, Whence will he bring the money to purchase it with ?

We must love and advance science It is indispensable for promoting human happiness Careful food research must be carried on But the object must not be promotion of trade and commerce but to aid the poor

Between soya bean and groundnut the preparation of the emulsion from the latter is more desirable than from the former, and soya bean is for practical purposes not a very good food as usually cooked I would request experimenters both experts and amateurs, to concentrate on groundnut in preference to soya bean

Wardha, 15-2-'52 K G MASHRUWALA

THE ALMIGHTY DOLLAR

(By I C Kumarappa)

My attention has been drawn to an editorial in the *Free Press Journal* of the 14th February 1952 dealing with my article "The Noose ?" in the *Gram Udyog Patrika* of February (*Harijan* 8-3-52)

The *Free Press Journal* states that we ought not to "reject foreign aid on flimsy grounds" and "any aid with strings attached" will not be acceptable to India In this I am in full agreement

The warning against American aid was not because it was "foreign" nor does the question of "any strings attached" arise The whole transaction has to be looked at historically with the knowledge of the character of dealings of the donor in the past

Of late the U S A has been afflicted by a Russia-phobia or a Communist dread This has been guiding her foreign relations in the countries to the East West and South of Russia Germany and Japan have been reduced to ashes China was to have been made into a jumping off board with a strong alliance with the bourgeois regime under Chiang-Kai-Shek But this was thwarted, thanks to Mao's shrewdness Hence is this bitterness against China India holds a strategic position in the South But in international affairs our Prime Minister has not minced matters and his statements on the Japanese Security Treaty and on the status of people's China have left no doubt that he is not prepared to tow the line under American lead This is an intriguing position when even Churchill was pocketing his imperial pride

[illegible] to dealt with in a subtle [illegible]

The Indian Prime Minister had expressed [illegible] leanings though academically, towards rural development What is natural but for America to evince a sudden affection for Indian rural development! "Love me, Love my dog" There are of course, no strings attached, but it is hoped that the tongue will be tied by moral obligations of one who has eaten American salt If not, the Atom bomb pile is always there as the last resort

Great Britain, in her worst moments had shown some semblance of moral consideration but not so the U S A, who had been ruthless Though set aside General MacArthur typifies the American spirit today We have to be wary in dealing with a nation with such history behind it when it is running amuck scared by the red rag Let us beware and be forewarned

(From Urdu *Lalang Patrika* March 52)

LEGISLATURES AND KASTURBA TRUST AGENTS

At the time of nominations of candidates for the Delhi State Assembly, Shrimati Rameshwari Nehru was pressed by numerous friends that she should stand as a candidate so as to be able to guide the new Legislature and if possible, to take office for furtherance of social services Shrimati Rameshwariji was hesitant and told friends that as she was the Provincial Agent for Punjab for the work under the Kasturba Trust, she would be guided by such advice as I may tender The matter was thus referred to me and I unhesitatingly advised her not to enter the field of legislature *in preference to* the actual field work among the people This was based on the lines laid down by Mahatmaji during his lifetime from 1944 to 1948, when he was the Chairman of the Kasturba Trust and I was working as Vice-Chairman directly under him

My advice, though based on Mahatmaji's directions might perhaps appear a bit strange and as an expression of lack of confidence in the work through legislatures I earnestly beg of all friends to disabuse their minds of such a misimpression The field worker has to be a servant of Humanity, has to be in constant touch and contact with them must understand by personal association their desires and their difficulties For this the workers must have no political colour or religious or communal prejudices The approach through legislative bodies apart from the political side of the question, is indirect and inadequate for amelioration of their condition It is therefore essential that the best of our social workers remain outside the legislatures and with the people so as to be able to plead effectively and explain in proper perspective what our legislatures should do It is not a question of boycotting or keeping away from legislatures, as if they were useless but greater importance is attached to the actual field survey and work as an essential basis of legislation There is no idea at all of any kind of non co-operation but to give our Governments much better co-operation by having a vast number of good field-workers, who will work in co-ordination and co-operation with the Governments That is the most important aspect and hence it has been a rule with the Kasturba Trust that those of our sisters who are agents, should not continue as agents, if they intend to take to parliamentary activities This rule has been in practice and many of our sisters were advised by Bapu to leave the agency work, if they had an urge for parliamentary work Such cases have occurred even recently and our agents either resigned their agency or abandoned the idea of standing for elections

Further I may make it clear that it is not understood that, by entering legislatures, all their contacts with the Kasturba work are lost But as field-work in close and day-to-day touch with and among the people is considered fundamental as a sound foundation of social advance the work through a legislature is given a subordinate position The field-workers cease to be of value for Trust work when they enter the legislatures

It may also be remembered that one of the conventions of the Trust is that only women should be appointed as agents The number of capable women who can do this fundamental work for rural areas is small and it is essential that those whom the Trust has been able to secure should be placed in a position of giving undivided attention to the work and should be spared from the glamours of political careers

It is for these reasons that Shrimati Rameshwariji was advised not to stand for elections The choice before the Trust was between some work in the legislature and the fundamental constructive work which she has been doing splendidly for the last several years, in the cause of the womanhood in India It has to be remembered that the work of the Trust is carried on in rural areas only

There is yet another question which puzzles the public mind Friends argue that if the Trustees (including the Chairman) can enter legislatures and hold offices even as Presiding Officers or Ministers why should an agent or a worker be prevented from contesting and doing work in legislatures? Such a question is *prima facie* legitimate It arises because the difference between supervisory and directive work on the one hand and the actual field-work and its organization on the other is ignored, or is not properly appreciated The agent has to be touring in rural areas and directing and supervising the work at various rural centres of which there are more than three hundred in the country by now If an agent takes to parliamentary life, the practical difficulty will be that either she must neglect her rural work at the

Trust or she must neglect her work in the legislature It is not possible to do justice to both On the ground therefore, of organization of the Trust work, such a convention is necessary

20 Akbar Road,
New Delhi 4-3 '52

G V MAVALANKAR,
Chairman,
Kasturba Gandhi National
Memorial Trust

Note It is unnecessary to add anything in support of this solidly reasoned statement

K G M

VILLAGE-CENTRED OR CENTRE-RIDDEN ?

In the course of his *Bhoodan Yajna Yatra* Shri Vinobaji reached Hardoi on 9th February, 1952 A large gathering attended the prayer-meeting In his post-prayer sermon, Vinoba explained how he hoped that the *Bhoodan Yajna* would herald a peaceful revolution in the economic and social structure of our society He referred to it as a new and timely experiment in line with the numerous successful experiments in sociology which India had seen in the past Referring to the cultural unity of India he said that it had become a reality thousands of years ago It had survived many political vicissitudes and was still intact Every student of Indian history would have to admit this Even foreign scholars had accepted this fact

New Situation

But there was no parallel in India's history to the situation that had now arisen with the advent of the Democratic Republic and the establishment of the rule of the people. In olden days there were great rulers like Ashoka who ruled over extensive empires But no emperor ever knew then whether his rule was acceptable to all the millions inhabiting his empire True, that whenever an emperor performed the *ashwamedho* sacrifice, the consecrated horse was sent out to roam about the realm But normally no commoner felt like stopping the horse and inviting trouble "Things are different in our days For the past two months, the consecrated horse of democracy, viz the ballot box has been freely moving about the country, and it can be said that we have now verified whether any one would interfere with the free movement of this horse This verification — of the will of the people — has not only been negative, but also positive, for every adult has had to express his opinion

Increase in the Power of Government

Science had enabled modern governments, Vinoba continued, to become immensely more pervasive, comprehensive and capable of controlling every department of the lives of the people than the governments of the past. For instance, a fiat from Delhi could now reach and be [illegible] home [illegible] possible, even in the course of months in the olden days People of our times had therefore, an unprecedented chance to remould the life of our country on a sound pattern But they should remember that the concentration of such vast power in the Government at the Centre might as well be an auspicious sign as an inauspicious one In the days of Emperor Ashoka the Government did not have the means to make or mar the fortunes of the country with the thoroughness with which a modern Government can Moreover, it had become possible for us now to centralize not only material or physical power but also intellectual power For instance, if our Education Minister so desired, he could see that every schoolboy in the country learnt from the same kind of text-book It was with the help of such methods that Hitler and Stalin had charmed their people and made even the ballot boxes proclaim that they were the real representatives of the people All this made them very powerful But there was no guarantee that power and selflessness would always go together It was more likely, on the other hand that power and selfishness went together

Danger of Becoming Mechanical

There was not much difference in this regard between power that had been centralized through election and power that had been acquired through other means, because both were liable to be exploited for selfish purposes Where people were weak, they tried to seek strength in the power of the State They thought that their welfare lay in increasing the power of the State The result was that even in countries like the United States and Russia, where almost all were literate and educated, people became mechanical Their minds worked like machines An "Order of the Day" was enough for millions of people to take up arms and to go to war with a neighbouring country Another 'Order of the Day" from the Government could make these men who went to war without a moment's thought lay down arms and surrender to an aggressor It was not difficult to move the minds of such people and to secure their support. "We in India therefore, have to be very careful in the use of the power we have acquired, and will have to see that it is used to protect the glory and the ethos of our country"

Village-Centred and Not Centre-Ridden

Vinobaji then questioned the advisability of entrusting the Centre with the power to control and govern the daily lives of the people "Side by side with maintaining a sufficiently strong Centre, we should also see that the power to govern and develop our daily lives is vested in the village, i e we should have self-government in our villages I hold the view that if ninetyfive per cent of the questions affecting a village can

[illegible] in the village itself, and [illegible] this approval of the *panchs*, [illegible] able to escape the evils that [illegible] with its tussle between the [illegible] and the minority will entail in a [illegible] parliamentary democracy. Our villages [illegible] this and an existence of their own. All [illegible] economic social and cultural activities must [illegible] be in their own hands. If there is any [illegible] affecting many villages or the mutual [illegible] of villages let the Centre help in its [illegible]. But the problems and quarrels of the village should be settled in the village itself and not taken to the Centre. The Centre may be the link between the villages."

Referring to the evil results that can follow from the concentration of too much power in the Centre Shri Vinobaji said that if in the whole country, the same type of textbooks were enforced and an attempt made to regiment the thoughts of children, people would lose their freedom even as the people of Germany and Russia had done. The name of the ballot box might well remain but it would only be as an instrument for propaganda and for the dissemination of false knowledge.

India, Ahead of Europe in Sociology

Shri Vinoba then referred to the move for establishing a European Federation, and said:

Western nations are still far behind us in sociology. Many may be surprised to hear such a statement from me. They may say that it was in the West that democracy was born and the parliamentary system developed. We are still far behind in these matters. We have yet to develop our democratic institutions and our parliamentary system. I agree that all this is true. It is also true that the western nations have made great progress in physical sciences, and are competent to be our teachers in these branches of knowledge. But as far as the science of sociology is concerned, we are not behind them. For instance, just see what happened during our elections. No one stopped our consecrated horse. Even the Election Commissioner was surprised at the way the elections went off. But can a horse roam like this through the European continent? India is no small country. Many countries of Europe can be contained in a continent like ours. There are many languages and many scripts in our country. Yet while the unity of our country became an established fact long ago, the federation of Europe is still a dream. If England were to hold an *ashvamedha* her horse would not get as far as France or Belgium. But here in India, even thousands of years ago, our philosophers used to cover the country from Kashi to Kanyakumari. Shankaracharya went from Malabar up to the Himalayas and spread his message throughout the country. Such thinkers [illegible] country [illegible] country centuries ago. That is the reason why I say that Europe is behind us in [illegible] that whatever we take from the West has to be taken after careful scrutiny. As far as the element of sociology is concerned, it is quite likely that we can teach them a few things.

Bhoodan — The Only Way to Regenerate the Village

In conclusion Shri Vinobaji referred to the *Bhoodan Yajna* and explained how he hoped that the *Yajna* would liberate and regenerate the villages of our country. Vinobaji said: "There is no other way in which the glow of freedom can be made to illumine everyone of the five lakhs of villages in our country. *Rishis* like Valmiki and great teachers like the Buddha and Kanada and heroic men of action like Shivaji can arise in our villages. But if these villages are to be freed, there must be a proper distribution of land and villages must be self-sufficient. The revenue and expenditure of every village must be examined independently with the idea that every village is an autonomous unit. If such functions as the providing of education and justice, the promotion of public health and cultural activities etc. in the villages can be organized and carried on by the villagers themselves with local resources, local talent and local planning every village will soon begin to produce statesmen. If this does not happen and if on important subjects like education, there are only five or six expert thinkers in the country, their intellects will hardly be of any use to the nation. Worse still, the burden may be so great that their intellects may crack."

(From notes received from D. M.)

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The Parable and Its Moral

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Editor K. G. MASHRUWALA

16 Pages

VOL. XVI No. [illegible] AHMEDABAD — SATURDAY MARCH [illegible] TWO ANNAS

GANDHIJI EXPLAINS HIS CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAMME

(By Manubehn Gandhi)

[A Part of Manubehn Gandhi's diary of 17-3-1947 was dictated on 8-3-1952. Here is another part under the date.]

(After the prayer) two Communist youths sought an interview with Bapu. They asked him to explain to them his Constructive Programme in brief. They also enquired about his views about the qualifications of workers, and the results of this programme on the life and happiness of the people. They were well read and had come from Santiniketan.

Bapuji explained his items one after another.

Communal Unity

Bapuji said, 'Let us take communal unity first because it is the most pressing work of the day. It is a long time since I first announced the eighteen-point Constructive Programme. If the country had adopted it from the beginning and worked it out faithfully, we would not have come to this sorry pass, and would have been spared these tragic scenes. I am convinced that so long as we do not achieve communal unity we are like a diseased body in which one of the vital organs has ceased to function properly. How can such a country achieve independence, or assimilate it and turn it to good account even if it somehow achieves it? India is a land peopled by various religious communities — Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Parsis, Sikhs and others. So long as there is no communal unity the country will remain weak and sick (i.e. not free), and even if independence is achieved somehow, it will not bring happiness and might even prove to be more troublesome than bondage. At least this is how I view things today.

Khadi

I am getting more and more confirmed every day that if every one in every home would ply the *charkha* for a mere half hour, no one would need buy even an inch of cloth. It is also the key to the preservation of Swaraj. And if crores of people apply themselves to it for this amount of time, the results will be so tremendous as to amaze the whole world. There is no solution to the problem of hungry millions apart from *khadi*. *Khadi* gives rise to several other industries, and each one provides work to countless artisans. I have called the *charkha*, the sun of the system of village industries. If the sun goes round, its light will illumine the whole country and lift up the villagers out of their present squalor and poverty. In the uplift of our villages is the uplift of India. India is made up of seven lakh villages and not merely of the big cities like Bombay, Madras, Calcutta and Delhi.

Removal of Untouchability

So long as untouchability persists our lot will remain untouched in respect of the another. How can such *untouchable* [illegible] non-violent Swaraj? The unbearable callousness that is shown to those unfortunate persons who perform the service of scavenging is a black spot on the country. If we believe in non-violence and truth, we cannot make distinction between man and man as high and low, nor can we harbour a sense of false vanity. The whole world is our family and we should live like members of one family.

Prohibition

Intoxicating drinks have ruined our people physically and economically. Our country is not so cold as to need liquor. A drinker becomes oblivious of morals. Persistence in drinking will mean the end of spiritual values in our country. The *Gita* says that loss of memory leads to loss of knowledge (discrimination), and those who have lost their reason are as good as dead.

Uplift of Women

In our scriptures woman has been designated *ardhangana* (the other half). But in our country man has made her his toy and she is treated as a slave. The birth of a daughter is looked upon sorrowfully, while that of a son is celebrated as a festival. So long as this disease is not eradicated from the root, the nation can not advance. True equality of man and woman will be realized only when the birth of a daughter will be celebrated with the same joy as that of a son. Therefore every worker should treat every woman with the same respect and love that he bears towards his mother, sister or daughter. Women are given a very unbecoming treatment in our country. Every day, I receive information of the assault on her honour. This is the height of man's disgraceful conduct, moral turpitude and beastliness. I believe it is difficult for us to advance so long as we are struck with this sin

Cleanliness

As long as village cleanliness [illegible] the hearts of the villagers [illegible] Their minds will continue [illegible] cleanliness of the heaps of rubbish [illegible] country side Therefore, the item [illegible] cleanliness occupies an equally impor[illegible] the village uplift work

Education

I realized that if education was [illegible] from the very root Basic Education [illegible] ty necessary and that could be [illegible] through Nai Talim Unless it is adopted it [illegible] impossible to educate the millions of children in our country It will automatically solve the problem of adult education also Similarly we shall have to take to the national language We are too much enamoured of the English language I referred to it at length yesterday On account of this we have shown unpardonable indifference towards our own language The national language worker will not enter into controversy and preferences regarding Urdu and highly sanskrit ized forms of Hindi He will speak the Hindi that is intelligible to the local people He will also learn the local language and will try to inculcate in the people love and respect for their mother tongue He has nothing to lose in knowing the local language, but everything to gain He will simply add to his own knowledge

Lastly, I maintain that utmost endeavour should be made to ensure that everyone under Swaraj gets at least — sufficient *dal* and bread, enough clothes to cover his body and an ordinary house to live in Under the present economic order, while some have gold and silver utensils and silk and velvet clothes others have not even earthen pots and enough cloth to cover their nudity This inequality can be obliterated only by working out the programme of constructive work suggested by me

But we are drifting towards Russian Communism in order to achieve it at the point of the bayonet It is the way of violence, and has not fully succeeded even there The result will be that even the handful of capitalists that we have will also be penniless with the rest of the poor If, however, we shall propagate economic equality according to my method, capitalists will themselves feel that they cannot put on rich dresses and eat sweet dishes while their fellow-brothers have no clothes to put on, and no bread to eat This will create a spirit of brotherhood and through it love for the country and the spirit of service will then become more universal"

(Translated and abridged from *Bhavnagar Samachar* 22-12-51)

DRINK DRUGS & GAMBLING

By *Mahatma Gandhi*

Pages xii+175 Price Rs. 2-8 Postage etc. As 10

NAVAJIVAN PUBLISHING HOUSE

Post Box 105, AHMEDABAD

THE PROBLEM OF VIEWS-PAPERS

[illegible] a London Weekly of the Anarchist School [illegible] extent akin to *Herijan* In a recent issue [illegible] 1952) It presents its own problem of publi[illegible] The following is an extract from It.—K G M]

[illegible] every week one can read somewhere or other [illegible] publishers and newspaper and periodical [illegible] complaining of the growing difficulties [illegible] have to face in their businesses. And from [illegible] consumers' point of view This concern is [illegible] in increased prices

[illegible] speaking the objective of the [illegible] publisher is to give the public the [illegible] paper the public wants As soon as sales fall off "experts" are put on the job to find out why [illegible] are dropping and the proprietors then tell the Editor what he has to dish up And in the [illegible] of one of the largest periodical publishers in this country it has meant sacking all his Editors and the transformation of the journals in question with the consequent loss of many readers but also with the faith in the "experts" view that the change will show a net gain in new readers and thereby increased revenue from sales advertising and therefore higher profits

* * *

That is how commercial publishing works After all its objective is to make a profit by entertaining The purpose in publishing *Freedom* is neither for profit nor entertainment Without wishing to appear pompous we would define our purpose in publishing *Freedom* as our contribution to laying the foundations of a happier and more equitable society based on a sense of mutual respect and tolerance among men, and in which no man will have the power to exploit another man's labour or to coerce him physically or mentally Such a society would be free from wars man made famines and political crises and the wage system!

We offer this pointed definition of our purpose simply to develop what we have to say in connection with the problems of publishing and not in order to lay down a hard and fast definition of anarchism Because we have such a purpose as defined above it is quite clear that the problems we have to face in publishing *Freedom* are dissimilar in every respect from those of commercial publisher He finds that his sales are dropping His answer is to change his "line", or it may be to engage an advertising expert to put his paper across" or it may even be solved by engaging a popular short story writer to join his contributors. None of these channels is open to *Freedom* How then do we suggest that *Freedom* is to survive and Freedom Press publications to be published in a world in which the chances of survival become increasingly difficult particularly for the small publishers?

As publishers of *Freedom* we have at all times aimed at making our journal self-supporting, this being to our minds, a more certain method for survival than dependence on financial

support which can be as precarious as the economic fortunes and sympathies of those who offer it. We do not intend this unkindly but it is a reflection which many years of experience in publishing *Freedom* and its predecessors have more than confirmed. And in fact, the income derived from the sales of *Freedom* at present only falls short of the cost of production by £40 (Rs 280) each issue and an increase of 1,500 copies in our weekly circulation would therefore make *Freedom* financially 'self-supporting'. This is an objective which we, as incorrigible optimists, have always thought a not impossible one. Yet during 1951 our postal subscribers' lists have shown a net gain of only 300 new readers, and though the news agents and the few enthusiasts who sell *Freedom* at meetings and outdoors increases in sales have fluctuated between nil (wet and cold weeks) and as many as a thousand copies (during election week).

THOUGHTS FOR SEVAPURI

(*By Shankarrao Deo*)

The fourth Sammelan of the Sarvodaya Samaj will be held at Sevapuri near Banaras on the 17th and subsequent dates of April. By now it is well known that the Sarvodaya Samaj is not an organization in the ordinarily accepted sense. It registers members but has no constitution or rules to govern their conduct accruing from their membership. Hence naturally no question of enforcing discipline also arises. Yet the Samaj has an aim or an objective namely to strive towards a society based on truth and non-violence in which there will be no distinction of class or creed, no exploitation and full scope for the development of both individuals and groups. The Samaj has also a programme generally known as the constructive programme for the achievement of this aim. In the absence of a central executive whose function is to formulate policies and frame immediate programmes from time to time for the guidance of the *sevaks* the Samaj does a while does this work once a year in its Sammelan by allowing the *sevaks* themselves to discuss important issues or problems and difficulties which they have experienced during their field work. Thus each *sevak* is enabled to know what is the consensus of opinion of his fellow spiritual travellers on various important subjects which face him in the service of his fellowmen. The Samaj then leaves the *sevak* to his own initiative and ability to follow up the principles to which he has faith and carry out the programme for their furtherance in his private and public life. Of course the *sevaks* are free to organize themselves locally for the working of any specific item or items of the programme and the Sarva Seva Sangh is there to guide and help them.

But I am afraid this year merely discussing certain important problems and recording whatever general agreements are reached on them will not suffice. The conditions in the world and especially in our country are so developing as to throw a challenge to the philosophy and programme of Sarvodaya. If violent social and economic upheavals are to be avoided and people's faith in the efficacy of peaceful methods for solving social and economic problems is to be revived the *sevaks* must become a peaceful but revolutionary force. For this, without interfering with the original concept of the Samaj as a spiritual brotherhood, the *sevaks* should select certain aims and targets and concentrate their united efforts on achieving them.

No doubt for the attainment of real independence successful working of the whole constructive programme is necessary. Yet economic equality is the master key to non-violent independence. This means the abolition of the distinction of the rich and the poor in society and the establishment of an economic order in which each man shall have the wherewithal to supply all his natural wants and no more. To achieve this as the directive principle of the Indian Constitution says the ownership and control of the natural resources and means of production should be so distributed as best to serve the common good. In India today land is the most important means of producing wealth and therefore its just distribution alone can lay the true foundation of economic equality or just social order. Shri Vinobaji has started his *Bhoomidan Yajna* with this end in view and has shown the non-violent way of bringing about a just and equal distribution of land and has thus inspired constructive workers to build a movement.

But having regard to the urgency of bringing about such a social order, the pace of this movement has got to be accelerated. At Sevapuri the *sevaks* will have to consider ways and means of doing so. Shri Vinobaji himself has often said during his walking tour that his attempt is to create an atmosphere in which the limitations in the Constitution can be got rid of and enable the Government to enact a law to bring about a peaceful solution of the land problem. But he rightly emphasizes the fact that a change in social structure through law can be effective and permanent only if it is preceded by a change in public opinion. Nothing will guarantee more than the moral support of those who are adversely affected by it to the smooth passage and speedy execution of the law enacted for the purpose. Shri Vinobaji's appeal to the landlords to surrender a portion of their land voluntarily should be strengthened and this moral movement should be extended all over the country. In order that the movement may rouse the enthusiasm of the people and canalize the creative energy of the workers in a definite direction a target should be fixed.

Yet as time is of the essence it must be recognized that the land question in both of its aspects, namely, distribution and development, can be solved only by the authority of the State

[illegible] and request the [illegible] legislation to this [illegible] the question The [illegible] other the agrarian pro[illegible] about by the State or by the [illegible] of the people in a peaceful man[illegible] necessary to consider some of [illegible] economic implications of land [illegible] e g (1) the fixing of the [illegible] as well as optimum size or the ceiling [illegible] cultural holding, (2) the methods of [illegible] the surplus above the ceiling, (3) the [illegible] and mode of acquiring as well as the [illegible] implications of the undertaking (4) the [illegible] priority in the matter of allotment of the [illegible] land to the landless In respect of acqui[illegible] in principle at least by experience [illegible] be accepted by all the parties con[illegible] that it is impossible to acquire land by [illegible] compensation on the basis of the present [illegible] In this matter also the adage [illegible] ding to one's need" must be applied

We must remember that social justice is [illegible] ble and if we put that forward in the big [illegible] of our economy, namely land it will [illegible] be extended into the sector which is non-[illegible] The law of equality applicable to [illegible] will be *mutatis mutandis* applicable to [illegible] private and public services also

A definite programme for ushering in a just [illegible] in agricultural industrial and other [illegible] life is given in the Agrarian Reforms [illegible] Report and the Sarvodaya Plan

[illegible] has said that his mission is not [illegible] revolution He wants to prevent a [illegible] revolution and create a non-violent revolution [illegible] *sevaks* or the constructive workers [illegible] of this non-violent revolution [illegible] themselves for this task by [illegible] about the necessary changes in [illegible] lives They must know that the [illegible] purification and building up suffi[illegible] hold over the people through service and [illegible] suffering is much greater today because the strug[illegible] for political independence was against the [illegible] but it is probable that that of economic independence might give rise to internal social conflicts

Without affecting the free unorthodox liberal and critical though spiritual character of the Sarvodaya Samaj which the *sevaks* have been helpful in building in the annual sessions during the last four years they will have to see how they will be able to contribute collectively to the non-violent atmosphere in the country in as short a time as possible and how they will bring into [illegible] the economic equality in the country which on all hands will be admitted to be the crying need of the hour

GANDHIJI'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY
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Post Box 105 AHMEDABAD

HIS TECHNIQUE AND ACHIEVEMENT*

(By Pyarelal)

I — The Sabarmati Ashram — Inmates and Training

1 THE FIRST PERIOD, 1914 TO 1919

Yesterday I spoke to you about the basic disciplines which made Gandhiji some of the leading traits of his personality and his extraordinary power to mould human material Let us now see what use he made of that power what was the technique that he evolved for its application to the tasks that confronted him, and the phenomenal results he obtained from it

Gandhiji's career in India may be divided into four periods The first period extends from 1914 to 1919 It was devoted to a close survey, observation and study of the Indian scene The period was marked by a series of local Satyagraha struggles like that of Champaran and Kheda and the Ahmedabad mill-hands' strike of 1919 It was during this period that he discovered his devoted, talented secretary, who became his alter ego — Mahadev Desai and some of his best lieutenants Three of them later formed the nucleus of the Congress High Command viz Rajendra Babu, Sardar Patel and Acharya Kripalani Besides them there were the Maulana Mazharul Huq and Abbas Tyebji and Braj Kishor Babu of Champaran fame — to mention only a few and the bulk of the constructive workers of Gujarat typified by the late Mohanlal Pandya who during the Kheda Satyagraha struggle earned the affectionate title of "onion thief" when he removed overnight onions attached by the Government distress-warrant officers for non payment of revenue by the Kheda cultivators

It was during this period again that Gandhiji established the Sabarmati Satyagraha Ashram — his first Power House of non-violence and his Satyagraha laboratory And a strange conglomeration of humanity it was In fact my sister D Sushila Nayar told me, the first English sentence she learnt was the following from Gandhiji's pen in one of his English weeklies 'Cranks faddists and madmen often find their way to the Ashram" He himself would proudly add in conversation, "And I am the maddest of them all!"

This modesty would not let him say that Ashram included also some geniuses and at any rate one saint in the making There was, for instance Maganlal Gandhi whom the Master lived to mourn as his 'best companion and whose death brought spontaneous tributes from such diverse personalities as Lord Irwin and Pandit Motilal Nehru A versatile genius he was equally at home with scavenging or secretarial work gardening or setting the type account keeping or designing and constructing improved types of spinning, ginning and carding

* This is the second of the three Gandhi Memorial Lectures delivered by Shri Pyarelal at Kanpur under the auspices of the Agra University, on 3rd, 4th and 5th December 1961 and published with its kind consent

[illegible] time [illegible] children [illegible] [illegible] left any [illegible] [illegible] tions' — gaming [illegible] One met [illegible] Chhotelal the ex-revolutionary [illegible] dexterously of Maganlal, sharing with [illegible] versatility — which made him by turns [illegible] in spinning and weaving agriculture [illegible] bread-making To his genius for [illegible] languages — he was equally at home, [illegible] Tamil Gujarati Marathi Bengali and Hindustani — he joined a soldierly discipline and [illegible] ridiculous sense of tidiness and punctuality [illegible] the case of Philosopher Kant, people set [illegible] watches whenever he emerged from his cell [illegible] morning walk or for his daily visit to the [illegible] *lat* for bathing He was a soldier, who un[illegible] willingly took orders and failed not — lived [illegible] Do or die' There was the 'His Holi[illegible] Shri 108 Swami Anandanand" — as he [illegible] call himself — the incurable cellbate who [illegible] like a horse and slept like a horse and [illegible] himself a crunch in the matter of eating [illegible] ing ' None of them was a graduate, [illegible] Chhotelal and Maganlal were not [illegible] matriculates, (?) but they were Gandhiji's [illegible] and feet'

There were besides, Kakasaheb Kalelkar [illegible] born school-master, with his capacity for [illegible] explosion, spilling his dilettante versatility right and left from the sheer exuberance [illegible] the staid and solid Narhari Parikh — [illegible] nationist and author, and dialectical K G [illegible] Mashruwala the present editor of *Harijan* weeklies There were women of the Ashram, seasoned Satyagrahi soldiers who, armed with nothing more than the basic Ashram disciplines had made history in South Africa and a troupe of children whom Gandhiji had put through their initiation by making them run the gauntlet of martial law in South Africa as couriers, messengers and errand boys when they were just at the threshold of their 'teens Lastly, there was Gandhiji himself with his iron constitution in all yet unimpaired and will of steel, [illegible] all milk and milk-products and [illegible] on a fare of un roasted ground-nuts, [illegible] and bananas grinding corn by the hour without changing his hand, when almost every other fellow grinder was forced to [illegible] sitting in the hot sun to make a lazy [illegible] inmate of the Ashram do digging in the field in the summer's hot sun as penance for his [illegible] in duty

The Ashram was the means Gandhiji used [illegible] produce among the people the leaven of his [illegible] spiritual disciplines which provided the [illegible] and drive during all subsequent Satyagrahi campaigns. Indeed, it may safely be said that without this Ashram machinery none of those campaigns could have been organized or [illegible] Ashram, [illegible] graha[illegible] sprang [illegible] the [illegible] of the [illegible] of the world that was [illegible] for organizing non violent mass move[illegible] in a country like ours but of the non [illegible] type of organization too

[illegible] me illustrate A young man comes to [illegible] in his Ashram He is a member [illegible] under ground revolutionary organi[illegible] He looks furtively to right and left [illegible] behind — to see if he is watched, as he [illegible] Gandhiji's room He breathes fire against the British officials asks in an undertone if there are any C I D about He tells Gandhiji that the youth are burning with indignation Gandhiji points out to him how his own cult of violence has made a coward of him how it makes him feel afraid of the C I D

Gandhiji calls "Chhotelal, Chhotelal '

Chhotelal appears and is instantly recognized by the newcomer as a fellow ex-revolutionary, who had suffered in one of the earlier conspiracy cases Gandhiji tells Chhotelal to explain to the newcomer how in the Ashram they deal with members of the C I D who are detailed to watch them

Chhotelal tells the young man how he (Chhotelal) came to Gandhiji and abjured the cult of violence, having found in Gandhiji's non-violence a more effective weapon 'The person you saw me talking to outside is a member of the C I D We have no secrets here he knows it We provide him daily with detailed information about the movements of various members of the Ashram and visitors He performs odd jobs for us, has become like a member of our family In fact, we ask him to meet the arriving guests at the railway station and escort them to us here"

Chhotelal introduces the newcomer to another inmate 'He was charged with political murder," explains Chhotelal "He came to Bapu seeking asylum Bapu made him write out a clean confession and sent it to Lord Chelmsford the Viceroy with a covering note, saying how he was trying to wean the misguided young man from the cult of violence The charge still hangs over his head but the Viceroy has ordered its suspension'

The newcomer is very impressed He tells Gandhiji, he wants to become a member of his Ashram Gandhiji tells him if he comes under his discipline, he will learn the art of making a real revolution

As a beginning Gandhiji asks him to go and mix with the untouchables clean latrines sweep the floors and scrub the community kitchen utensils As Gandhiji goes out a couple of hours later he finds the newcomer — now an ex-revolutionary — chatting and shaking hands with the member of the C I D at whose shadow he had trembled only a little while ago

(To be continued)

THE PAWAYA CONFERENCE

After the Mathura Conference where the workers of Uttar Pradesh first took the resolve to devote themselves to *Bhoodan* [illegible] they again met together on [illegible] 1952 at Pawaya out last hold in Muzaffarpur District. The Conference was well attended and included besides the workers other distinguished visitors such as Shri Shankarrao Deo and Dhirendra Majumdar.

Ownership in Land

In the after prayer speech Vinoba explained that 'All land belongs to the Lord of the Universe' was no new message. The Vedas had announced this at the dawn of history. The problem of land had now reached a stage where it would brook no delay. If we did not solve it, it would seek its own solution. It therefore behoved us to solve it in the best possible manner. And what solution could be more fruitful than that of *Bhoodan Yajna*?

Progress of the Bhoodan Movement

Workers met Vinoba twice once in the morning and then in the evening. The discussions which followed were quite fruitful and Vinoba elucidated several points of vital interest to the workers. He gave the background of the movement beginning with its origin in Telangana. In Telangana he had toured only two districts. His tour of Uttar Pradesh therefore was rather a new experience for him. It was the first time when he set out to tour a whole province. He was happy that the response from the people to his appeal was growing. In Telangana the average of land received from day to day was only 200 acres. In course of the Northern India tour it was 250 acres while now it had risen to 300 acres. The idea had percolated to the minds of the people and mentally they had been converted to it.

Application of Gandhiji's Teachings

Gandhiji had demonstrated the efficacy of the moral means to achieve our ends. 'After his departure from our midst' Vinoba said "it was our duty to apply his teaching ever increasingly to the solution of our economic and social problems. I hold to the belief that moral means rightly employed never fail to evoke sympathetic response from the people. And so I set out for Delhi explaining my idea to the people all along the way. Then, you gathered together to meet me at Mathura and invited me to tour Uttar Pradesh. You resolved to do your mighty for this cause and worked for it with great zeal and devotion. To me it all betokens the will of God.'

Institutional Organization and Moral Organization

It was often said rather complainingly that the Sarvodaya Samaj had no institutional organization. Vinoba was however sure that their method was superior to the institutional method. Though they set up organizations to foster spirit of brotherhood, oftener than not they created only bonds and bothers. He was sure that the cause [illegible] lest [illegible] He [illegible] for [illegible] organization as [illegible] would have [illegible] institution [illegible] Our method [illegible] but [illegible] possibilities were [illegible] by far. It was like the Ganga which is a thin streamlet at its source but grows into a mighty river as it proceeds on its way.

The work had progressed so far without the workers being able to give it their full energy. They were busy with the elections which occupied the centre of the stage. Even so the success achieved was by no means small. It showed that the work they were doing was possible. The fact however remained that the way they had chosen to do it was not easy. The work rested on their ability to awaken the sense of moral justice potentially existing in every human heart. That was the foundation of their work. To help bring out the goodness and control the selfishness of man.

A Word to the Congress

I find that the people sympathize and cooperate with our work. This is as it should be for therein lies the good of the country. The elections are a very minor thing and happily they are now over. Our people are trustful and once more they have returned the Congress to power. Our people may be illiterate but they are rich in experience and they will not be deluded by false promises for long. I hope that the Congressmen who have been so elected will respect and fulfil the trust people have so generously shown in the Congress. As to those who fought, but lost let them take to the work we are doing. It will be to them like the sacred name of the Lord, a saviour and a life-giver.

"I cannot however emphasize overmuch the fact that only those who subscribe to the central faith underlying this work can help it. Otherwise they will only damage it. It is by invoking the moral sense of the people that we shall carry out work forward. And workers will do well to bear it in mind lest in their enthusiasm they should be led to do things which they might have to repent subsequently.

Real Democracy

"There are democratic governments working in most countries of the world. But the democracy they practise is merely formal. They have to maintain large armies. In my opinion democracy and armies go ill together. Real democracy must rest itself not on force of arms but on the power of *ahimsa* and the organized goodwill of the people. That is the democracy we are striving for. I do not denounce the formal democracy imported into our country from outside. But, in that case, as Shri Shyama Prasad Mukerjee observed in the Parliament the other day, an opposition too has a place of utility. But I feel we need a non-party organization. We are carrying out humanitarian work based on social

We want to create a just order of society [illegible] that we need an organization which will re[illegible] politics as an inalienable part of our national [illegible] which will so conduct itself that the [illegible] between politics and morality may [illegible] Such an organization defeats its purpose [illegible] overstepping itself and sets out to delimit [illegible] the virtues We cannot approve of the poli[illegible] which seeks to put a restraint on man's kind[illegible] But that is exactly what our present-day [illegible] comes to When those who are wedded to [illegible] and non-violence enter politics, they will [illegible] a higher and nobler type of politics I am [illegible] that such an organization will not but exer[illegible] great influence over both the Government [illegible] people At present the various parties [illegible] were working in the political field were [illegible] very much alike in their narrow loyalties We want to create a body of workers which will be above parties Politically its workers might belong to any of the various parties, such as, Congress K M P P, or Jan Sangh, but they will join together for constructive work and they will work as the *sevaks* of the Sarvodaya and not as members of their different parties"

Speaking of the different ways in which people could contribute to the cause of the movement Vinobaji said, if they habilitated one landless family in every village as they had proposed to do the message would spread far and wide This was one aspect of the work Another was that of acquiring land from the big land-holders For that, we required workers who knew them personally and had moral influence over them While this would help the movement quantitatively the donations from the poor who were moved to offer them out of faith and devotion helped us qualitatively They had the effect of elevating the movement to a high moral level He cited the example of the old blind man who [illegible] at 1 a m and of the old woman who came late at night and finding him asleep [illegible] till morning to make their land-gifts

In the end, Vinoba appealed to the workers and the people of Uttar Pradesh to expedite the work He hoped that the districts which he had toured would complete their respective quotas before April while the districts which he was going to tour would finish their part of the work when he left them

D M

(To be concluded)

Hindi-Hindustani Examinations — April, 1952

The candidates may please take note that the Hindi *Hindi* oral examination will be held on April 6, 1952 and Hindi *Diwar* and Hindi *Vinit* on April 13 1952 In some centres where the number is very small the oral examination has been fixed either on April 6 or 13, 1952 The detailed instructions have been sent to the centres in this [illegible] The candidates are requested to get the necessary information from the centre

Gujarat Vidyapith
Ahmedabad-9, 20-3-'52

GIRIRAJ KISHORE
Pariksha Mantri

"PEACE NEWS"

[illegible] News is a weekly published by [illegible] Pacifists in England on behalf of the W[illegible] International The paper is [illegible] similar to that experienced by *Harijan* [illegible] It is devoted to the cause of Peace We in India have no adequate idea of the difficulties and persecutions which the Pacifists of Europe have put to because of their conscientious objection to take any part in war or any activity connected with war. There are some young men and women who have been imprisoned over and over again for refusing to enlist and cruelly treated in concentration camps But for a few institutions like the War Resisters' International Fellowship of Reconciliation etc the world would know nothing of the sufferings of these brave men and women

There might be many in India who take interest in the Pacifist Movement of Europe and might be desirous of keeping in touch with it The *Peace News* seeks their help There is some difficulty in remitting money to England The undermentioned desires to inform the readers that if any one wishing to subscribe for *Peace News* remits to her a postal or a money order with full name and address, she will undertake to remit the amount to England in British currency at her own expense The rates of subscription etc are as follows

Twelve Weeks	Rs 3-5-0
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One Year (52 weeks)	Rs 13-12-0 (4d per copy)

Address of	Miss) F Mary Barr
Peace News	'Ameriman'
3 Blackstock Road	Grand Duff Road
London N 4	Lovedale, Nilgiri Hills'

I do not think that it is necessary for me to add anything by way of endorsement to Miss Mary Barr's note Her offer to serve as indicated above at her own expense may be availed of with confidence

Wardha 17 3-52 K G MASHRUWALA

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HARIJAN

March 29 1952

THE PARABLE AND ITS MORAL

For the kingdom of heaven is like unto a man [illegible] is an householder which went out early in the [illegible]ing to hire labourers into his vineyard.

And when he had agreed with the labourers for [illegible] a day he sent them into his vineyard.

And he went out about the third hour and saw [illegible] standing idle in the market place

And said unto them, Go ye also into the [illegible] and whatsoever is right, I will give you. And they went their way.

Again he went out about the sixth and ninth [illegible] did likewise.

And about the eleventh hour he went out and [illegible] there standing idle and saith unto them Why [illegible] here all the day idle?

They say unto him, Because no man hath hired [illegible] Go ye also into the vineyard, [illegible] whatsoever is right that shall ye receive

[illegible] when even was come the lord of the [illegible] saith unto his steward Call the labourers [illegible] them their hire beginning from the last unto [illegible]

And when they came that were hired about the [illegible] they received every man a penny

[illegible] when the first came they supposed that [illegible] have received more, and they likewise [illegible] every man a penny

And when they had received it, they murmured [illegible] men of the house

[illegible] These last have wrought but one hour [illegible] made them equal unto us which have [illegible] and heat of the day

[illegible] answered one of them and said Friend, [illegible] Didst not thou agree with me for [illegible]

[illegible] mine is and go thy way I will give [illegible] unto thee

[illegible] for me to do what I will with [illegible] evil because I am good?

[illegible] shall be first and the first last for [illegible] few chosen.

(St. Mathew Ch 20)

[illegible] the basis of the economic [illegible] by John Ruskin in his *Unto This Last* and taught to be practised by Gandhiji and his workers under the name of *Sarvodaya* It will be useful to examine this parable a little closely in order to derive a proper moral from it

In order to give utmost justice to the parable, I believe we must interprete it on the assumption that if at all Jesus sought to place before us through it an economic doctrine it was meant to be ethically a perfect one Hence we must assume that a penny wage given to the labourer who was the first to be engaged as also the amount of work taken from him was just and equitable, neither more nor less In modern parlance, it was in no manner sweated labour and he was paid a proper living wage On this assumption the first labourer is reproached for feeling jealous of the payment made to the last worker To pay less to the last comer would have meant depriving him of some [illegible] that need and to pay more to the first would have been either to encourage acquisitiveness in him or to make him adopt a higher standard of living than his neighbours It must also be assumed that the last worker did not come late for any fault of his own.

This is the ideal of *Unto This Last* But we are in the midst of a society in which on the one hand there are many who come to work first but receive a farthing only, though they need a penny to live adequately and there are a few who manage to get not a penny, but a pound, without working for even a few minutes Add to this the difficulty arising from the fact that if all the present assets and incomes are distributed equally to every individual, none would get sufficient to live upon, i e a penny a head It might be, say, only a half-pence

How shall we proceed to apply the principle of *Unto This Last* under these circumstances In a non-violent manner? By non-violence we should not merely understand absence of beating killing, looting etc, or legalized appropriation but a manner which will maintain and foster love and goodwill among all the people, and bring contentment, and enthusiasm to every one and general prosperity everywhere

This requires a graduated process The process must not be a make-believe, and yet it cannot be just a mechanical equality

For this the first thing to be done must be the elimination of paying or providing less than the average If we calculate that the per capita share in India's cultivable land comes to say, one acre per adult, we must give one acre to every adult, *who wants land and wants to work upon it* If he does not want land or to work upon it, he need not get anything in the scheme of redistribution Those who receive their proper share should not say, "why should that other fellow have a hundred or a thousand acres?" To them the reply would have to be "friend, I do thee no wrong Have I not given thee thy proper share ?" If others possess more land just now, let them do so for the time being For when new workers come and in a growing population they will surely those who have more will have to give out a share to those who have none and want it In the meanwhile it is to the advantage of the nation that these lands are cultivated by those who have better means to do so, on conditions generally accepted as fair by the society and a democratic State Whether or no they regard themselves as trustees of their additional possessions, when more claimants come they will realize that they really are no more than trustees of the estate in their possession and management

In the same way, with regard to income If we calculate that the average income of an Indian is, say Rs 25 per month, let us see that no actual worker gets less than that and that no one who is willing to work is told that there is no work for him If he is willing to work but the

[illegible] unable to show him any he must still [illegible] reasonable wage If he is able but unwilling [illegible] he cannot demand it Nor can anyone say I must get more than the average because someone else does so He is free to accept other better paid work if he can get it Of course, the democratic State will fix its own limits of maximum income etc from time to time for each kind of employment or vocation By and by other workers will arise and those who receive more than the average will either find their levels lowered or the general average will shoot up, entitling the last to receive more

This I think, has to be the process of Sarvodaya equality It is not forthright decapitation of capitalism, land-lordism etc to bring about economic equality, but it is the process of making in the first instance, provision for the poorest in the land in accordance with the economic condition of the country, and asking the rich to part with their possessions enough to make that provision They are in no way wronged in being asked to do so

Again, under Sarvodaya, the spiritual and moral sense of the rich and the poor must also be awakened and progressively raised The rich must realize the futility and inequality of having standards of living far higher than the general condition of the masses, and all must realize that there can be no prosperity without hard work and performance of duty towards the society Voluntary renunciation, poverty and simplicity must always be stressed and practised

If this view of the Sarvodaya programme is accepted some of the problems which Shri Shankarrao Deo has put forth in his article published elsewhere in this issue, need not disturb the *sevaks* as such Of course, as legislators or members of particular political parties, they may have their own methods and programmes of removing inequalities from the top and creating prosperity As *sevaks* we have to build up the bottom

I have often smelt the Marxian hatred towards landholders and capitalists as a class even among constructive workers pledged to truth and non-violence There is more jealousy for the rich than actual loving service of the poor We must guard against slipping into or encouraging methods of violence involuntarily and unconsciously We would do so if we have not a clear conception of the working of the principle of *Unto This Last*

There is no room for hatred or jealousy here for those who possess or earn more as such We must scrupulously avoid the current Marxian vocabulary of class-war

Wardha, 19-3-'52 K G MASHRUWALA

UNTO THIS LAST
A Paraphrase
By Mahatma Gandhi
Pages vi+64 Price As 6 Postage etc Annas 1
NAVAJIVAN PUBLISHING HOUSE
Post Box 105 AHMEDABAD

MAN *vs* MACHINE

[The following is from a speech by Shri B. G Kher, Chief Minister of Bombay on the occasion of the Convocation of the V.J.T.I., Bombay, on 19-3-52.]

I agree that we must have food, etc , for all and I am not against the use of machines Machines are with us They have come to stay It has been urged that mechanization will lead to unemployment on a large scale, further that it always leads to militarization. The chief characteristics of the modern machine civilization are the regularization of time, the increase in mechanical power, the multiplication of goods, the contraction of time and space, the standardization of performance and product, the transfer of skill to automata., and the increase of collective interdependence It is said, and with some truth, that mechanical routine leads to purposeless materialism Mechanization in the West has, as we know, under the influence of capitalism, led to very great evils So I would here make a plea for becoming wise by the experience of other nations, for learning the lesson which history has to teach us before we blindly begin the cult of machine worship

As a matter of fact, the machine itself is neither good nor bad It makes no demands. It can be put to good uses as well as bad It is true that the factory system of the West as adopted by us destroyed personal skill and reduced the workers themselves to the condition of mere automata But we must consider whether or not it is possible to make the machine our slave instead of our master It is usually believed that Mahatma Gandhi objected to all machinery It is true that he said

> Ideally I would rule out all machinery even as I would reject this very body which is not helpful to salvation and seek absolute liberation of the soul From that point of view I would reject all machinery, but machines would remain because like the body, they are inevitable

Says Louis Fisher in his *Life of Mahatma Gandhi*

> Gandhi was not anti machine He clearly realised earlier than many others the dangers and horrors of a civilization in which the individual is somewhat in the position of a savage who makes an idol and then makes sacrifices to appease it. The faster machines move the faster man lives and the greater his nervous tensions and his cultural and social tributes to speed Gandhi would have had less objection to machinery if it merely served the body, he did not want it to invade the mind and maim the spirit He believed that India's mission was to elevate the moral being

Let us not forget this warning of the Father of the Nation, of the Architect of India's freedom How can we then produce and use all the machines and mechanical advances known to modern technology and yet save our souls elevate our moral being and avoid the danger referred to by Gandhiji!

What I believe is that we must work for an equilibrium a reconciliation of the conflict between man and nature — reconciliation of the claims of industry and agriculture and equilibrium

in population In his great work *Technics and Civilization*, Lewis Mumford brings out this problem, this necessity of balance and equilibrium — regional industrial, agricultural, communal — very lucidly He says

> The problem of compo the problem of equilibrium the problem of organic balance in the back of them all the problem of human satisfaction and cultural development — these have now become the dominant and important problems of modern civilization To face these problems, to evolve appropriate social models and to invent appropriate social and political instruments for an active attack upon them and finally to carry them into action here are new outlets for social intelligence social energy social goodwill

While therefore welcoming the beneficent results brought about by modern technological advance we must not shut our eyes to the evils which are inherent in excessive mechanization.*

I will only place before you a few suggestions by way of inviting you to think about them Our first care should be to destroy the mentality which is usually associated with all forms of capitalism Capitalism increases production and efficiency not in order to satisfy human needs but to gratify personal greed — it wants to create needs and exploit the needy

> To perfect and extend the range of mischiefs without perfecting and giving humane direction to the organs of social action and social control is to create dangerous lunatics in the structure of society
> What is the use of conquering nature if we fall a prey to nature in the form of unbridled men? What is the use of equipping mankind with mighty powers to move and build and communicate if the final result of this same food supply and this excellent organization is to enthrone the morbid impulses of a thwarted humanity?

I have referred above to the necessity of satisfying our minimum wants But this does not mean merely "food enough to forestall starvation and clothing and shelter enough to satisfy convention and to ward off death by exposure it means a great deal more It includes songs, story music painting carving, idle play drama and many more things of value It is true these things lie outside the province of animal necessities But then man is not a mere animal and it is rightly said that —

> Every vital standard has its own necessary luxuries and the wage that does not include them is not a living wage nor is the life made possible by a bare subsistence a humane life"

* It will pay the reader to be reminded here of a very wise statement that Mr Norris E Dodd Director-General of FAO made during his broadcast speech from the A I R. New Delhi the other day

"My observations in travelling through most of the member-countries of the FAO talking not only to ministers and administrators but also to farmers in their own fields convince me that we cannot and could not expect to leap from the sickle to the combined harvester Rather we must build up step by step moving from the sickle to the scythe and then to animal-drawn implements and finally if it is *advantageous* (italics mine) to mechanical power"

He said further that along with technological improvement there must be reform in the conditions in which rural people lived held their land and were served by their Governments in order to make the application of improvements possible. — M P

At the same time we must realize that vital wants are all necessarily limited The fault of the capitalist, industrialist system is that it thrives by stimulating wants rather than by limiting them and satisfying them The hope that there will ever be an ideal society in which every one can take without restraint from the common social process "according to his need" completely disregards the limitations of human nature 'Man will always be imaginative enough to enlarge his needs beyond minimum requirements and selfish enough to feel the pressure of his needs more than the needs of others" This was so well known to our ancestors that they said

न मांसं खादेत् कामानां प्रवृत्तिरेषा राक्षसी । इतिवा कुलकर्मेव मूलं प्रवापिबत

and they taught the remedy which was to control and not to multiply the desire for goods. The Hoover Committee's Report upon recent economic changes in the U S contains the following significant confession

> The novel has proved conclusively what has long been felt theoretically to be true that wants are almost insatiable, that one want makes way for another The conclusion is that economically we have a boundless field before us that there are no wants which will not make way endlessly for newer wants as fast as they are satisfied
> (Quoted from Mumford's *Technics and Civilization*)

We must therefore, normalize consumption When we have normalized consumption, when a proper standard is reached our success in life will be judged not by the rubbish heaps we have produced It will be judged by the immaterial and non-consumable goods we have learnt to enjoy and by our biological fulfilment as lovers, mates, parents and by our personal fulfilment as thinking, feeling men and women

> Distinction and individuality will reside in the personality where it belongs not in the size of the house we live in in the expense of our trappings or in the amount of labour we can arbitrarily command Handsome bodies fine minds plain living high thinking keen perceptions sensitive emotional responses and a group life keyed to make these things possible and to enhance them — these are some of the objectives of a normalized standard"

We must realize that happiness and expanding production are not one and the same thing, that the good life does not depend on the quantity of goods consumed or the quantity of power exercised that in fact "life may be most intense and significant in its moments of pain and anguish and that it may be most savourless in its moments of repletion"

We must realize that it is possible to make more use of machines without having factories which enslave men The ultimate goal of our civilization should be not only material prosperity but the development of human personality and so in industrial matters our aim should be to decentralize heavy industries to abolish the proletariat — the wage-slave — and all young men in the country should work in factories for a short period just as they do for military service of the country

"BLITZ" EDITOR'S ARREST

[illegible] Homi Mistry Assistant Editor of *Blitz* [illegible] Bombay newspaper is alleged to have published [illegible] in his paper something which was regarded [illegible] the Speaker and members of the U P Legislative Assembly as offending against the privi[illegible] of that House The Speaker, therefore, [illegible] a warrant of arrest against him The Police authorities of the U P State with the assistance of those of the Bombay State arrested Shri Mistri in Bombay took him to U P and kept him in [illegible]tody for several days They even neglected to observe the elementary obligation of producing him before a magistrate within 24 hours and allowing his release on bail or asking for an order of remand into proper custody until the date fixed for his production before the House As this failure was a sufficient ground for ordering his release the Supreme Court did not find it necessary to go into further merits of the arrest

Not as a journalist, but as a simple citizen, I feel that if the law gives to the Speaker or the House of a Legislative Assembly the right to arrest a person not residing within the jurisdiction of its own State for an alleged breach of its privileges, it is a preposterous law Even if, as is alleged, such right is enjoyed by the British Parliament it should not be allowed in India It must be remembered that India is a Union of several autonomous States If a Press reporter or visitor is found to have abused his permission to attend the House during its sittings he may be arrested and dealt with as may be necessary if still on the premises If he has left the premises after committing an offence the Speaker or his accredited agent might lodge a complaint against him before a competent magistrate or a Police officer He should be dealt with according to law in the same way as if he had committed an offence against some other institution The House may make the law as severe as it pleases for offences against itself, since it has the authority to do so But the execution of the law must be left to the ordinary magistracy and Police The House must not sit as a Criminal Court against any non-member — except when the offender is caught hold of on the premises itself or when it wants to take proceedings of impeachment against a citizen of its own State for a grave offence To take such process against a non-resident of the State would be dangerous extension of authority

With regard to an offence such as has been alleged against the Assistant Editor of *Blitz*, the Speaker can cancel the permission to its Press reporter If the Press reporter cannot be identified the House, if it feels very acutely might put a ban against the entry of that paper in its State If it is thick-skinned and weathered enough it will not attach much importance to such slander For, slander thrives on the importance attached to it By its hasty action the U P Assembly has [illegible] mateoil of a [illegible] circulation But [illegible] *Blitz* had written [illegible] Speech were greater in number [illegible] readers The U P House has obliged [illegible] broadcasting the slander to perhaps a ten times larger audience!

Wardha [illegible] K G MASHRUWALA

SARVODAYA FLAG'

A friend writes

> The followers of Sarvodaya come from different parties and therefore have no flag of their own But the need for one is felt in the programmes organized by Sarvodayists Since they do not belong to a particular party the question arises about the flag which they might hoist The need is also felt in their tours through villages The workers hesitate to carry the Congress flag It is objected to by workers of other political persuasions We had such an experience in the last Sarvodaya meeting at Dalauni where several workers objected to the hoisting of the Congress flag Hence the hoisting of the flag was altogether dropped If no flag is hoisted we miss something in the programme Will you please express your views on the subject?

Sarvodaya aspires to embrace the whole of humanity It is an ideal which is not confined to a particular religion, sect nation, race political social or other party or to a community caste or institution Therefore naturally it cannot have a separate flag of its own Symbols and labels are designed to emphasize distinctiveness Sarvodaya seeks to bring everyone together and to unite even those who remained separate and aloof How then can it devise or adopt a separate flag? When the Sarvodaya Samaj adopts a separate flag for itself it will have become a separate sect or party and will have deviated from its ideals

I am definitely of opinion that there should be only one flag in a country — the national flag There will exist separate political parties and religions in every country But it is wrong to have a separate flag for each of them It is an evil and it would not be wrong even if Government banned this practice by law We have begun a new and inferior kind of idolatry in the form of flag worship Even those who do not believe in religion, idols, or God have not escaped from it Indeed, they could not have escaped For, the flag owes its origin to war and hatred and not to the sentiment of unity and brotherhood

When the people of a whole village in town come out of their homes on an occasion of common festivity mourning, or catastrophe no one thinks of unfurling a flag The flag is unfurled on the happy or sorrowful faces of the people and in the implements which they carry in their hands to execute the purpose of their gathering together

Wardha 6-3-52 K G MASHRUWALA

(Translated from Hindi)

SARVA SEVA SANGH

Some Important Instructions

(1) Yarn Offering

Organizers of Sarvodaya Mela have been already instructed to sell to the branches of A I S A or the certified Khadi Bhandars the yarn banks received as offering and remit the sale proceeds to the Secretary Sarva Seva Sangh, Sevagram (Wardha) But those to whom such facility is not available are advised to send their yarn banks to their respective District Mela Organizers Their names and addresses are given below

(The names given in brackets may be also addressed to)

	Pradesh	Name and Address
1	Assam	Shri Bhuvanchandra Das Mauman Harijan Sevashram P O Baku Dist Kamrup
2	Andhra	Shri Kodandramswami Charkha Sangh Musulipattana (Shri Sitarama Shastri, Vinayashram Dr Suryanarayan, Tenali)
3	Uttar Pradesh	Shri Kafan Bhai Sevapuri Dist Banaras. (Shri Baba Raghavdas Vichitra Bhai)
4	Utkal	Shrimati Ramadevi Utkal Khadi Mandal, Bari — Cuttack
5	Karnatak	Shri Timmappa Naik, Gramseva Samiti Ankola Dist, Uttar Kanara
6	Kerala	Shri R. Shrinivasan, Kerala Charkha Sangh Palghat, (Kerala)
7	Gujarat	Shri Uttamchand Shah, Swarajya Ashram Bardoli, Dist. Surat
8	Tamilnad	Shri Vedratnam Vedaranyam.
9	Delhi	Manager Gandhi Ashram, Delhi, (Shri Achintramji, Hariramji Chopda)
10	Nagpur	Shri Babaji Mogha, Gopuri, Nalwadi, (Wardha).
11	Punjab, Pepsu Kashmir	Shri Hariramji Chopda, Punjab Charkha Sangh, Adampur, Dist. Jalandhar (Shri Achintramji)
12	Bihar	Shri Lakshmi Babu, Bihar Khadi Samiti, Muzaffarpur
13	Bengal	Shri Panchanan Babu Khadi Board 7 Council House Street, Calcutta 1.
14	Bombay City	Shri Vithaldas Jerajani Charkha Sangh Khadi Bhandar 386, Kalbadevi, Bombay 2
15	Mahakoshal	Shri Ramanandji Dube Charkha Sangh Chhattisgarh Vibhag, Pathara P O Ranka Bemetra Via Raipur, (Shri Nandkumar Dani)
16	Maharashtra	Shri Annasaheb Saharabuddhe, Maharashtra Seva Sangh, 46, Budhwar Peth, Poona 2, (Shri Sitaram Birla Shri Shridharrao Pause)
17	Madhya Bharat	Shri Baijnath Mahodaya, 170, Rambag Indore
18	Mysore	Shri S V Manujnathan, Chamraj Road, Mysore (Shri S V Rajaram Ayyangar, Shri E P Venkatramee Ayyar)
19	Rajasthan	Shri Jawaharlalji, Jain, 'Lokwani' Jaipur (Shri Sidharajji Dhaddha)
20	Vidarbha	Dr Amar Singh More, Yeotmal
21	Vindhya Pradesh	Chaturbhuja Pathak, Tikamgarh.
22	Saurashtra	Chhaganlal Joshi Rajkot, (Shri Narayandas Gandhi)

[illegible] Nughri [illegible] Shri Velji [illegible] Dist Sholapur [illegible] Dist Dehra Dun, [illegible] Hindi Hoda Sultan [illegible] Hyderabad (Dn) (Shri [illegible] Shri K. Vaidyanathan)

(2) Sevapuri — [illegible] Conference

Invitations and certificates for railway concession have been dispatched to all the workers by 15 3 52 Those who have not received them may kindly write to the Secretary Sarvodaya Samaj Sevapuri (Dist Banaras)

(3) Help to subscribers of *Harijan* and *Harijan Sevak*

The Sarva Seva Sangh has passed a resolution to grant half the amount of annual subscription to new subscribers of *Harijan* and *Harijan Sevak* Students of any educational institution and employees and workers of Constructive Institutions will be eligible for this help

Those desiring the help should send an application stating that he is a student of a particular institution or an employee or a worker in a Constructive Institution with a money order of Rs 3/- to the Joint Secretary Sarva Seva Sangh, Sevagram

Sevagram 16 3 52

VALLABHSWAMI
Joint Secretary
Sarva Seva Sangh

(From Hindi)

'CHEMICALS AND FOOD SUPPLIES'

[The following is taken from the summary of a speech made by Lord Douglas of Barloch in the British House of Lords on 4th July 1951 in which he called attention to the dangers to health arising from the increasing use of chemicals in the growing and preparation of foodstuffs and to the need for strict control over all processes which may affect the natural quality of foods — V G D]

Lord Douglas referred to the work of the Federal Food and Drug Administration in the U S A. which has listed so fewer than 842 chemicals used as proposed to be used in food Some are no longer used because they were definitely found to be poisonous. The majority are still in use some very extensively and in many cases it is not clearly established whether they are poisonous or not.

'The absolute determination of the toxicity of a chemical added to food requires long and very complex investigation. The chemical may not be toxic in itself but may combine with substances naturally present in the food to form toxic compounds It may be very slow-acting but cumulative in its effects. It may be one of those which are stored in the body, and the ill-effects of which became evident only after certain concentration has been passed It may be a racial poison which interferes with reproduction and injures the next generation.'

After mentioning artificial fertilizers which easily produce a luxurious but unbalanced plant growth and might render the plants themselves more liable to fungus disease and attacks by insects and other pests, Lord Douglas passed on to the most famous of newer insecticides D D T He told how rats fed with only one part of D D T per million perished Other points he made were it is fat soluble and consequently may accumulate in the body fats until toxic concentration is reached, there

[illegible] have [illegible] ters, affec- [illegible] the [illegible] is parts [illegible] to drug the danger for infants [illegible] who drink large quantities of milk [illegible] has been found contaminated with [illegible] of D D T, and even in cigarettes [illegible] pests have been found presumably [illegible] of the leaf [illegible] now being used — HETP, TEPC and [illegible] extremely toxic in fact so dangerous [illegible] them must be covered from head to [illegible] clothing Already a number of fatal [illegible] to workers spraying with insecticides [illegible] of their effect on food but there [illegible] of illness which appeared to be due [illegible] one part per million of parathion. [illegible] when fruit trees are sprayed [illegible] falls on the ground and affects [illegible]

[illegible] of antibiotics and hormones [illegible] to inflammation of the udder [illegible] it was found that the milk was [illegible] that it destroyed the organisms [illegible] The effect was so powerful [illegible] the milk was mixed with that [illegible]

[illegible] family from France [illegible] proposed that in order to prevent [illegible] among the cocoa trees [illegible] the tree should be induced [illegible] all the mealy bug by which [illegible] transmitted from tree to tree He asked [illegible] if this poison could have on the cocoa bean

Lord Douglas then turned to the use of chemicals in the preparation of foodstuffs He referred to the bleaching of flour the maturing of flour in the place of a few [illegible] the chemicals used in bodies flour to rise more [illegible] intended them of Sir Edward Mellanby's discovery [illegible] data is toxic for dogs His results were taken notice [illegible] in the U S A who discontinued the use [illegible] doubted whether a preparation that was [illegible] dogs and other animals was harmless for human [illegible]

[illegible] factor in agenised food is a compound formed [illegible] the agene and the protein of wheat which showed [illegible] the chemical itself is relatively harmless it may [illegible] with one of the numerous substances of which [illegible] is composed to form a new and extremely toxic [illegible]

A Committee on the Treatment of Flour with Chemical Substances reported in 1927 on the use of chlorine as a [illegible] agent They said no harm was likely as a result [illegible] chlorine itself but the compounds it formed with [illegible] constituents of the flour might act injuriously [illegible] also pointed out that it might irremediably impair [illegible] nutritive qualities of the flour by affecting the [illegible] which are susceptible to mere traces of chemical [illegible]

[illegible] intention of the flour millers with the assent [illegible] Ministry of Food to substitute other so-called 'improvers' in place of agene [illegible] millers in India are still using agene and [illegible] Government is going to do anything about it [illegible]

— V G D]

[illegible] again there is a large class of emulsifiers [illegible] and fat extenders used in baking bread and [illegible]

The British Medical Journal reports eight deaths [illegible] the past 4 or 5 years among those engaged in [illegible] D N O C (dinitro-ortho-cresol) to fruit trees in [illegible] and for the destruction of weeds in cereal crops [illegible] *The Vegetarian Messenger* Sept 1951 p 196 V G D

[illegible] in [illegible] of patent flours and cake [illegible] He fed [illegible] polyoxyethyline stearates [illegible] bread [illegible] that they produced [illegible] of the food used for shortening On [illegible] during about three years sold more than seven million lbs of these products But experiments on cats etc showed that these substances are highly toxic affecting the kidneys and causing testicular and gastric troubles Their use had been banned in the oriental hospitals of New York State

He turned then to the sweetening agents used as substitutes for sugar the flavouring agents and colouring matter or dyes The sweeteners P 4000 and dulcin had been found to be definitely toxic Also dyes used for colouring matter had been found to be the cause of liver disease in test animals Butter yellow was found to be cancer producing Mineral oils not only had no nutritive value but because of their capacity for absorbing and immobilizing certain vitamins they actually deprive the body of essential elements in the diet

Cola drinks are composed of phosphoric acid sugar caffeine colouring and flavouring matter Although the amount of phosphoric acid may appear to be minimized to be small this acid is so powerful that it rapidly affects the teeth and dissolves the enamel as shown by tests at the U S Naval Medical Research Institute

Our article of food might at different stages have chemicals injected into it for various purposes Wheat or flour may be affected in D D T used as an insecticide treated with agene or other bleaching agents as improvers have fat extenders emulsifiers or anti-staling agents added to it and cake might have in addition flavouring or sweetening matter added to it

Having a relatively much longer life than test animals man might in the end suffer serious injury by the accumulated ingestion of relatively small quantities of these alien substances and such effects would be very difficult to detect

He pointed out the significance of the increase in recent years of diseases having a neurological component such as duodenal ulcers schizophrenia and disseminated sclerosis and reminded them that agene has a neurological effect on test animals Cancer now causes three times as many deaths as it did 50 years ago

The use of such chemicals in the preparation of foodstuffs should be prohibited The Committee in 1927 observed

'One view is that flour should be the product of milling wheat without the addition of any foreign substances'

Wise words applicable to all foodstuffs

It should be made an offence to use any kind of chemical as a substitute for a natural foodstuff and all food should be labelled with a precise and clear statement of what it contains and stating the quantity or proportion of each constituent

The matter should be under the supervision of one strong well-staffed and well-equipped central department free from association with any trade influence

No private organization or local health department could keep pace with the ingenuity of the chemist and the food manufacturer Many associations of food producers have research organizations often assisted by Government grants constantly engaged upon devising new methods of treating foodstuffs for the purpose of increasing the sales and the profits therefrom

He suggested that the Government should take energetic and immediate steps to set up such an organization and to pass legislation such as he had outlined at the close of his speech

SELF-RESTRAINT : SELF-INDULGENCE
By Mahatma Gandhi
Pages viii + 232 Price Rs 2 Postage etc As 10
NAVAJIVAN PUBLISHING HOUSE
Post Box 105 AHMEDABAD

COLLEGE EDUCATION

R Sastri, M A B O L

[illegible] dailies recently reported about [illegible] the interference by the Courts [illegible] disputes regarding promotion to a higher [illegible] in his college Matters relating to admission of students in a college, disciplinary actions taken by a Principal against students and the like have been of late very often taken to the Courts and the sacred freedom of educational institutions has been seriously challenged Even the domain of Alma Mater does not seem to be free from the dominating influence of Law

The system of education evolved by the University of Madras combines both the Western type of University education and the Gurukula system of our land Here all students, excepting those who live with their parents are expected to reside in a hostel where they lead a community life In many colleges especially in Missionary colleges the teachers and the students live together and by the exemplary personal life they lead the teachers help the students not only in their studies but also in building up good character The progress of the students is keenly watched by the teachers, and they are promoted after their performances in the quarterly half yearly and yearly examinations have been carefully judged Even to the public examinations students are sent up only when their day to day progress and the performances in the class examinations are found to be satisfactory The Principal with the assistance of the members of his staff judges the progress of the pupil and he has unquestionable authority to finally decide the matter regarding promotion No outside body including the University interferes in the decision of the Principal It is quite probable that all students are not sent up always If all the students are to be sent up for the examination irrespective of their attainments in the subjects of study logic demands that all students appearing for the examinations should also be similarly declared to have passed without any valuation of their answer papers To question this power of the Principal in a court of Law, or to challenge the validity of such a decision by him is undoubtedly trying to exercise outside pressure in the affairs of an educational institution where complete freedom is desired

It is hoped all educationists and public men interested in the real progress of students, will uphold the freedom and liberty of the educational institutions in disposing of such an internal affair as promotion of students without the outside pressure of Courts or political platforms Otherwise, the very system of our education will have to face grave danger

(Note While this is good so far as it goes it is necessary to consider also the causes of this decline in the prestige of educational institutions Unfortunately a good many of them have become [illegible] business Even as bribe is charged in Government departments for doing or expediting work, so too, I am told, it has become not unusual to receive it for promoting a student or giving him a form No such teacher or institution or examiner can win or be regarded as worthy of respect where such methods prevail Unless an institution maintains the high ideals of a Gurukul it cannot enjoy the respect and privilege due to it No student would dare challenge the authority and discretion of such institutions —K G M)

HEALTHY ACTIVITIES IN THE STUDENT WORLD

(By R R Keithahn)

[It is a hopeful sign that students all over India have begun to take an active interest in Peace movements and constructive activities involving hard physical labour Rev R R Keithahn who sends the following note is in charge of the student world on behalf of the Seva Sevak Sangh —K G M]

Thirty students met recently in a quiet village spot near Mysore city in an Echo Meeting of the 1951 International Peace Seminar, Kodaikanal This was entirely the work of one member of the Peace Seminar who was able to inspire fellow students to give such co-operation that the thirty delegates are determined to continue their fellowship monthly With the co-operation of older friends they plan to build up a library which will be of help to students interested in village work Plans were also made for a Vacation Work Camp in a Mysore village

Word has just come of the Anniversary Meeting of the Rural Welfare League of the Madras Christian College Three years ago they revived the Tambaram village school They helped to put the old building into shape and when I visited the school last October I found students and village youths digging a well in the school compound to be used in watering newly-planted trees and a garden The League is also carrying on a weaving centre within the College premises where village youths may learn how to weave and also make a living

Various Social Work Associations in the different Madras colleges have very recently completed a Social Training Institute for interested students There were six weekly meetings and discussions At the end of this training which included excursions to noteworthy centres of social activity faithful student participants received a diploma

At Madhurai a group of students live in a hostel next to a Labourers' Ashram and have their own daily discipline Several students carry on adult education regularly and do boys' work Many colleges can report of similar efforts of bridging the gap between the intellectual and labouring classes That we may give further guidance to interested students, Vacation Work Camps are being organized in several places in

[illegible] Wardha [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

goal. Nor can [illegible] decision "I will go as [illegible] is one of the secrets of Gandhi [illegible] he had one of this as [illegible] This goal was nothing less than [illegible] loyalty to Truth and the [illegible] of perfection. His power [illegible] in these absolute standards and [illegible] extravagance of his action. Absolute [illegible] — love — honesty were [illegible] not only sought but attained.

Could anything [illegible] in our modern society which [illegible] situations as building the Legislature [illegible] and Pakistan or in the development [illegible] Welfare State in Great Britain.

As there was no principle too high so there was no practical detail too small to claim in Gandhi's view the same loyalty to absolute Truth. A leaking tap in the Ashram which was a cause of insanitary condition [illegible] is necessary to deal with as the lack of health in the political state of the country.

Nor would he allow concern for the application of the principles of Truth in one important field to excuse a disregard of it in others. His condemnation of physical violence in political and international struggle was not less fierce than his condemnation of social and economic violence. This led him to self identification with the average man in his own country. Home spun clothing and poverty may be the outward sign of a real devotion to the standards of Gandhi himself — it might be the mechanical copying of the visible without the inner standard and at least in the West we have to seek sincerely to see what is the way to remove social and economic violence and how this will show itself in our way of life.

In his way of setting his standards we reach the fundamental secret of Gandhi's life. He was certain that Truth was revealed through the "inner voice" and he depended utterly on such guidance. Daily, and more often in times of stress, he sought inner retirement of spirit. With this continual spiritual refreshment as the centre of his life he seemed certain of the response of man's spirit to the Will of God and therefore trusted his own divinely illuminated intuition in all problems, great or small, which presented themselves to him. Whatever opinion we may have about any of his opinions or acts there is no question that there was a great consistency of purpose and method which could also be ours, were we only able to train ourselves to the same spiritual discipline.

(Extracts from *The Friendly Way* Feb. 52)

TO THE STUDENTS
By Mahatma Gandhi
Pages xix+324 Price Rs 3-8-0 Postage etc As 13
NAVAJIVAN PUBLISHING HOUSE
Post Box 105 AHMEDABAD

BEFORE AND AFTER PROHIBITION

The story of a mechanic's family of two — husband and wife — which could change over from a life of misery and indebtedness to one of happiness and prosperity within a short space of three years from Nippani in Belgaum District. This transformation was evidently due to the enforcement of the policy of Prohibition.

Before Prohibition

Though illiterate this mechanic is reported to be an expert in fitting and repairing oil engines, water pumps and flour mill machines and has a good demand from all over the country side places round about Nippani up to Kolhapur. But when there was no Prohibition, he used to spend almost all his daily earnings on drinking. At times he and his wife had to starve for want of money to buy base food. The poor woman was required to work in fields on daily wages for the maintenance of the household and even then the husband used to deprive her of her earnings for purposes of drinks. He was also ill treating his wife due to intoxication and financial difficulties. Brass or copper vessels were conspicuous in their house by absence and the couple were wearing dirty and torn clothes.

In Prohibition Days

But today, the scene in the house has undergone a radical change. Due to Prohibition, the husband does not get liquor and his earnings therefore go to purchase food and other necessaries of life for the now happy couple. The wife is no more required to labour in fields on daily wages and one can notice on her person gold ornaments — a *tikka* weighing about 1½ tolas and 15 *puttalis* weighing about three tolas. The mechanic is now possessing a bicycle and has some cash savings.

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Some Reflections

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HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor: K. G. MASHRUWALA

1628

VOL. XVI No. [illegible] AHMEDABAD — SATURDAY APRIL [illegible] 1952 TWO ANNAS

CONGRESS RESOLUTION ON SOUTH AFRICA

[The A.I.C.C. passed the following resolution on the South African Situation at its last Calcutta session.]

The All India Congress Committee deeply regrets that the Union Government of South Africa have rejected the direction of the General Assembly of the United Nations regarding the steps to be taken to settle the problem of persons of Indian origin in South Africa, and have continued to implement ruthlessly its policy of Apartheid. Both in the administrative and legislative spheres fresh disabilities, hardships and indignities have been imposed on the non-white population of the Union, including Indians. For many years past the Government of India have endeavoured to find an honourable way for a settlement of this problem in South Africa. All these attempts have, however, failed because of the attitude of the South African Union Government which has consistently ignored the decisions of the United Nations. The Group Areas Act introduces complete segregation in the whole of the Union and envisages the uprooting of thousands of non-whites, particularly Indians from their settled localities. Its chief aim is the liquidation of the Indian community in South Africa. Other legislation is also based on racial discrimination and the domination of a relatively small racial minority at the cost of the great majority of the population of the country.

2. The policy of the South African Government is a challenge to, and a defiance of, the Charter of the United Nations and the principles governing Human Rights which the United Nations have laid down. The Government and the people of India can never accept any policy based on racial discrimination. They have endeavoured and will continue to endeavour to find a peaceful settlement in consonance with the basic principles for which they stand and on which the United Nations Organization has been built up. Defiance of these principles must lead to racial conflict on a vast scale.

3. The A.I.C.C. welcomes the decision of the Supreme Court of South Africa declaring the South African Government's Act placing coloured voters in a separate electoral roll to be invalid. The Committee trusts that the South African Union Government, will in view of this high judicial decision, put an end to their policy of segregation.

4. The A.I.C.C. expresses its full sympathy with the people of Africa who suffer under degrading and discriminatory racial laws and whose progress is impeded by administrative and other measures. The Committee welcomes the co-operation of Africans and Indians in not submitting to such legislative and administrative measures which condemn them to servitude. The Committee however trusts that both the Indians and Africans will pursue peaceful and non-violent methods.

5. The Committee is of opinion that the interests of the Africans must have first place in Africa and Indians must not in any way associate themselves with the exploitation of Africans or seek any privilege at the cost of the Africans.

(From *Hitavada*, Nagpur, 23-3-52)

MANURE COMPOSTING AND GAS

For some time past manure composting and gas plants have been attracting the attention of agriculturists and village industry workers. One of the advantages claimed for this process is that "no unpleasant odour develops, nor do flies, rats or other pests and vermin display any interest in the compost."

This is attractive. But it seems to me that it may as well be indicative of danger. If flies, rats etc. and this odourless manure are made to live together, how would it affect the life and multiplication of these creatures? It is important to know this. For, "flies, rats, or other pests and vermin" are not the only creatures that thrive on refuse. There are other tiny creatures perhaps of innumerable types, which also live and thrive on them, and which are of immense importance to vegetable life and increase the nutritional value of vegetable food. Do these creatures also eschew the odourless residue of the plants? If so there might be something unhealthy or even poisonous in it. Man dishkes the odour of manure and night-soil — so very attractive and alluring to flies and rats. But flies do not flock to the heap merely to enjoy its odour like human being visiting flower gardens. The odour is their test of its suitability for food. Is it not possible that the residuary substance is like polished rice edible but

[illegible] important [illegible] this doubt

Wardha 10-8-52 K. G. MASHRUWALA

HIS TECHNIQUE AND ACHIEVEMENT

(By Pyarelal)

II — Training of Leaders

THE FIRST PERIOD CONTINUED

Here in Bihar were the old leaders — Rajendra Babu a rising legal luminary, Acharya Kripalani, the ardent revolutionary and others They had tried and exhausted all constitutional methods Terrorism they had renounced as, among other reasons, it had proved ineffectual They were faced by a blank wall The hiatus between the leadership of thought and leadership in action was complete — unbridgeable There was no common denominator of what they could plan and what the people could execute The result was deep frustration Gandhiji came to them with the evangel of action It filled them with a new sense of hope As the first thing he made the leaders transform themselves into servants He made the irrepressible Acharya forget his professorship and assigned to him the duty of a peon and a *bhangi*, and when the Acharya could not quite master his pugilistic temperament sent him to work in the kitchen to cook! At his bidding other leaders, the cream of the legal profession in Bihar turned themselves into clerks — mute workers He made them clean their dishes and wash their clothes — which they had never done in their lives before and which they had hitherto regarded as tasks fit only for menials to perform He thereby made them realize their identity with the toiling masses in however limited a manner and prepared their minds to think in terms of the mental capacity and daily experience of the common folk which is the basic preparation for any mass movement He sent forth the women of his Ashram, untrained and uneducated as these expressions are commonly understood — headed by his wife Kasturba Gandhi, who was almost illiterate — to minister to the man and women in Bihar's villages He provided them with only three drugs — quinine, castor oil and sulphur ointment Their other equipment consisted of the basic disciplines to which he had introduced them in his Ashram and which enabled them to move about freely and fearlessly in remote villages among utter strangers and to find interest and inspiration in ministering to them in the humble way without feeling jaded or fagged They set up a school at Motihari and became school masters!

"But what shall I teach them, I myself know next to nothing?" asked an elderly sister

"You teach them history," suggested Gandhiji quietly

"That would be fine" replied the lady—"But don't you see I know nothing of history myself? How can I teach it to others?"

"But you have seen the world for fifty years," rejoined Gandhiji "Who could be a fitter [illegible] what [illegible] time

She [illegible] forthwith

This was the [illegible] education needed in the villages not the history of England or of the various dynasties and governor general of India

These simple minded unsophisticated workers gave to thousands the relief they needed but which nobody ever gave or thought of giving to them They carried to them the message of literacy, industry health cleanliness and sanitation They emancipated the women from *purdah* and instilled into them some of their faith and courage Before long the whole country-side boiled over There was hope and enthusiasm where there was only blank despair before

B THE SECOND PERIOD 1919 TO 1933

Non-co-operation Movement

The second period (1919 1933) of his life may be said to have opened with the agitation against the Rowlatt Act On the sixth of April, 1919 mass Satyagraha on nationwide scale in India was born It was observed by fasting prayer and abstention from normal work — things within the mental reach and capacity of every man woman and child of India It taught the common people to say No when they meant 'No' When an entire people learns to say 'No' in a disciplined manner no power on earth can hold them in bondage But this could be possible only under non-violence Gandhiji for the first time taught the country the secret of its power The result was a surprise even to the author of the movement It exceeded all expectations It evoked a response even in the remotest hamlets in the interior — beyond the reach of the courier the post office or the telegraph It showed that there was something in the technique and the programme presented which gave expression to some hitherto unrecognized, deep buried impulse in the hearts and consciousness of the people The people discovered themselves and their latent inherent strength

The people realized their power But they had yet to learn the conditions that govern that power And a bitter lesson it proved to be In places people went mad and at Amritsar had to pay for it on the 13th of April in the tragedy of the Jallianwalla Bagh It was, however, found that where the people had lost their senses and indulged in acts of violence as in certain parts of Gujarat, repression produced depression But where innocent blood had been shed by the Government the people came out purified and strengthened from the ordeal

The non-co-operation movement that followed in its wake marked a further stage in the development of the technique of organized, non-violent resistance The picture that confronted Gandhiji was that of a nation of three hundred

millions lying prostrate at the feet of an alien imperial power which had used the arm of 'political injustice" to crush the indigenous crafts and industries of the people and was draining it of its wealth by exploiting its raw materials to feed its own industry The vast bulk of the Indian masses were condemned to forced unemployment and idleness during the greater part of the year

The humiliation of the political subjection of his country went deep into Gandhiji's soul He denounced it as Satanic Behind his indignant revolt was his deep moral earnestness which was outraged by the spectacle of the utter demoralization of three hundred millions who dared not speak what they felt, whose cowardly existence had become a living lie and a denial of God under the incubus of foreign rule Not a little of the power that characterized his writings and utterances at that time and which fired the country from one end to the other had its rool in his impassioned devotion to truth and the importance he attached to moral freedom

If the people refused to be parties willing or forced to their own exploitation and enslavement, the evil of foreign rule could not continue for a day longer argued Gandhiji Evil by itself he said is sterile, it exists and flourishes through the implication of good in it. If all good people ceased completely to co-operate with an unjust and tyrannous system of rule it must collapse under the weight of its own unadulterated iniquity We all remember how in the *Geeta* Lord Krishna in the vision of the cosmic form — বিশ্বরূপ — shows to Arjuna Duryodhana and the other Kauravas as self-destroyed — destroyed by their own evil কালোঽস্মি লোকক্ষয়কৃৎ প্রবৃদ্ধঃ He says "I am a *priori* Time seated in *a priori* space And in Shelley's *Prometheus Unbound*, Zeus, the principal of evil, is dethroned not by any form of force it topples down by its own weight It is dethroned by Chronos — which again is the same thing as '*a priori* Time, seated in *a priori* space"

But the difficulty is that we want to overthrow evil but are not prepared to renounce personal benefits that accrue to us from it We co-operate with the evil principle by ourselves imitating what we condemn in the adversary, and that sustains the evil we want to overthrow

Out of this reasoning developed the programme of the triple boycott of councils, law courts and governmental or government-aided educational institutions boycott of all mill-made cloth, whether foreign or indigenous, renunciation of titles and finally, non-payment of taxes The pell that had hypnotized the people — particularly the intelligentsia, so that they hugged the very chains that enslaved them — needed to be broken The triple-boycott was the means

But non-co-operation with the government must mean co-operation amongst all the sections of the people — the rich and the poor [illegible] and outcaste Hindu Muslim Parsi Christian and Sikh It included universalization of spinning and *khadi* as the bond uniting the rich with the poor communal unity, removal of untouchability, enrolment of volunteers and collection of funds to work out the new programme This was the positive aspect of the programme of non-violent non co-operation of which the various boycotts were the negative aspect

(To be continued)

ABOUT THE 'HARIJAN'

As the reader knows, it has been decided by the Navajivan Trust to continue this paper for six months more during which period it is expected that the subscribers will so increase as to remove the large deficit that the Trust has to suffer at present Various inquiries are made about the actual charges that the paper has to meet The following information will answer such queries

The number of subscribers (by post or through agents) on 28-2-'52 is 2840 About three hundred more are printed for exchange presentation etc

The actual expenditure per chief heads of expenses is as follows

Credit		Debit	
Subscribers 2 088 × 6	12 528 0 0	Editorial Office expenses	10,380 0 0
Agents 744 × 4-14	3 627 0 0	Management expenses	4 176 0 0
	16 283 0 0	Press Bill	16,152 0 0
Deficit	16 458 0 0	Postage despatch etc	2 003 0 0
Total	32 741 0 0	Total	32 741 0 0

The reader will see from this that the actual charge per copy is Rs 11 5 which is more than the annual subscription of Rs 6 - by Rs 5 5 To remove the deficit at least 2800 persons should come forth to subscribe during the coming few months Till now 765 have registered themselves as new subscribers The Trust hopes that within the next two or three months the necessary target will be reached enabling the Trust to continue the paper

Ahmedabad 27 3-'52

JIVANJI D DESAI
Managing Trustee
Navajivan Trust

New Subscribers

The figures of subscribers up till 29th March are as follows

Harijan Bandhu	5,848
Harijan	3,647
Harijan Sewak	2,958
Total	12 453

i e a net increase of 3453 since 1st March '52.

— D.

HARIJAN

April 5 1952

SOME REFLECTIONS

The All-India Congress Committee has met in Calcutta just last week. None may say that Shri Jawaharlal Nehru the Congress President suffers from the habit of self-condemnation. But he is also self-introspective and well conscious of the weaknesses in himself and his organizations, and has sufficient frankness to confess them openly. He and Shri Purushottamdas Tandon and a few others made some outspoken speeches at Calcutta for improving and revitalizing the Congress institution. They are anxious that this old institution should attract new blood. When those who are past sixty now joined the Congress it was not an institution which could gain them places of power and profit, or the favours of government officers. If they had cared for these, many of them had learning and influence enough to get into lucrative government posts. But these had no attraction for them. What they sought was institutions and movements which would give them an opportunity to act in a spirited manner and undergo suffering for the sake of the country. They preferred leaders who would lead them to gallows and prisons and make them experience privations and poverty rather than comforts and money. Terrorist and extremist leaders attracted many a youth because of such opportunities in that career. When these movements failed, some turned to ascetic life.

Gandhiji became the hero of the nation, because both through his political and constructive activities he gave young men and women opportunities to make sacrifices. He adopted the Congress and created many Constructive Institutions. The common feature in all of them was that they required spirited young men and women to enter upon a life of sacrifice to do something new and bold in life. None of Gandhiji's activities, till the end of his life degenerated into easy life. When institutions become just comfortable establishments carrying on routine work and observance of forms, they cease to attract men of spirit although they might still be carrying on activities useful to the nation. Spirited men and women have the tendency to join even asocial and positively immoral activities if good institutions do not provide work of sufficient high pitch to satisfy their enthusiasm.

What applies to the Congress applies also to the Constructive Institutions. As long as funds are anyhow available to them none of them may die for mere want of workers. But it is not any workers and funds that keep an institution live. It is workers with originality, spirit and faith that keep it always fresh, youthful and progressive. For this there has to be a clear goal that calls for acts of courage and self-sacrifice. Sufferings and hardships do not detract young men as they do men of older age. But they do not love sufferings and hardships for their own sake. There must be an object in undergoing them and the object must be fairly concrete and worthy of their energies.

The Congress has been often criticized for its internal dissensions and power politics, for corruption into its ranks and moral degeneration, for its loss of contact with the people, for its departure from Gandhian ideals, for its communalism, provincialism, casteism and so on. Workers in Constructive Institutions have not been less critical of the Congress than the general public and the non-Congress Press. Perhaps a part of the popularity which I have gained as Editor of *Harijan* is due to my share in the criticism of the Congress and the Congress Government.

Just as the Congress leaders turned their eyes towards themselves at Calcutta, it is time that leaders of Constructive Institutions should also do so when they meet at Sevapuri. Are the Constructive Institutions free from the blemishes for which they criticize the Congress? Have they not their own institutional jealousies and even personal rivalries and power politics among them? Gandhiji was the common founder or guide of all the Constructive Institutions. Are the relations of all these *inter se* those of goodwill and amity? Is their perfect mutual understanding, respect and friendliness? Do the Constructive workers and Institutions not suffer from the same diseases as the Congress? We condemn imperialism and caste. But what is imperialism but the ambition of one powerful unit to physically and spiritually devour and control all smaller units? And what is caste but imperialism in rebellion? It is the ambition to carve out a small independent principality from a larger body. We talk of casteless and democratic co-operative societies but both imperialism and casteism are as much present in us as among those whom we criticize.

I respectfully suggest that we should make some frank self-examination on this solemn occasion.

There are about a dozen or more all-India institutions founded by Gandhiji or dedicated to carry on activities and programmes preached by him. Gandhiji will live well or poorly in ages to come only through institutions working out these programmes. The present leaders of these institutions are co-workers of Gandhiji. There is a great responsibility on them to conduct and develop these institutions in the true Gandhi spirit.

Are the heads of these institutions bound with one another by ties of love and friendliness — a spirit of comradeship? Is each one helpful to others and considers the progress and prestige of another as his own? When they come together do they meet and disperse with deeper and friendlier feelings than before?

Are we who call ourselves Constructive workers, fired with a common aim, personal aim of life? Are we able to fo[illegible] own individual position in the institu[illegible] through which we work? No doubt we [illegible] various constructive activities to thrive. Each one of us must, therefore have abundant faith in the constructive programme and a proper measure of faith in his own self. Faith in oneself, — self-confidence — is a good and necessary quality. But this faith must not be coupled with the idea that he can succeed only if he is put in authority and all others work under him; that he cannot operate if he has to work under others. When this feeling takes hold of him though his object is the service of the people and his life is more simple and industrious than that of a man of equal education and ability, he gets heavily loaded with personal ego. An individualist becomes an emperor, if possible if he cannot do that he creates, in society a caste, in politics a kingdom in religion, a sect. Under modern conditions he founds a new party, or a new institution.

Having had the privilege of living and working with Bapu and having been loved and honoured by him for a good many years each one of us feels as being an independent projection of Gandhiji. Our combined egotism makes us feel that the Constructive workers are as an aggregate a caste superior to Congressmen. But when they are in the midst of their colleagues, each has a different way of thinking and a rather scant respect for others. The result is that the spirit of brotherhood does not grow.

This defect, I am afraid might do more harm to the constructive programme than any apathy of the Government or the people.

संगच्छध्वं, संवदध्वं, सं वो मनांसि जानताम्

"March together. Speak together in harmony. Know your minds well" — said the Vedic teacher. This is indispensable for Sarvodaya.

Wardha 25-3-'52 K. G. MASHRUWALA

South African Struggle

I wish to draw the attention of readers to the A. I. C. C.'s resolution on South Africa published elsewhere. I think this is a matter on which all political parties of India and Pakistan should pass similar resolutions.

Shri Manilal Gandhi will have completed his three week fast when this reaches the readers. He is extremely anxious that while the segregated communities should offer as strenuous resistance as possible against the Apartheid policy the struggle must remain absolutely non-violent. There is a great danger of agents of violence leading the simple Africans to commit acts of mob insanity with disastrous consequences to that community itself. Indian politicians of all shades of opinion will do well to support Shri Manilal Gandhi in his attempt to save the movement from violence. I doubt not that they will also support the parties which resist Dr. Malan's attempt to brush aside the Supreme Court's decision against his laws.

Wardha 27-3-'52 K. G. M.

HUMILITY

When Gandhiji was about to found the Satyagraha Ashram at Ahmedabad he circulated a preliminary draft of the rules and regulations of the Ashram among a few friends. One of them was the late Sir Gurudas Banerji of Calcutta. He suggested that humility should be accorded a place among the observances. Gandhiji, however, did not accept the suggestion on the ground that 'humility cannot be an observance by itself. For it does not lend itself to being deliberately practised.'" It is, however,' he writes "an indispensable feat of *ahimsa*. In one who has *ahimsa* in him it becomes part of his very nature.' He says further, "although humility is not one of the observances, it is certainly as essential as, and perhaps even more essential than any of them. Only it has never come to any one by practice. Truth can be cultivated as well as love. But to cultivate humility is tantamount to cultivating hypocrisy.'

It seems to me that Gandhiji was led to distinguish between truth, love and other observances on the one hand and humility on the other, because he personally did not have to think of the latter by itself. Humility was as natural to him as his childlike simplicity or the particular shape of his nose and ears. A man is not conscious of his natural qualities. But even as his nose and his ears and simplicity or sophistry grow with him, so too does a natural virtue like humility. A man also develops it by paying attention to it, and by proper introspection. Even an observance of the type of truth, non-violence etc. ceases to grow from stage to stage, if not accompanied with continuous attention and introspection. They too might degenerate into observances of certain external do's and don't's.

But perhaps humility differs from other observances in one respect. Truth for instance, is cultivated positively by acting according to truth as one has realized it and negatively by refraining from doing what is realized as untruth. In regard to humility, however, its positive practice might become just good manners or etiquette or even hypocrisy. It is cultivated by negative action i.e. shedding of egotism and it grows along with one's progressive realization and assimilation of truth. Assimilation of truth dissolves egotism and generates humility.

Bapu was truthful even before he became a votary of non-violence. Hence, humility came to him and grew in him very naturally. But as he himself has observed in the same chapter from which the above quotations have been taken (*From Yeravda Mandir*, Ch. XIII)

Humility should make the possessor *realize* that he is as nothing. Directly we imagine ourselves to be something there is egotism. Only a little thought will suffice to convince us that all creatures are nothing more than a mere

from in the universe To feel that we are something is to set up a barrier between God and ourselves to cease feeling that we are something is to become one with God True humility means most strenuous and constant endeavour entirely directed towards the service of humanity"

Wardha, 26-3-52 K G MASHRUWALA

REAL COMMUNISM

Some months ago I published an article by Shri M P T Acharya (*Harijan*, 27-10-1951) in which he explained the difference between Communism and Bolshevism, (i e the system of Government prevailing in Russia) This has brought me a number of protests accusing Shri Acharya of presenting the Russian system in a distorted form They say that the only purpose of calling it State Capitalism can be to create the same aversion against it as there is against Private Capitalism — the word Capitalism having become so unpopular in society It is pointed out that even if Bolshevism is not Communism but State Capitalism it is a far better economic order than that of Private Capitalism from the point of view of the masses It has given them more food, clothes, education comforts leisure security against calamities etc It is government run in the interest of the many and not of a handful of men Even if every peasant and worker is made a mere wage-earning labourer and deprived of freedom of thought speech work etc., he is well-fed and well looked after This never had happened before under Feudalism, Private Capitalism or any other system Hence, the Bolshevism or the Russian pattern of Communism must not be classed in the same category as Capitalism

I think that the word State Capitalism is not an untruthful description of the Russian system It is a technical term of Economics, and it is wrong to look upon a term itself with contempt All the elements of Capitalism, such as ownership and control over means of production interest profits rent difference in wages and emoluments are present in both Both need a heavy machinery of administrative staff who do not produce anything themselves, but who control the producers and are better paid than the producers Both the systems are brought into existence and maintained by violent means In both a large number of people are at the mercy of a few

Communism is another technical term of economics It is the administration of a community by a commune — a *panchayat* as we might call it in India It is an order in which none of the elements of Capitalism are present There is no centralization of government of agriculture industries production distribution etc no profits, rent interest and commercialism There is no administrative staff which does no productive labour itself and yet is handsomely maintained by the producers It is a small community of self governing people It is not brought into existence and maintained by violence but is a natural and voluntary association of a group of people living in close contact with one another

That the Russian and the new Chinese Governments have considerably improved the material conditions of their poor masses within a short period of time is a compliment, which may not be withheld from them But the spiritual and psychological side of the process must not be overlooked Heartless violence has been its means A part of Russia's economic order has been brought about by concentration camp labour on conditions similar to if not worse than, slavery or the *begar* or *veth* system of India, the indentured labour system of the Colonial Empires of Great Britain France, Holland etc China is still in making We do not know what shape it will take in ten years' time The present order might change beyond recognition

One of the means of perpetuating a system is cutting a deep groove into the minds of the people by the enforced practice of a single track for a long period of time People are not allowed any opportunity to learn or think for themselves For instance in India this was brought about by our caste system The idea of the caste has been so deeply rooted in our blood that for crores of people it has become impossible to accept any idea or reform however reasonable or beneficial if it could not be fitted into the caste psychology On the other hand, even evils have been resignedly tolerated or thoughtlessly perpetuated under the spell of the caste The Russian system seems to be treading the same path Within a century or so it might produce a nation as superstitiously clinging to the codes of Lenin, Stalin and their successors, as we do to what might be put before us as the injunctions of customs *shastras* or castes

Of course, the human mind does ultimately protest against such bondage Rebellious spirits always rise in revolt But a revolt means a long period of suffering and martyrdom For instance from the time of Buddha and Mahavir to Vallabhacharya and so many reformers and sect-founders of less renown a strong or mild protest against the narrowness of Smritis has constantly been raised And yet we are not out of the wood yet So the rebellious spirit of the Russian nation will rise against its present order sooner or later But what price it will have to pay in terms of suffering, it is difficult to forecast

It is suggested that Communism will evolve out of the present Bolshevic order in course of time Perhaps it will But it will not be brought about by the Bolshevists themselves, but by rebels against them And these rebels will be put down ruthlessly by the Bolshevist

[illegible] rebels [illegible] will [illegible] that it is a shorter route, they to [illegible] but true Communism

This is what Shri [illegible] Acharya has sought to establish in his article If we can learn one great lesson from the experience of ages that no lasting good can and has been achieved through violence and that even for the vast radical changes in society we must seek a non-violent method a method based on voluntary sacrifice and love for humanity we shall bring Sarvodaya more assuredly than can be expected through the mightiest of bloody revolutions At the same time nothing can be achieved by those whose non-violence means merely non-activity and complacency and reluctance to change their established course of life

Bombay, 5-2-'52 K G MASHRUWALA

THE PAWAYA CONFERENCE — II

The workers' meeting in the evening was marked by questions and answers. A friend wanted to know what attraction could the movement have for a political worker like him

Vinoba answered The politics of India were different from that of other countries The Indian people formed a composite society made up of divers elements Our problems were therefore peculiar and we must evolve appropriate means for resolving them Lack of unity and scorn for labour have been the bane of our life throughout history These were the cause of our subjugation by foreigners The *Bhoodan-Yajna* attacked both these weaknesses at the root It would raise the dignity of labour as well as of the labourer All parties were agreed that land should be provided to the poor, the difference of opinion came in only as to the way it should be done Vinoba held that if we could solve the land problem through the power of non-violence we would have shown to the world a new way which could be universally adopted for resolving conflicts

The question was how long, after all should we continue to be frightened of one another India feared Pakistan and Pakistan feared India Similarly America and Russia were afraid of each other The fear caused a preponderant and a wholly disproportionate share of the revenue of each country to be wasted on armaments Economically we were not in a position to bear these heavy expenses Ultimately the expenditure would land India in political subordination, if not loss of freedom We must therefore create the power of non-violence

Hence Vinoba said, during his tour, when ever he referred to the elections, he did not use the term 'fighting the election battle but 'playing the election game"

If the leaders ran down one another, they appeared before the public in the role of vilifiers and the people lost faith and respect for every one of them He [illegible] held that the policies and programmes which affect the larger life of the nation should be planned and worked out with the unanimous consent of all parties For example bad demand for the separate Andhra province been satisfactorily decided the present complications would not have arisen Bombay was a similar problem Vinoba was of opinion that all these problems should be solved by arbitration and internal unity must be preserved There should be no conflict of interest between the cities and the villages and there should be co-operation between political and social workers of different parties This was the need to which the politics of our country should be addressed Gandhiji was a good politician because he was able to achieve such unity — even if for a short period only

Poverty

In answer to another question, Vinoba said, he did not assert that the solution of the land-problem would automatically solve the entire problem of our poverty Along with the movement for land gifts they would have to promote village industries also The villages should be able to fulfil their prime necessities locally They must stop the entry of mechanically manufactured goods into the villages Then only could they give full employment to the villagers For that they should plan our economic development programme on the basis of decentralization that is with the village as a self-sufficient economic unit Otherwise they would have to continue to look helplessly to the centre for all their needs The centre should be strong not materially but morally

Yarn Offerings

Speaking about yarn offerings, Vinoba said that there were eighteen crores voters in the country We should be able to collect more than that number of hanks, to spread the Gandhian teaching It meant that we would need in every village at least one person who accepted non-violence and tackled things from that view-point He had an ambition that he should be able to bring all the parties together for this purpose

The Conference considered how best they could step up the work of *Bhoodan-Yajna* and decided to divide the *pradesh* into seven regional parts Supervisors one for each post were appointed to look after the work It was also decided to open a central office of *Bhoodan* work for the whole *pradesh* at Lucknow Shri Kapilbhai has been placed in charge of the office which will be housed in Gandhi Ashram Hajarat Ganj Lucknow

(From the original in Hindi) D M

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MINISTER OF HEALTH

[illegible] footnote to my letter of protest [illegible] the appointment of a doctor as Health [illegible] (*Harijan* 15-3-1952) you say regarding [illegible] nations of the Health Minister that he [illegible] possess the qualification of being in good [illegible] and that he does not use drugs (and filthy vaccines). In this connection I beg to say that I possess all the qualifications which you say are necessary for a Health Minister to possess and have. I was vaccinated only in infancy when being a helpless infant I could not resist it. I have not been vaccinated nor inoculated for more than sixty years at least nor have I drunk doctors' medicine nor taken the wretched injections into my body for more than fifty years at least. I am now 72 years old and enjoy good health simply by observing laws of good health described in Chellings's book *Key to Health* and in Dr John Kellogg's book *How to have good health* — such as eating in moderation omitting a meal when I am not hungry, daily moderate walking exercise at seashore, cleanliness, no worry etc. Those who do not know me say that I look only 60 years old and not 72 years of age which is my real age. Thus I possess all the qualifications which you say a health minister should have. I therefore request you to please recommend me as the fittest person to be the Health Minister of Bombay through columns of *Harijan* to the Chief Minister of Bombay. As I have sufficient (small) income of my own I will not ask for any salary as Health Minister. It is true that at the general election recently held I was not a candidate but it is certain that my work as Health Minister for the next five years for the good of people's health will be quite satisfactory to the people of Bombay province who will at the next General Election in 1957 certainly elect me as M.L.A. and approve of the Prime Minister appointing me as Health Minister now. I therefore again request you to recommend me in *Harijan* as fittest person now to be appointed Health Minister of Bombay. Medical qualifications are not necessary because cleanliness and sanitation alone are true preventives of diseases.

Yours faithfully,
Sorabji R. Mistri

PS. I say as Mr Lincoln said:

If I am elected I shall be thankful; if not, it's all the same.

[*Note.* I am willing to recommend. I do think he is well qualified. But under the present system unless Shri Mistri joins the Congress, is willing to accept joint responsibility in the Cabinet, is accepted as a fit candidate by the Party and elected by the people within six months of his appointment, the Chief Minister will turn down my recommendation as unpractical and a joke. So, on the whole, it is best to make of Lincoln's advice a virtue of necessity. I do hope that without any burden of office Shri Mistri is able to work in his own locality as a true minister of [illegible] thing wrong, [illegible] that the society [illegible] of its fit [illegible]

[illegible] K. G. M.]

NOTES

Turn to Villages

We have until a little while ago concentrated over work in cities and we have arranged our plans according to the needs of cities. We have to reverse the process now. The cities are capable of taking care of themselves. It is the villages we have to turn to. We have to disabuse them of their prejudices, their superstitions, their narrow outlook and we can do so in no other manner than that of staying amongst them and sharing their joys and sorrows and spreading elimination and intelligent information amongst them. Let this institution draw a larger number of men to dedicate themselves to the service of their province.

[Extract from Mahatma Gandhi's address before Parsi Rafikul Mandal, Poona (India), 30-4-1931.]

M. D.

Ahimsa Week

The Ahimsa Movement organized by us on a minute scale in 1925 has made gradual progress during the last 27 years. At the request of Miss Margaret E. Ford, Hon. Secretary, World League Against Vivisection, London, we celebrated the World Animal Day during the last four years. Meat stalls at several places were closed on October 4th since 1948 and the Animal Day celebrations last year were an unprecedented success.

As this movement is universal and it is neither political nor sectarian, we request all to co-operate with us in observing the Ahimsa Week which falls on the first week of May every year. The following three precepts have to be observed during the week:

1. To abstain from killing
2. To take only vegetarian diet
3. To give rest to animals from 11.30 a.m. to 1 p.m. and to abstain from travelling in vehicles drawn by animals during that time.

The co-operation of priests and teachers of all religions and associations is earnestly invited to make this movement a success.

Panaditta, Ceylon — W. S. FERNANDO, Principal, Universal College

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HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor: K. G. MASHRUWALA

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DISTRIBUTION OF GIFTED LANDS

[Questions have been asked about the manner in which land received by Vinobaji by way of gift is distributed among landless peasants. Here is a brief statement of the principles followed in doing so The information is taken from *Bhoodan Yojna** a Hindi booklet, and a letter from Shri Vinoba in answer to an inquiry made by Shrimati Manibehn Patel The subject will be considered in greater detail with friends at Sevapuri in light of suggestions received from experts —K G M I

1 General

A Land-Gift-Committee has been appointed for each State for distributing the land received in the course of the tour Generally it is distributed to local landless peasants It is given only to such people, as have no other means of livelihood and who can do land labour

The area to be given to each will depend upon the condition of each province. For instance, in Hyderabad a family of five is generally given one acre of wet or five acres of dry land. Very likely the same proportion will be fixed for U P

The members of the Committee will visit every village in which land is to be distributed, and distribute it to deserving persons in the presence of the villagers The first preference will be given to those who have experience in agriculture and about whom the villagers feel confident that they would serve the land in a proper manner The giving away of land like the giving away of a bride will be done in the presence of a gathering The receiver shall not sell his land for ten years

Attempts are being made to get the documentary formalities of the transactions carried out without stamp duty, registration charges etc Governments will be approached to make necessary laws or rules for the purpose

The work of distribution has already commenced in Hyderabad with the co-operation of the State Government, with the result that the Committee gets additional gifts in the villages which it visits

2 Supplementary

There are three types of gifts

1 Land which is cultivated by the donor himself A good deal of such land has been received It directly goes to landless peasants

2. There are some lands which though cultivable are not under cultivation at present. Their owners are requested to gift away all such lands after breaking them with tractors or ploughs Some donors have acceded to the request. In case a donor is unable to accede to the request the land will have to be broken with the help of either the Government, or monetary donations, or the free labour of volunteers We have received promises of some free labour, but it is not sufficient It is possible to get more of it

3 Regarding the gift of land which is under cultivation by tenants, the tenants who cultivate them might themselves be (a) large cultivators — i e have sub-tenants or (b) small cultivators

In the former case the big tenants are requested to donate their tenancy rights in the latter case the small cultivators are made full owners

Wherever zamindari is being abolished, and the zamindars are to receive compensation, we ask for the gift of the compensation We have received some donations of this type We do not receive the compensation money ourselves. But we shall inform the Government what part of the compensation or what land for which compensation is due, has been donated to us so that the Government can deduct the amount of the donated compensation, and use the saving to help landless peasants rehabilitated by us

4 Small cultivators have also made land donations They are a token of their love We propose to make use of them for the benefit of the landless peasants in consultation with the village people Some of these plots are as small as 05 or 10 acre Attempt is made to find a rich man, who will take such plots and give in exchange a consolidated piece which can be distributed to landless cultivators Alternatively arrangement will be made to have such plots cultivated by the villagers and the produce used for the benefit of the poor If this too is not possible some other way will have to be found

(Translated from Hindi)

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Bhoodan Fortnight

I regret I learnt about the Bhoodan Fortnight too late to refer to it in *Harijan* Needless to say I wholeheartedly support the resolution of the U P Congress Committee Indeed I think this is a programme which should be taken up by all political parties unitedly, and I hope workers of all shades of political opinion will join hands in making the fortnight a success

Wardha, 5-4-'52 K G M

STRAIGHT FROM THE HEART

[Prayer Answered From 1948 onwards I waited and prayed — waited for the advent of 'Bapu Raj' and prayed for light and strength to serve truly the Great Cause As the days and months went by the pain of waiting grew more and more intense and the fervour of my prayer went on increasing At last, far away in the Himalayas out of the divine silence of the Eternal Snows, came the long sought response to my prayer Courage now filled my heart I took up pen and paper and the following three articles are the result

I have started by elucidating points Nos 3 and 7 on Disarmament and Aircraft as they are the ones most likely to be misunderstood, and the rest of the points I shall afterwards take up one by one At the same time I propose to develop the whole matter in simple village Hindi, so as to reach the peasantry and I will myself make a direct contact with them by riding through the country side with this message of Bapu's Ideals for Free India

This message was once the message of the Congress but today the whole picture has changed and the Congress may even look upon me with disapproval It should not — personally I regard myself as a true friend of the Congress — because I am striving for the great ideals by which it once fought and conquered The Congress should recognize that it was the *Ideals* that conquered, and it is these ideals alone that can successfully overcome the difficulties and dangers which today surround us on all sides — Mira]

A Question and a Suggestion

A question continually haunts me I have long hesitated to ask it, yet without asking it I can get no peace It is this " How many people in India even amongst the Gandhian Group, really believe in the whole of Bapu's ideals for a free self-sufficient, happy nation ? "

Of course a counter-question immediately arises " What do I consider these ideals to be ? "

Let me enumerate them according to my belief I put them down in the form of the first basic steps which should be taken if we sincerely want to get on the True Path

In the first place the Constitution has to be scrapped and we have to begin on an entirely new basis as follows

1 The whole Government administrative machine to be ruthlessly simplified and reduced

2 A new form of election to be planned, culminating in small Governing Bodies at the Centre, and in readjusted States

3 Candidates for election to pass through stiff non party training and tests before being eligible

4 *Kisans* and *mazdoors* to be associated with Government in high places

5 The Law to be simplified and decentralized in a manner harmonious with the spirit of India

6 The Army and Navy to be disbanded, and simply a strong police force to be kept for maintenance of internal order, the officers and men of which to be trained up to a very high standard of morals and honour

7 Air Services to be done away with.

8 Control and reduction of motor traffic, tractors etc

9 Localized (regional) self-sufficiency to be developed to the full, both economically and administratively, and the whole strength of the Nation to be concentrated on agriculture, animal husbandry, forestry and village industries, which must be fully protected from foreign and internal competition

10 All *vanaspati* biscuit and other fancy-food factories to be closed down, and all cloth, sugar, oil, rice and flour mills to be progressively done away with, a short time being allowed for setting up the village production of these articles. Likewise manufacture of all sorts of luxury goods to be strictly curtailed

11 Balanced distribution of land and labour

12 All grand buildings connected with Government and Government representatives to be given up, and every one to live in humble style befitting representatives of India's masses.

13 Foreign Embassies and Legations to be reduced to a minimum, and such as may remain to be run on the simplest possible lines

14 All big development projects such as hydro-electric, irrigation, artificial manure and other schemes to be held in abeyance until they have been thoroughly investigated, the opinion of the *kisans* of the districts affected being taken fully into account Where there is not strong opinion in favour of these projects they should be closed down forthwith and all efforts should be concentrated on small localized schemes which can be controlled by the *kisans* themselves, and which can give immediate results

15 All foreign loans and gifts to be refunded as soon as possible, and future dependence on foreign countries to be avoided

16 The present education system to be scrapped and basic education of the Sevagram type to be introduced throughout India Details regarding higher education can be worked out in due course but the present colleges and schools to be closed down forthwith and the students for the time being to be put on to useful development work

17 Control of cinema, radio, literature and advertising specially with regard to luxury vice and crime

18 Encouragement of healthy art and literature, which will in fact grow spontaneously out of the atmosphere created by the above

This is merely an outline, and as I have said above of the first fundamentals only Far away in these vast mountains I have no one to consult but the Himalayan forests and Eternal Snows (for fundamentals indeed the best advisers), and naturally the points adumbrated here will undergo additions and embellishments when discussed and worked out in consultation with others

Now for the suggestion — it is this

Those of us, be we many, or ever so few, who have full faith of this kind, should join hands and

act — how? By getting into direct contact with the masses particularly the peasantry and acquainting them with the whole of this programme They are really nearer to Bapu than the intellectuals and the politicians and yet what have we done up to now to enlighten them on many of these matters? Take for instance the question of disbandment of the Army Have we done anything to educate the mass mind in this direction? Yet this is the very foundation stone on which any Gandhian Nation has to be built, and it is just because all Gandhian Schemes, put forward in these days side track this issue, that they have no bottom to them

I know it is sometimes argued, saying, because after the attainment of Independence the Congress took to the use of all the orthodox methods of State for dealing with riots, wars and other problems that Bapu approved of it all. There could be no more cruelly unjust interpretation. Whenever Bapu saw that people had no faith in a particular kind of action, he never tried to force them During those last tragic days of his life, Bapu watched the dropping of his ideals one after another Not only the Army, but all the paraphernalia of Imperial State were taken over by the Congress as if to the manner born I was with Bapu in Delhi until the latter half of December 1947, and silently witnessed the suffering of his soul Time and again Bapu used sadly to say "My word carries no weight in these days." In a silence-note he gave me on some Monday, in answer to a question, he wrote "These are not old days Now there are wheels within wheels You can't do any useful service by seeing these military men except as friendly faces who will give you a warm welcome but nothing more This is my reaction The thing is beyond me except in my own way which has no vogue today"

We must also remember that, because Bapu did not carry the message of disarmament to the masses, it is no reason for us to hold it back at this hour We know full well that Bapu never developed theories until they became a possible proposition Academic questions he never put before the masses So long as India was under foreign rule, disbandment of the Army was not a live question at all, and Bapu concentrated the whole force of the country on attainment of Independence, leaving these freedom questions to follow in their natural sequence That being so, does it not amount to a betrayal of Bapu's cause to go on side-tracking this fundamental issue any longer? Now is the very moment, both in Indian and world history, when those of us who believe should concentrate with all our strength on the work of enlightening the masses regarding the full-fledged Gandhian Ideal, based on disarmament and the rest If they respond to the Idea, the leaders will ultimately bend to the popular demand Our word has no influence on the Ministers and Government officials today, because we are out of touch with the masses on these vital points The people have been left to the mercy of the professional politicians with their manifestos, plans and programmes, and have been completely confused and misguided by the continual use of Bapu's name for boosting all sorts of different theories Meanwhile we sit by wringing our hands because the people at the top won't listen to us!? We must go to the people at the bottom and tell them of the real Bapu The people at the top will then begin to prick up their ears

All this has nothing to do with the general elections as such They will go their own way which certainly won't be Bapu's way. Obviously preparation of the public mind on such lines as set forth above, cannot be achieved in weeks or months How long it will take is in God's hands. But He will surely bless our efforts if we wholeheartedly throw ourselves into the sacred task, and the time required may not after all, be so very great

If faith can move mountains, how much more can it move the masses!

Gopal Ashram, MIRA
P O Pilkhi,
Dist Tehri-Garhwal,
U P, 28-11-'51

MIRABEHN'S ARTICLES

The reader will find in another column an article by Mirabehn captioned *Straight from the Heart* It is to be followed by two more The articles have been lying on my desk for a long time. In the meantime Mirabehn has already commenced her propaganda in parts of Uttar Pradesh As will be seen, she has prefaced her articles with a note, titled *Prayer Answered* and has called her activity a movement for "Bapu Raj"

With some of the items of her programme all constructive workers will agree, in regard to some, though there may not be disagreement, their present practicability might be doubted there might be a few in regard to which there are likely to be differences of opinion The suggestions are thus debatable It may be regarded their merit, because they will set readers a-thinking

But I wish — I appeal to every one of us — to place one important restraint upon ourselves Let us not name our movements after Gandhiji

Bapu's was an ever-growing personality It is difficult to say what type of Raj would have definitely satisfied him It is quite conceivable that Bapu might have ultimately come to the conclusion that he wanted *no raj* at all. His ideal was *Swa-Raj* i.e. every one's own *Raj* — liquidation of government altogether He went close to that ideal sometimes and yet he also spoke and worked out plans in terms of various types of constituted and representative governments It would be better not to speak of *Bapu Raj* but to speak of our own conception of a proper system of Raj

Wardha, 9-3-'52 K. G MASHRUWALA

HARIJAN

April 12 1952

TRUSTFULNESS

It would seem we live in a world of fraud, bribery profiteering, blackmarketing, dishonesty and every other manner of corruption. The people complain of profiteering and adulteration by traders, the traders, of bribery in Government offices and ministers and high officials, of the various inducements held out by the people to their petty officials and servants in order to get their work done unlawfully or in precedence over others Instances are cited to show how employers and superiors in commercial firms compel their subordinates to forge entries, prepare false books of accounts or otherwise fabricate papers, and how Government is defrauded of vast sums of money on account of income-tax and sales tax Individuals can be named who had to leave off their work, trade or service, because they found it impossible to perform their duties or carry on any business in the prevailing circumstances with honesty

The remedies universally suggested to fight these evils are deterrent and severe punishments to the offenders Public flogging and even hanging have been demanded A perfect network of spying and super-spying and trap-laying are also recommended.

There appears to be a general agreement among all political parties and the public about this Indeed some of the political parties claim that if they had political power, they would put an end to all corruption immediately They accuse the Congress and the Congress Ministries of having neither the capacity nor the will to deal with the situation with a firm hand Thus the difference between them is not about the nature of the remedies, but about the severity to be used in enforcing the remedies

The Congress will answer the charges as it may I want to consider here the method of ending corruption

In the first instance, it should be realized that the evil of corruption and disregard of social morals is not confined to this or that particular section of the society It is not wholly true to say that the corruption is entirely due to dishonesty of Government servants or businessmen, or the policy of controls The general public is as much responsible for this sorry state as any of these Congressmen Government servants, traders and their agents and lawyers and litigants are not a separate class from the rest of the public The virtues and vices which they exhibit belong to all The same family or an allied group may have among them a Congressman, a Socialist, a Communist a trader a Government official, a social and constructive worker and a person, who is just a simple man of the street. Therefore the responsibility for the evils which afflict our public or personal life must be shared by the society as a whole and may not be attributed to any particular section The measure of purity in public life will correspond to the standard of high character and morals of the general public

Modern trade and public administration is a huge and complicated affair and necessarily calls for a proper system of accountancy, checking and supervision These are necessary even if a person were to manage himself his own affairs and there was no question of being answerable to any outside authority In the latter case inspections audits, checks etc are obviously more necessary But there is a limit to their scope and usefulness Their primary object is not and should not be to set about the task with a presumption against the honesty of the subject but to detect errors which might be made through inadvertence or ignorance even by straightforward people in order to set them right and to teach the subject the right method and increase his efficiency But we start with the presumption that every act must be deemed to be dishonest and unscrupulous until honesty is established by proofs Hence we feel that every caution should be observed in our dealings with one another, everybody should be properly and secretly watched by a supervisor; and the latter should also be under the surveillance of another, and every article should be kept under lock and key and guards, and the fear of punishment must be held out to ensure honest and efficient performance of every duty

This is, in all conscience, a very distorted and frightful view of human nature to take, and yet unfortunately it underlies all our elaborate organizations and departments A Sanskrit text from a treatise on practical ethics lays down, "A transaction involving payment of money or transfer of land should be set down in writing and attested by a witness, even if it is between father and son or close friends." The counsel to make a writing is appropriate for aiding the memory But the prescription of the witness proceeds on the assumption that business prudence requires distrust even of sons and friends In matters involving gain or loss of property, even sons and friends would practise fraud if proper precautions are not taken This is the height of distrust For if one must observe caution even in dealing with one's sons and friends, naturally one cannot proceed on trust with anybody in the world

All our affairs of the world have been built up on the foundation of such distrust. The greater the amount of distrust and consequent precautionary measures, — crowned by an organization having terror for its sanction, — the more is the system regarded as based on practical wisdom Diplomatic skill, political wisdom, shrewd businessmanship are but other names for the attitude of distrust in the integrity of man Historians have severely criticized Aurangzeb for having followed the policy of distrust, but in practice the whole world acts on no better.

But all these precautions and fears have not stopped corruption or even reduced it On the contrary, I believe, it leads to ever increasing corruption At any rate it certainly increases the volume of work, laxity, delay, and false show, typified by the word "red-tapism" There is no promptitude, no enthusiasm, no love for the entrusted work They work perfunctorily without an urge to put in their best Rather, they use their intelligence in devising methods of evading and defeating the system of surveillance under which they work Work is mechanized and talent which should have been better employed, is fruitlessly spent on devising the machinery and methods of detecting dishonesty on the one hand and defeating those methods on the other. The former is never able to overtake the latter, and so corruption always wins

I therefore feel that punishments however harsh, and spying, however vigilant, are not the right way to deal with this problem of eradicating corruption and promoting honest life Rather than distrusting an honest man we had better trust even a dacoit, that would be far more fruitful An honest man ceases to have any respect for a society which does not trust him He feels ill at ease and uncomfortable like a fish of fresh water put into the sea On the other hand, when the dacoit finds that he is being trusted in spite of his notoriety, the moral element latent in him is awakened He is put on his honour and tries to deserve the confidence reposed in him

Very probably practical men of the world will discard this as too idealistic But it is my strong conviction that so long as we do not learn to put trust in others in our dealings there will be no end of the internal as well as international evils and conflicts of the world Please do not ask me, "How far and how much trust should we put in others?" I would rather ask you, how far and how long will you go on working on the theory of distrust? Has any great work been and can any work be ever accomplished successfully unless you put implicit trust on at least one? It is trust and never distrust that achieves great works Let us discard the methods of penalties, punishments, checks and counter-checks for the protection of social rectitude The whole world is not going to be corrupt, dishonest and immoral for want of elaborate systems of punishing the evil or rewarding the good Trust begets trust and puts every man on his honour

Let Sarvodaya workers cultivate the attitude of placing trust in others in their dealings even at the risk of being occasionally deceived, and leave ordinary remedies of prosecutions and punishments to executives, courts and legislatures so long as they will It is not the *sevak's* business to act as a volunteer of C I D The work of the *sevak* is to strive to awaken nobler sentiments and good sense of the people instead of asking for severe laws and stronger action against offenders

Wardha, 1-4-'52 K. G MASHRUWALA

Contra

After my article on "Trustfulness" was written my attention was drawn to the leading article of *The Bombay Sentinel* of 27th March 1952, captioned "Serious Lapses" It forcefully brings out the opposite approach, as will be seen from the following extract This attitude is very understandable and common and will be regarded by many as very reasonable Yet I have ventured to say the opposite

> "The Annual Report on the working of the Local Fund Audit Department Uttar Pradesh for the year 1950-51 reflects a persisting malady with which local bodies in this country are generally afflicted The report discloses many serious irregularities consisting of embezzlements, fraud misappropriations double payments irregular and wasteful expenditure and excess payments The audit report ruefully records that generally loose supervision and non observance of rules have paved the way to the defalcations Condign punishment commensurate with the enormity of the offence is rare *Deterrent punishment alone* to deliberate and grave offences can be expected to reduce delinquencies and enforce scrupulous compliance with appropriate rules Undoubtedly prompt and efficient superior supervision and administrative *control must be tightened* *There is no moral remedy to such a mortifying mischief* Drastic and positive action is needed to enable the local bodies to straighten out their present sorry financial affairs (Italics mine)

Wardha, 2-4-'52 K G M

A POSER FOR THE CONGRESS

"It is after a long bitter struggle that Madras and Bombay States have total prohibition and the other States have their partial and experimental prohibition schemes The ideal of total prohibition has found mention even in our Constitution The disappearance of open liquor has saved millions of families and even in the short period of total prohibition their lot has been considerably improved Of course secret drinking and illicit distillation do persist to an extent, but this is due to the fact that public opinion is not bestowed on it, and reliance is based solely on the Police to enforce prohibition

With the dawn of Independence the view about total prohibition is changing and a strange move against it is now gaining momentum From the beginning the Congress High Command has been for a go slow policy During the Bangalore session of the A. I C C all mention about prohibition was deliberately given up in the Election Manifesto. There have always been gentlemen of standing speaking against it and the Press also has cried down prohibition whenever it could Now a candidate of the Madras Urban Constituency pleads for the introduction of drinking Shri Kumaraswamy Raja explaining his defeat said that while the adult franchise was quite a success prohibition was the cause of his defeat and that his voters supported his opponents who promised them open drink An elected Communist member of the Legislature declares that his party will dispense with prohibition when it runs the government When pressed by inquisitive pressmen the Premier of Madras said that prohibition will be enforced till at least 31st March of this year

A defeated candidate might have his own reasoning, and an elected legislator may require larger revenues for carrying out his pet schemes, but these do not disprove the economic and the moral efficacy of total prohibition The economically poor and socially lower groups were the people who were

ruined by drink and these have been saved They now lead human existence with better food, clothing and even better housing This is a glaring fact and cannot be disproved. Greater peace dwells in the humbler homes A sense of self-respect, and a consciousness of civic responsibility are slowly but surely spreading When even the illicit drink is totally eliminated we will have a prosperous people Only such a people can appreciate and benefit by betterment schemes

But with a thousand schemes of betterment and social service all the politicians want to dispense with prohibition for the sole purpose of getting revenue Open liquor did get the Government many crores and may now fetch many times more crores of money but what will be the effect of the removal of prohibition on those for whom these betterment schemes are intended? The upper and the better placed do not drink and the majority of drunkards have been the economically and the socially backward people When openly allowed they will squander what they earn or come by on drink and will descend to sub-human existence. With open drink all expenditure and effort to improve their lot should go to waste as they will not be appreciated and the excise revenue will not suffice for the work. The excise revenue of the Government is but a moiety of the money of the poor spent on drink. The others knock away a greater slice of that money than the Government Even if the excise revenue suffices it is just like kicking one down and then lifting him up If instead of dispensing with prohibition, even humble schemes of betterment are effected on the foundations of prohibition they will really effect great social good

Mahatma Gandhi never meant prohibition to be a mere weapon in our political struggle To him it was an economic and social reform of great moral significance There might have been some reason for a foreigner trying to make pigs of men, but for a free people to choose to become pigs and wallow in the mire is unthinkable So the move against prohibition has to be checked and that immediately"

The above is a cry of an anguished heart from the South The writer is pained at what is being undone in the field of prohibition in the South He fears that Madras Government is fast going off from the cherished work of prohibition The debacle, if it comes true, will be a calamity for the Congress as well as the State The Congress, I fear, does not fully realize the gravity of such a situation That for some State Governments today, like their predecessors the British the temptation of the drink revenue is too irresistible is unhappily true On the other hand, that prohibition is good and is necessary for our social and moral hygiene is equally unquestioned That it is an undoubted and wholesome benefit to the poor is also unquestioned As a matter of fact the Constitution of India puts it down as its directive to all State Governments in the land The Congress as an organization is wedded to this reform since 1920 What is wrong with us then? Unfortunately the Congress in Madras seems to be losing itself not only in the political field but also on this point of constructive activity as well How otherwise can a Congress Committee in the State, as papers report resolve to ask Government to repeal prohibition? I beg to submit that such a resolution on the part of a Congress Committee is wholly out of order, according to the Congress Constitution The State Provincial Congress Committee must pull up such an erring Committee But is it itself firm on this issue? The whole position is very intriguing. The Madras friend according to me, raises a very fundamental issue in his letter quoted above Till now the Congress was the main body through which the people were functioning for constructive activities like prohibition etc The Congress Constitution continues to have them as its basis But, as the writer complains Congress Committees and even the A I C C seem to be getting cold over activities like prohibition etc How to function then? For instance, those like the writer of the letter who feel keenly and are worried over this unhappy situation — how should they act? How should those in the Congress and outside who believe that prohibition must come to stay in our land as soon as possible function to achieve it? Is the Congress to continue to be their stronghold? Or is it allowing the banner to fall off its hands? This is a question for the Congress to answer. All wish that it should not succumb to the revenue-coveting governments of the day Otherwise it will be giving up its solemn promise to the people and almost losing its soul for a mere gain of political power to achieve comparatively questionable ends

4-4-'52 M. P DESAI

HIS TECHNIQUE AND ACHIEVEMENT

(By Pyarelal)

III — Re-orientation of the Congress

THE SECOND PERIOD CONTINUED

To put into action this programme on a national scale, the Congress machine had to be reorganized From an annual show, Gandhiji turned it into a serious well-knit body that not only laid out programmes but also implemented them This in its turn, needed a net-work of organizations all over the country, a wide basis of primary membership and a body of workers who took up politics not as a game for leisure hours but as a whole-time occupation And, in order that it might be worth the while of a man to give his whole time to it, politics had to be so conducted as to enable a man to realize the highest in life It had to cease to be a 'dirty game' and become spiritualized In other words, it had to be based upon truth, non violence, honesty and personal purity Without these it would not be possible to gain or retain the confidence and allegiance of the vast masses

The complexion of politics underwent a complete change after that Platform oratory, boosted up by the 'fiery element', went out of fashion Rhetoric became an object of deep distrust. Sincerity, purity and the spirit of self-sacrifice became the criteria of real worth in a public worker This is not to say that this ideal was fully realized or that insincerity, hypocrisy and fraud vanished at a stroke. There were

exceptions in plenty but the norms had changed He found us a rabble he left us a disciplined nation.

Ridiculed by the official world as ' the most foolish of all foolish schemes " when it was first launched the non-co-operation movement came within an ace of succeeding " But then there was the proverbial slip " 'twixt the cup and the lip " The outbreak of brutal mob fury at Chauri Choura came as a warning bell The ever watchful general ordered a strategic retreat " The first thing one does when one discovers one has lost one's way is to retrace one's steps and get back to the point where he missed it Then alone can one advance " He silenced the dissenters by saying, " Let them dub me a fool if they like, I cannot help it It is the law of my being Better the abuse of the world than the judgment of God "

The author of the movement was tried and sentenced to six years' imprisonment But morally the triumph was his it was the British Power that was really put in the dock and stood self-condemned

When he came out of prison the face of things had changed Various communal organizations, vested interests and reactionary bodies that had suffered eclipse upon the advent of non-co-operation had rallied their forces during the interval not without secret sympathy guidance and active encouragement from the powers that be Some of his erstwhile colleagues had broken away from his programme of non co-operation and formed a separate party to work out a programme of " non-co-operation " from within the legislatures Under a different sky and in a different clime, this might have developed into a serious political split Many a political movement and political organization had split and disintegrated under analogous circumstances But the introduction of non-violence made all the difference Instead of fighting the dissenters Gandhiji handed over to them the Congress organization, liquidated the party that had been formed to support his political programme during his absence in prison and brought into being the All India Spinners' Association under the auspices of the Congress but as an autonomous body to build up non-violent strength He told those who professed belief in his principles to testify their faith by working out for all they were worth the constructive programme chalked out by him He thus constituted them into the other wing of the Congress instead of making them its rival A net work of Ashrams and constructive work organizations sprang up all over the country between the years 1924 and 1928 Sap began to rise once more in the emaciated trunk The Bardoli No-Tax Satyagraha of 1928 was a portent It pointed the way to organic Swaraj The country was ready for the 1930 movement

The Simon Commission

In Satyagraha, we have not to wait upon events events wait upon us The appointment of the all-white Simon Commission in 1929 provided the opportunity The dissenters who had broken away from his programme but who thanks to the alchemy of his love and non-violence, could not break away from his moral and spiritual leadership and above all from the leadership of his practical wisdom again aligned themselves with him 1930 provided a complete vindication of the ' surrender ' by Gandhiji of the Congress organization to the dissenters in 1925 at Patna They realized that they could not change a system by obstruction from within

Six years of silent, solid, constructive work had rejuvenated the country beyond recognition The spirit of the basic disciplines had permeated the rank and file of workers The shock therapy of the Bardoli halt of 1922 after Chauri Choura had done its work People had no longer any doubt in their minds as to Gandhiji's true meaning They no longer thought in their heart of hearts as some of them had at one time that he said one thing and meant another, that he was secretly prepared to welcome violence, provided it could be successful, though he might openly condemn it The ' he in the soul ' that had necessitated the Bardoli halt in 1922 had been purged out The changed condition allowed a change in the technique of the fight to be introduced

Salt Satyagraha

Gandhiji took the initiative and guidance of the 1930 Salt Satyagraha movement out of the hands of the Congress organization — which represented diverse elements including those who did not believe in non-violence as a creed — and assumed sole charge of the movement, which he declared would on no account be called off as before

As before the high officials laughed But the last laugh was to be that of the author of the Salt Satyagraha " Even if they make free salt for seven years it won't make a dent upon our revenues, " chuckled the high Government officials in New Delhi, when they heard of the inauguration of the Salt Satyagraha But in the end Lord Irwin had to inform his superiors in London that the only alternative to truce was the " peace of the grave " He could not jail millions, he could not order lathi charges against women picketers, standing peacefully with placards round their necks and hands folded in entreaty before the foreign cloth shops and liquor shops, or against the *Vanar Senas* and " Kitten Brigades " of boys and girls in their early teens with any show of decency, And, if the liquor vendors or foreign cloth dealers allowed that to take place they were liable to find doors shut in their face by their own wives when at evening they returned home ! And so the insignificant pinch of salt picked up at the Dandi beach in the grey of the early dawn on April 6, 1930, became

the dynamite which shattered to smithereens the British prestige in India

We have it on record that there was jubilation among the higher British officials and classes clinked on the dinner tables in the Viceroy's house, when the Gandhi Irwin truce was signed There was rejoicing because it was thought that the Congress had been forced to pare down its demands Even some of our own people felt that the keys of the castle had been surrendered to save face Pandit Nehru wept But all that changed when it was realized that a vital principle had been conceded by the British power when it negotiated a treaty with rebels on equal terms The redoubtable Churchill could scarcely swallow his disgust at the "nauseating spectacle of the half-naked fakir, in his loincloth climbing up the stairs of the Viceregal Palace to parley on equal terms with His Majesty's representative"

"The Epic Fast"

As the implications of the truce began slowly to dawn upon the bureaucracy, they became more and more impatient to retrieve lost ground In this they partially succeeded in 1932 when they forced a fight upon the Congress before it had had an opportunity to recoup from and clear away the *debris* of the last Satyagraha fight But once again the wonder-working magician, with no other wizardry than that of his penance, turned a partial reverse into victory when all alone, from behind the prison walls he made the British Cabinet to retrace its steps The settled decision of the British Prime Minister in regard to the electoral arrangements for the Scheduled Castes, which would have resulted in the perpetuation of the 'bar sinister' and dismemberment of Hindu society, was unsettled and the ages-old citadel of untouchability laid low The full story of that epic is told in my book *The Epic Fast*, which those of you who feel interested, may read

In April, 1934, diagnosing the symptoms like an expert physician, he once more called off civil disobedience, confining the freedom to re-launch it to himself alone The message of non-violence had suffered adulteration in the process of being transmitted to the masses, owing to the imperfections of the human medium through which Gandhiji had been working He conserved it in the germ for a future occasion

The same year he retired from the Congress organization in order to "serve it the better from outside", and remained its unquestioned dictator till the end

(To be continued)

DRINK DRUGS & GAMBLING
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NOTES

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A B C G Victim

[The following letter from Shri D A. Phillips of Bhusawal to the Editor the *National Standard* of March, 14 1952, speaks for itself —V G D]

My son aged about 16 years studying at Nagpur was vaccinated without my permission with B C. G vaccine He has never kept good health since then The spot where the needle entered his flesh festered for more than a year and appeared like a bubble of flesh It was painful to the touch.

'Today the boy has kept such indifferent health that I intend withdrawing him from school Doctors say he has evidently burst a small blood-vessel in his lungs because he complained of general weakness and occasional spitting of blood

Will those authorities who foisted this forcible vaccination on my son now come to my aid and help me to cure my son of whatever he has contracted?"

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HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor K G MASHRUWALA

1624

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THE MADRAS EXPERIMENT

[Readers know that the Congress is outright for Prohibition by now for more than two generations and actually it launched its implementation the moment it came to power in the Provinces in 1937 At that time Madras under the wise and thorough going leadership of Shri C R. Rajagopalachari introduced the experiment in one district and it was keenly watched by the whole country Late Shri M D wrote about it under the caption Advance Prohibition * in the *Harijan* of 12-2-'38 The following is reproduced from it Thank God Shri C R. is again at the helm of affairs in Madras we hope his vigilant and unerring eye will immediately see that the state of prohibition work in Madras needs his immediate attention even to stem the rot that seems to have set in in this regard The following story of the Madras prohibition experiment boldly undertaken 15 years ago will I hope remind Madras of its great past and awaken it to its equally great responsibility

10-4 52 — M P

PS The following good news which arrived after the above lines were penned must be noted here Immediately after assuming the office of Chief Minister of Madras Shri Rajaji in the course of his talk with journalists told them about the Madras prohibition policy as follows (*The Hindu* — 11-4-'52) —

Q Will Prohibition be enforced rigidly ? There is a feeling that it is not working satisfactorily

Chief Minister Why do you say so ? So far as I am concerned I am greatly satisfied with the present condition of the people who were formerly addicted to drink It is the condition of the people we must mainly concern ourselves with

' Prohibition has brought in new addicts ', a reporter remarked. Mr Rajagopalachari immediately replied It is all imagination It is overdoing the faults of other people '

Are any of you addicted to drink ?" Mr Rajagopalachari asked the assembled reporters. Without waiting for an answer he asked, ' Can any of you easily become a new addict under the present condition ? I want you to give me personal evidence is it easy to get liquor ? '

The answer was in the negative

Then do not put me that question,' Mr Rajagopalachari observed If you make me talk on that subject I would become doctrinaire "

After a pause for a second or two Mr Rajagopalachari declared ' So many things have to be reviewed especially administrative aspects of things — not so much policies as administrative aspects "

14-4 52 — M. P.]

All the Congress Governments are committed to a policy of complete prohibition, and all have begun the experiment in right earnest and in their own way according to the circumstances in their respective provinces The Madras experiment has been on since October 1st, 1937, and it is being conducted with the vigilant care and the thoroughgoing way which characterize everything that is associated with the name of the Madras Prime Minister The enforcement was in the hands of the police working under the District Magistrate and the District Superintendent of Police assisted by a Prohibition Officer and a special Development Officer The results of the experiment achieved so far have been noted in detail in his latest report by the Collector Mr A F W Dixon who was in no way prepossessed in favour of the experiment In his long report of sixteen foolscap typed sheets he has in no way overdrawn the picture He notes the large increase in the number of palmyra trees tapped for sweet toddy, as also the evident risk of their being tapped for fermented toddy if there was not the necessary vigilance, he also notes a few cases of smuggling of *ganja* and opium, and says that, without non-official help, it will not be possible to put a stop to smuggling, he also says that illicit distillation is being kept under control and appears to be going on only on a small scale and in a very secretive manner, he notes to some extent a tendency to drink methylated spirit and asks the District Medical Officer to write a Tamil leaflet describing the deadly effects of drinking the spirit, also an increase in gambling arising out of the attempt by former drinkers to relieve the boredom of the evening hours but notes on the whole that "as month succeeds month without general signs of a deterioration in the situation the chances of ultimate success become rosier "

This much regarding the success of the actual working of prohibition When he comes to the effect of prohibition on the lives of the people, he notices a definite improvement all round and summarizes the large mass of information received from various resources and also his own personal impressions in about six sheets Suffice it to say here that this is the deliberate conclusion he has arrived at as a result of his own impressions on observations

> Viewing generally the effect of prohibition on the lives of the people, I am convinced after 3 months' experience that prohibition is proving a great boon to the poorer classes in the District Leading as they do a hand-to-mouth existence, they simply cannot

* See *Drink Drugs & Gambling* — By Gandhiji, pages xi, 175 Price Rs 2-8-0, Postage etc As. 10 Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad-9

afford the expensive luxury of drink which used to reduce the small earnings of the labouring classes to a miserable pittance quite insufficient for the proper maintenance of a family. Drink brought misery into the homes of many thousands of the poorer classes in this District; misery in the shape of domestic unhappiness, insufficiency of food and crushing debt. Already in thousands of homes in this District conditions have changed to a remarkable extent. Domestic brawls have ceased, a sufficiency of food is available and the grip of the money-lender has relaxed. This has happened within a short space of four months. If the Act continues to be enforced not less effectively than it is now, I anticipate a great and permanent improvement in the material well-being of the peasants and labourers of this District.

Let us see how much these good results have cost. Said C. R. in his Budget Speech:

"The net cost of Prohibition for the last six months of the Financial year 1937-38 will amount to Rs. 13,10,000 made up of Rs. 13 lakhs loss of Excise Revenue and Rs. 51,000 cost of additional police and special officers, offset by a saving of Rs. 32,000 on the excise staff previously employed in the District." Who will say that the moral and material results do not far outweigh this cost? Apart from individual cases here is a case of the moral effect of prohibition as applied to a mill area affecting 2,000 workers. Whereas these workers were irregular and inefficient before prohibition and night brawls were a regular feature of the area, the workers have now become, regular and more reliable, the brawls have now ceased, machines are better looked after, "production increased and expenditure decreased. The outturn has actually doubled. Women were sickly, dirty and clad in rags. Now every woman has two or three *saris*, most of them have petticoats, and 50 per cent wash daily. Their financial position has improved, they have redeemed their jewels which they mortgaged due to extravagance. Children are better clad and cleaner. Dwelling houses have improved and lights have been introduced into houses which were formerly unlit."

The United Provinces Government have also set about the task in right earnest and their experiment like the Madras one, has several features which might be copied in other provinces.

Too great an emphasis cannot be placed on the Excise Ministers of different provinces getting into touch with one another, comparing notes and trying in their own provinces the measures that have been tried with success in other provinces.

M. D.

Correct Text

Referring to Shri Mumtaz Ali's letter published in *Harijan* dated 15th March, 1952, Shri Vinoba writes that he agrees that the correct text is *Khaatamun Nabeeyin* and not *Khaatimin Nabeeyin* as printed in reports. The latter reading is a clerical error. But many have translated the correct text also to mean that no new prophet was to come hereafter. Vinoba is glad that Shri Mumtaz Ali accepts his interpretation.

Wardha, 4-4-'52 K. G. M.

SHRI VINOBA'S UTTAR PRADESH TOUR

I

We left Delhi on Nov. 24. The following three months from then on were a period of test for *bhoodan* work. November 24 was the date when the candidates filled in the nomination forms. Political workers all over the country plunged headlong into the whirls of election work which continued unabated till February 24 when most of the results were announced. It was suggested from several quarters that Vinoba should suspend his work until after the elections. Even some of the close associates who were accompanying us were in favour of postponement at least during the polling days. But Vinobaji would not agree. He said how could he stop work even for a brief period when he knew that Death was continually pursuing him from behind? The Uttar Pradesh workers who accompanied us and who were a great help indeed had to leave us now and then on account of their preoccupation with election work elsewhere. There were occasions when we were left to pursue our journey almost by ourselves.

But the enthusiasm of the people sustained us. They gathered together in thousands wherever we went. Their hearts seemed to overflow with love and sympathy and hope. From 10 a.m. which is the time when the party reaches the day's destination, the people would begin streaming in. They would stay all through the day until prayer, the last item in the day's programme, was over. And Vinoba would not spend more than a day in a place be it a village or a town. In the villages he met the *Daridranarayana* (the Lord in the form of the Poor), in the towns he tried to find out persons, who would be His servants. In the towns the donors were few in number, but the donations were big. In the villages though the donations were small the donors were many — a feature which was indicative of the moral superiority of the villages. Vinoba as is known to those who know him, has a partiality for the villages. That is right and quite natural, for India lives in her villages and our efforts in her service must be directed to improving the living conditions of the villagers. The strength of our villages will be the measure of the strength of our country.

In his speech at the Pawaya Conference Vinoba said, "The elections are over, and we should now join together in the service of the poor. We may have our differences in politics but that is no reason why we should not come together for implementing common programmes like the *Bhoodan Yajna*. Indeed we should do it, it will be an example of our wider unity. People may choose whomsoever they may to represent them, but the workers must continue to preserve their unity in the field of service by working unitedly. I have been explaining and emphasising this obvious truth wherever I have gone. *Bhoodan Yajna* provides the best platform for preserving this unity in practice. I have little doubt that given necessary co-operation between parties, this work can succeed. I need hardly add that therein also lies the good of the parties."

The period was one of trial also from another viewpoint. Our journey lay through the *terai* (valley) region. We were walking with the Himalayas close on our side and at several points we actually touched them. Cool and exhilarating though the breezes from the Ganga and the Yamuna were, the season being winter, it was severely cold and we had to be constantly on our guard lest any one should catch pneumonia. Even so one of us was caught in it and had to lie confined in bed for several days. Fortunately he has recovered and joined us again. Then there was that cycle accident, referred to in these columns before. For the first two or three days Vinoba's pain was confined to the region of the waist but later it extended to the knees and became so acute that walking was out of question. On our persistent requests, he agreed to be carried on a chair, and this we did upto Kashipur. But the track was dusty and uneven and the

mornings were an roll [illegible] the rivers on the way. Vinoba ji therefore discontinued the visit and decided to visit by a bullock-cart.

Thus it was as I said in the beginning a period of [illegible] and trials. First because of the cycle accident and [illegible] because under the pressure of the elections the workers had hardly time and energy to spare for this work. In several districts a few local workers had to make all the arrangements. And the strain was so great, that their heart had not the energy left in them to contact the prospective donors at places which Vinoba covered, much less could they go to the neighbouring villages. Thus most of the gifts we received were voluntary. They were inspired by the irresistible force of the personality of Vinoba, his sincerity of purpose and the moving eloquence and profound learning which marked his utterances. Indeed the people felt, that here was the man who had nothing but the good of all at his heart and who was withal capable of ushering in a new age with appropriate new means and thus averting the impending disaster.

The total land gifts received are quite satisfactory and reflect well the growing response of the people. After Delhi from Meerut to Sitapur we covered nineteen districts and received 28,908 acres. Pilibhit with its 11,326 acres tops the list while Rampur with its 92 marks the rear.

The average in Telangana was 200 acres per day, from Wardha to Delhi it was 256 while from Delhi to Sitapur it has been 315. The average per donor previously was 12 acres now it stands at 16. Of course it falls far short of Vinoba's expectation actually it is only a tenth of what he aims at. And he drew attention to this lag between the actual and the ideal as he envisaged it and appealed to the people everywhere to make it up.

For want of space it is not possible to relate all the love and goodwill our simple village-folk showed for the cause. It was a moving experience to see the poor bring in their offerings to the *Yajna*, the offerings which were quite humble outwardly but great and ennobling in their effect by virtue of the spirit of devotion with which they were tendered. There was not a day but presented us with some unique instances. I have already written in my previous despatches about the blind donor Shri Ramcharan Chaudhari of Chaudahpur. He came to us in his cart at the dead of night. Vinoba was asleep. Lest the noise should wake him the talk one of us had with him aside was in whispers. He was asked why he had come and he said: I hear that the Maharaj (the great one) accepts land-gifts and distributes them to the poor. I have twelve *bighas* and I wish to offer them to the Mahatmaji.' He remembered that Ramcharan was blind! We got him fill in the gift-deed, and Ramcharan departed for his village. The incident was reported to Vinoba in the morning. He referred to it in the prayer-speech that evening and said:

Last night a friend named Ramcharan came to us and gifted away in the *Yajna* twelve *bighas* of land which was all that he had. People say he was blind. I do not believe it. Actually it is we who are blind, that we cannot see that in the form of Ramcharan Rama's *dhanushchakra* (the bow) walked to our doors to bless our work."

Another incident happened when we were at Kalandungi a small village in Nainital District. An old woman in a neighbouring village heard about it and decided to offer her lands part of which lay on the hills and part in the *terai*. She reached us at eleven in the night when we were all asleep. But this did not damp her spirit. She kept a night long vigil at our door [illegible] waiting for us. In the morning when we came out [illegible] early, we saw her. The formalities of filling in the forms were gone into and the old mother placed her all, the [illegible] on the dust at the feet of the Lord, and went away [illegible] the gift was [illegible] exhaustible [illegible] [illegible] discourse [illegible] they [illegible]

Kerhal [illegible] village [illegible] original programme but we decided [illegible] there, because the next hall Etawah, was a long way off. A friend here donated all his four acres without disclosing his name. It had the effect of prompting others to raise their donations further one raised his offer from five to ten and another from eleven to twenty. Still another who was not present in the prayer-meeting met us on the way as we were returning after the evening meals at our hosts. He made over to us all his ten acres and filled in the form. Thus we had about sixty acres in this small village.

Thakur Raghunath Singh of Etawah accompanied us throughout our tour in the district. It was Bapu's anniversary day. Vinoba had just finished his prayer-speech. Thakur Saheb rose to speak, but he was overcome with emotion and words failed him. The eyes flowed with tears and haltingly he said, 'Vinobaji we are two brothers. We have ten acres and we lay it all by your feet. You may give us as *prasad* (a part of the offering) what you may consider to be sufficient for our livelihood.

Thou shalt eat what is left after thou hast offered, says *Ishopanishad*. These donations lately embody the spirit of that injunction. Needless to say that they added considerably to the moral strength of the movement. I can recall dozens of such instances but I shall give only a few more. At village Sherpur (tehsil Puranpur in the Pilibhit district) three Muslim zamindars contributed 2,500 acres each. It is a compact plot of 7,500 acres on the bank of the Sharda Canal. We received altogether 10,000 acres in Puranpur on that day. And they assured us that from Puranpur they would collect 25,000 acres. Thereupon the mahamantrian in Vinoba began immediately to calculate. There are 2,800 *tehsils* in India. He had demanded five crore acres from the country. So if every *tehsil* contributed a quota of 25,000 acres, the demand could be easily met. If Puranpur could do it why not others?

In Ujhani a generous lady gave over her entire share of about five in six thousand acres. After Delhi many donations have reached us from far off places by letters and others. They came from almost all provinces — Saurashtra, Gujarat, Maharashtra, Andhra, Karnataka and Punjab. From Madhya Pradesh a nine years old boy sent us a gift deed for sixty acres on the birthday of Shri Jawaharlal. His father accompanied with his father's consent has already appeared in the papers.

A Muslim owner from Bangalore Sari Syed Hussain announced a gift of a thousand acres on Dr. Rajendra Prasad's birthday. He wrote that Vinobaji was getting land so far only in North India. He made this gift to him with a view to make the beginning of the movement in the South.

Shri Gangasingh a jagirdar from Madhya Bharat, has conveyed his desire to donate a thousand acres. He has very humbly requested Vinobaji to depute someone to choose suitable land in Bikaner from his possessions.

Socialist friends have given active co-operation in the *Bhoodan* work at various places. They have donated lands given as company and taken part in the propagation of the message. The fact that Vinobaji is doing just the work they are anxious to have done. But people were surprised when Shri Behram Pahwa, the Communist leader of Malapuri also judge of the Bar of Bombay, gave two acres to Vinoba when he stopped at his village to [illegible] [illegible] operations. The work [illegible]

These and numerous other instances are evidence — if evidence was needed — that the [illegible] mode to imbibe this great *yajna* is inspiring others also to respond to it. What indeed is unbounding joy, the light of the [illegible] who [illegible] [illegible] with [illegible] and [illegible] to [illegible] with faith and courage.

[illegible] D. M.

HARIJAN

April 19 1952

SARVODAYA POLITICS

I find that some have taken my reference to Shri Shankarrao Deo's views in my article *The Parable and Its Moral* (29th March) as an expression of disapproval of his views This is not quite correct If I had a definite disagreement with Shri Deo, I would have preferred not to publish his article at all, rather than raise a controversy in *Harijan* with an esteemed co-worker

Sarvodaya or Constructive workers are not and cannot remain quite aloof from politics There is no difference of opinion on this matter, so far as I know, among leading Constructive workers But their views are somewhat in a nebulous state at present Different influences and approaches are working upon their minds All have worked with Gandhiji for a long time, and each has indelibly assimilated some fundamental principles from him, but each according to his capacity and inclinations Hence, it is inevitable that different emphasis is laid by different thinkers on the various aspects of politics, Sarvodaya and Constructive work For instance, Shri Kaka Kalelkar may fairly be considered a loyal Congressman, Shri Kripalanji as a protestant Congressman, Shri Shankarrao Deo's approach seems to be nearer the Socialists, Shri Kumarappa often speaks in a language approaching that of the Communists Vinobaji would influence politics from outside by creating public opinion and voluntary activities of the people in favour of a desired objective, he also tries to bring all the different political parties on a common platform by putting forth a programme acceptable to all I feel myself nearer him than others But my principal contribution consists in trying to understand the views of every one of them and see if a common way of thinking and working beneficial to humanity can be evolved out of it I have no wish to join any party, to fight any, or to form a new one of my own I have no objection to the formation of a new party, if thereby the public could be better served Hence, I try to place before the public my views in order to help, within the limits of truth and non-violence the various leaders and their activities, and guide the public in thinking clearly on matters concerning their welfare My views are a sort of loud thinking

Sarvodaya Samaj is not a political organization by itself Hence, it was that I conceded in my article that "as legislators or members of particular parties, they (members of Sarvodaya Samaj, or for the matter of that of the Sarva Seva Sangh) may have their own methods and programmes "

If the leading Constructive workers can come to a common understanding and formulate definite political principles, methods of work and targets to be achieved, I shall feel only too glad.

Wardha, 9-4-'52 K G MASHRUWALA

VINOBA'S REPLIES TO ADDRESSES

[Vinoba was presented with addresses by Harijans and Socialists at Deoria, on 20th March 1952 The following are extracts from his replies]

Equality and Communism

'*Samya-yoga* (practice of equality) takes its stand on the inner unity of man It recognizes the great principle that all Life is one. And on the foundation of that spiritual unity, it seeks to build an equitable order in which everything will have its right place The creation of the Lord is full of the manifold splendour of diversity In any order which we may create for the welfare of man we cannot and need not destroy this diversity *Samya-yoga* is opposed to inequalities, it is not opposed to right discrimination A mother loves all her children equally nevertheless she feeds her weaker darling on milk, which she may not give to others This is an instance of wise discrimination The cow lives on fodder and man on grain A *Samya-yogi* (practiser of equality) cannot ignore this difference, and will therefore discriminate between the two in feeding them And because *Samya-yoga* makes use of the light of discrimination, it provides scope for development to every individual *Samya-yoga* bases itself on inner unity and armed with discrimination it seeks to build on that secure foundation a justly balanced order *Samya-vada* (communism) on the other hand, is blissfully ignorant of the Spirit, which it denies. And because Spirit alone can base the equality we want to create, communism is an institution with no base It seeks to impose equality from without, an equality which is wholly artificial It does not provide scope for the development of the personality of every individual And because it aims at an artificial equality imposed from without, it is led to employ violent means Thus the two orders, though both seek equality are as apart from each other, as heaven and earth'

Place of Harijans in Bhoodan

In reply to an address by Harijans, Vinoba said that he knew their difficulties They were not only landless, but in some cases they had not even the right to own land He had therefore decided to give at least a third of the lands, he received, to Harijans *Bhoodan-yajna* was a basic programme of the type of 'Take care of the one and the many will take care of themselves' It sustained and served every other constructive work It would certainly help raise the Harijan community At present they worked merely as labourers The *Bhoodan-yajna* would give them

the dignity of being the owners of land, which would enable them to serve the country not only physically but also intellectually *Bhoodan-yajna* was paving the way for *Samya-yoga*

The Basis of Socialism

Dr Lohia says that *Bhoodan-yajna* will take 300 years to achieve its object I had calculated that at the present pace it will take 500 years, if I had to do it alone. When Dr Lohia says that it will take 300 years, I take it that he is going to help me fully in my mission, and reduce the period by 200 years at least We must have faith in human goodness That is the basis of service

"Socialism is based on the postulate that the society is essentially good If you believe in the essential goodness of society, you must agree to what I say It is like the *kalp-vriksha*, the heavenly tree which fulfils all desires

Power and Service

'It has been alleged by the Socialists that I do not want legislation The allegation is misconceived I do want legislation but preparatory to that I first want to create the right atmosphere without which legislation cannot bear fruit,

"I do not deny that one can serve his people even through the power of office I have often said so, but I add that power, as a means of revolutionary service, is useless I therefore want all of them, those who have won the elections as also those who have lost them, to take to service Both of them accept the view that they cannot win power without service, and that they cannot serve without power But the latter half of this belief is a dangerous delusion They begin by saying power for service, go on to — service for power, and eventually end by installing 'power' as the chief deity on the altar of worship, though they continue to pay lip homage to service They have to do this because, unfortunately for them, without service they cannot ascend to power Thus real disinterested service becomes impossible and parties tend to accuse one another of greed for power and cease to co-operate even for those things on which there is common agreement I therefore appeal to you to take to service without any thought of power

Come All for Service of the Poor

The poor are looking expectantly to us for help They are looking to all parties I therefore invite you all to come and help me so that what I would be able to achieve in 500 years if I had to work alone, and in 300 years with the co-operation of Dr Lohia, and in 100 years with help of the Congress may be accomplished in the short span of five years with joint efforts of us all'

(From Hindi) D M

SARVODAYA

Its Principles and Programme

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NOTES

President's Election

I confess I am not intelligent enough to understand the political or other considerations, which prompted the Communist leader to put up Prof K T Shah to contest the Presidential election against Dr Rajendra Prasad Even if the Communists or all non-Congress parties desired to put up a rival, they ought to have sought out one, about whom the general public might feel, 'Well, he too is equally great and it does not matter whom the legislators elect for them" Prof Shah knows my personal warm and high regard for him and so he will not misunderstand me when a friend says that he would have done well if he had resisted the temptation to stand for this election

Since the President of the Indian Republic is more a titular head like the British King than a head vested with the greatest powers in the State like the U S President it is desirable that his nomination should be unanimous A distinction must be made between the head of the Union, and the head of the Government at the Centre I do not know if the Congress consulted the leaders of other parties before announcing Dr Rajendra Prasad's name It seems it did not. If so, like some of the other wrong precedents, which the Congress has set up after elections, this is also one If it had consulted the other parties, I think this rather unseemly competition could have been avoided I do not believe that the essence of democracy lies in contested elections

However, I expect that the legislators will not make the President's election a matter of party politics and in casting their votes will take into account how the general public would look at the matter

Wardha, 11-4-'52

Peasants of Italy Watch Vinoba

Shri M P T Acharya, now of Bombay, having lived for a long time in Europe as an anarchist worker is better known among pacifist and labour organizations there than in India. He writes frequently in some of the papers of the European Anarchist Labour organizations.

These organizations have read accounts of Vinobaji's land-gift mission and been much attracted towards it They have read Vinobaji formally referred to as Acharya Vinoba Bhave or Bhave Acharya, and have confused him with Shri M P T Acharya, writes the latter

He adds,

"They have also written me a letter in which they say

"'The Italian paper *L'Incontro* has informed us of your action in favour of Indian paria hs and we shall be pleased to publish your observations on your activities in this vast world which has recognized that liberation has to be pursued for the objects which the Mahatma has proposed'

recently [illegible] in a German paper telling [illegible] activities of Shri Bhave [illegible] adversely

I am sorry [illegible] confusion but it can be cleared '

The land problem [illegible] understand as grave in Italy as in India The Italian peasant is as wretched as the Indian and Germany is no better, particularly since the war Naturally therefore they watch Vinobaji's movement eagerly to see if it will show a way out for their own difficulties Vinoba has often said that the land problem is a world problem, and if India tackles it in a non violent way it will show the way to world peace

Wardha 20-3-'52 K G M

An Ill-thought Proposition

Thanks to the Central Government stopping the subsidy that it was giving to urban rationing areas in the State the Government of Bombay is required to enhance the price of rationed cereals by about 50 per cent Naturally this has created resentment specially among the lower income groups in urban areas Political parties and groups in opposition have, it seems seized this opportunity of the misery of the people to agitate against the Government It may be granted that this is as might be under a system of party Government But it has its limits And in this short note I wish to point at a sinister feature of this movement

As the reader knows the Socialists the S C Federationists and some others have expressed the view that Government might give up if necessary the Prohibition policy and utilize the excise revenue to subsidize imported food grains It would have been an understandable proposition from the mouth of those who are anti-prohibitionists and are for drink and its revenue But it is not so The people mentioned above aver that they are not opposed to prohibition However suppose for argument's sake one agrees to the proposition of finding money from excise Does it really help the poor workers and peasants on whose name it is advanced ? Who pays the excise revenue ? Is it not these very people mostly ? And do they stand to gain in return ? Surely not By paying excise duties and their drink bill they will begin to ruin themselves and their families and will almost have no money left to buy subsidized grains They will squander away their income over drink, as they did in pre-prohibition days Therefore it is not wise to suggest excise income for grain subsidy Prohibition by itself is a distinct gain and it cannot be and should not be bartered away for a mere monetary gain by way of paltry subsidy It must also be noted that workers in factories will get their monthly D A proportionately enhanced due to the raising of prices Government may also well see its way to helping in some way But prohibition should be held to be too sacred to be drawn into party politics in this manner If at all additional income is felt necessary, other sources might well be found out but not at the cost of the ruination of our poor people by supplying them drink

13-4-'52 M P DESAI

HIS TECHNIQUE AND ACHIEVEMENT

(By Pyarelal)

IV — Sevagram

C THE THIRD PERIOD 1934 TO 1940

We now come to the third period (1934-1940) He settled down at Wardha From there he shifted to his village retreat at Sevagram, to carry out his work of educating and rejuvenating the people and through that the Congress, for the last fight The way to inculcate non-violence as a living force, he reasoned, was by making millions weave the pattern of non-violence into the basic activities of their lives and in their everyday social relationships He gave it the name of constructive non violence

The names of the organizations which he founded for the purpose and through which he worked is legion I need not enumerate them or describe them here A few characteristics which are common to all of them however may be noted Firstly they had all the imprimatur and sanction of the Congress but functioned autonomously of the Congress Secondly, they were instruments for the building up of democracy, but they were not democratic in their constitution in the sense that their executives were not elected by popular vote A reformer and a pioneer cannot afford to be democratic in the sense of following majority decisions His function is to educate to lead Thirdly, whilst they all had their separate funds, the funds were intended to be spent away and not to be hoarded to enable the institutions concerned to live on interest The institutions concerned were to vindicate their existence by the service they rendered This served to remove the contradiction noted above between their purpose and constitution and gave to them a truly democratic character in spite of their " undemocratic constitutions If they did not cater to a felt need or if they failed to win public confidence public support would dry up and they would be forced either to close down or reform They would never stagnate

The Frontier Gandhi

The clouds of the second world war had already begun to gather on the horizon when in fulfilment of his long cherished dream he set out for the North West Frontier Province to collaborate with that great Pathan leader Badshah Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan popularly known as the Frontier Gandhi in his efforts to inculcate the non violence of the brave among his people Already he had performed the miracle of nearly converting the fierce fighting Pathans of the rugged North West Frontier into soldiers of non violence The British power which had always admired their fine fighting qualities found in the unarmed non-violent Pathan a

more [illegible] than the Pathan with his [illegible] *jezail*. But more spade work [illegible] to deepen and widen the foundation of the Pathan's non-violence which he had so far practised largely as a soldierly discipline How they planned and dreamt great dreams together how their plans were interrupted by the outbreak of the Second World War, and finally how on the eve of partition, the Frontier Gandhi returned to his Province to bear testimony to his faith which he received from Gandhiji and how he is today bearing witness to it in a Pakistan prison in a manner worthy of the heroes and martyrs of old, will be found recorded in my book *A Pilgrimage for Peace* * which I would very strongly recommend for perusal to all those who want seriously to study this subject

D LAST PHASE

"Quit India" Movement

I now come to the last phase of Gandhiji's life Though to all appearance he had retired from the Congress, there was one more fight in his belly the biggest, the best and the last The World War II flung a challenge in the face of India's self respect when India was declared a belligerent country without her consent But so keen was nationalist India's desire to play her part in the defence of democracies that the landslide in favour of helping the British war effort continued inspite of repeated rebuffs and refusals on the part of the British Government to give her the chance to do so effectively or even with self-respect Frustration was writ large on every face Out of that well of despair was born the "Quit India cry Never were conditions less favourable for the launching of a non-violent struggle To many it seemed sheer madness But with an inner certitude and determination, which staggered everybody Gandhiji overcame all opposition and rallied round him once more his 'old guard' for a final showdown To him it was an act of faith To the sceptics he said in effect I know that the country is not ready to offer civil disobedience of the purest non-violent type today But a general who runs away from action because his soldiers are not ready, writes himself down God has vouchsafed to me a priceless talent in the weapon of non-violence If I hesitate to put it to use in the present crisis God will not forgive me I do not want India to remain a passive and helpless witness when the fate of humanity hangs in the balance India must not lose her soul.'

Pandit Nehru, torn between the conflicting loyalties of the head and heart, divided between his concern for the democracies and his impatience of the continuation of the alien authoritarian rule in India "saw and heard the passion in Gandhiji's eyes" as he discussed with him the pros and cons of the proposition and realized that on the whole [illegible] India Before [illegible] arguments and controversies [illegible] and without much meaning The Congress took the plunge

As had happened on so many previous occasions once again the inner voice of the Prophet proved to be a truer oracle than the arithmetic of political wisdom and in less than four years the seditious slogan of August 8 1942 became the official programme of action of the British Government and before long even Quit India' became outmoded and gave place to "Quit Asia'

It is rarely given to a Prophet to lead his people into the Promised Land That privilege was to be his But before that he had to pass through one more ordeal

Noakhali and Its Aftermath

In October 1946 an orgy of communal madness was let loose in Noakhali in East Bengal which set the pace for a chain of similar cataclysms in other parts of India He set out on his historic Do or Die" mission of healing and peace in Noakhali It was followed by similar "Do or Die' undertakings on his part in Bihar, Calcutta and Delhi From this point onward, his life became a ceaseless quest after the secret of power that is, non-violence of the strong If only he could discover it, he was convinced, it would provide the master key that would unlock all locks, avert the division of India and set up a chain reaction of non-violence that would inevitably envelop the whole world Thus would India fulfil her mission of bringing freedom from fear to a distraught world, by once more presenting to it the gospel of *Ahimsa* — in its expanded form — as she had done three thousand years ago

Thus, both in his objective and the method of realization he harked back to the tradition of India's ancient saints and seers to which he imparted a new meaning and content "*Ahimsa* which is the core of Hinduism as I have studied Hindu religion, is sought to be explained away by its so-called exponents But I literally believe in the truth of Patanjali's *sutra* (aphorism)

अहिंसाप्रतिष्ठायां तत्सन्निधौ वैरत्यागः

which means that all hatred must dissolve before *Ahimsa* Even wild animals are known to shed their fierceness in its presence' he wrote in his journal To realize it in full became the passion of his life

In this he nearly succeeded His fast unto death at Calcutta in August 1947 achieved the near miracle of quelling the rising tide of communal frenzy and enabled "our one-man-boundary-force", as Lord Mountbatten called him, to accomplish without the use of arms what a boundary force of 50,000 could not in the Punjab The tidal wave of goodwill which his final 'all-in fast' at Delhi in January 1948 evoked had all the characteristics of an atomic chain reaction.

He had advised the Viceroy and the British Government in effect to quit India with their troops, handing over power to any party they

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liked and said he was on leaving that even to chaos or anarchy There might be chaos for a while he said we would have to go through the fire no doubt but the fire would purify us." But his 'master plan' though it appealed to the Viceroy was not acceptable to his own colleagues and so the partition of India came in spite of him. He accepted it as a *fait accompli* A votary of non violence may sometimes find himself so placed as to feel the need to endorse a decision which he himself would not have made He would have been untrue to his faith if he had resorted to non-co-operation with his colleagues because their judgment differed from his own. He was after all a born democrat and when the country and his trusted colleagues accepted partition he could not very well oppose it by non-co-operation Only by patient persuasion and service could he induce others to join in his belief not by imposing his own views even upon his best friends over whom he confessed he had for the time being lost his original hold The experience was nothing new Had he not been through the same thing in 1925, when he handed over the Congress organization to those who had broken away from his programme only to pave the way for their return in 1930?

Attainment of Independence and His Martyrdom

On 15th August 1947 India attained independence But the event brought little joy to its principal architect who had toiled more than any one else, to realize it The wave of madness that had swept over the country on the eve of and just after independence saddened him beyond measure and made life for him a veritable bed of agony Surrounded by the pomp and circumstance of the capital city, he found himself in complete spiritual isolation from his surroundings and from almost all his old colleagues. But he was content to pursue his lonely furrow in hope and in faith Never did he show himself to greater advantage than during that hectic period, when like a mighty Titan he rushed from one danger spot to another to prop up, as it were the crumbling heavens His utterances became commands passwords orders of the day One wonders if the Congress leaders now rulers after all realized the wisdom of his advice and their own mistake in not accepting it in time!

Gandhiji did not even now despair of realizing the fundamental unity of the Indian people, though it had been geographically broken A Muslim leader of Pakistan who met him soon after his Delhi fast envisaged a 50 mile procession of Hindus returning to Pakistan with Gandhiji at the head, and the idea enthralled him. There was the Kashmir fight He had accepted it even as he had the partition, not that he was reconciled to it or had in any way changed his fundamental attitude on war but because he was still engaged in perfecting his weapon — which though it had demonstrated its efficacy so far in the struggle for India's independence needed to be overhauled or perhaps redesigned to perform the duty that now confronted it in the new set up That it could be so redesigned he had not the slightest doubt in his mind He had a rough idea how he would proceed He even felt that he was on the brink of the Great Discovery But it was not given to him to conduct his experiment further to a successful issue though he regarded it as a present possibility In his later writings there is a sufficient indication of the technique with which he was working and proposed to work Let those who are interested in it study it for themselves

And then the final curtain dropped on the drama On the 30th of January, 1948, the crown of martyrdom descended upon him and he passed from life upon earth into immortality

ॐ युगवद युगमिदन् युगांतयुगमुद्यन ।
पूर्वस्य युगमाश्रय युगमवतिष्ठन ॥

It is for us to consider what use we are going to make of the rich heritage he has left us Shall we wisely use it and enlarge it, or shall he have lived and died for us in vain?

(End of Lecture II)

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J D

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Big v. Small Schemes

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(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor: K. G. MASHRUWALA

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1628

AN INDIAN GOVERNOR

(By M. K. Gandhi)

1. An Indian Governor should, in his own person and in his surroundings be a teetotaller. Without this prohibition of the fiery liquid is well-nigh inconceivable.

2. He and his surroundings should represent hand-spinning as a visible token of identification with the dumb millions of India, a token of the necessity of 'bread labour' and organized non-violence as against organized violence on which the society of today seems to be based.

He must dwell in a cottage accessible to all, though easily shielded from gaze, if he is to do efficient work. The British Governor naturally represented British might. For him and his was erected a fortified residence—a palace to be occupied by him and his numerous vassals who sustained his empire. The Indian prototype may keep somewhat pretentious buildings for receiving princes and ambassadors of the world. For these, being guests of the Governor should constitute an education in what "Even Unto This Last" equality of all—should mean in concrete terms. For him no expensive furniture, foreign or indigenous. Plain living and high thinking must be his motto not to adorn his entrance but to be exemplified in daily life.

4. For him there can be no untouchability in any form whatsoever no caste or creed or colour distinction. He must represent the best of all religions and all things Eastern or Western. Being a citizen of India, he must be a citizen of the world. Thus simply, one reads, did the Khalif Omar, with millions of treasure at his feet, live. thus lived Janaka of ancient times, thus lived, as I saw him, the Master of Eton in his residence in the midst of, and surrounded by, the sons of the Lords and Nabobs of the British Isles. Will the Governors of India of the famished millions do less?

5. He will speak the language of the province of which he is the Governor and Hindustani the lingua franca of India written in the Nagari or Urdu script. This is neither Sanskritized Hindi nor Persianized Urdu. Hindustani is emphatically the language which is spoken by the millions north of the Vindhya Range.

This does not pretend to be an exhaustive list of the virtues that an Indian Governor should represent. It is merely illustrative.

Calcutta, 17-8-'47

Harijan 24-8-'47

PROHIBITION CRITICISM ANSWERED

(By M. K. Gandhi)

[The following article was written by the Father of the Nation fifteen years ago. It was a clarion call to all Congress Ministries to start implement the promise of achieving Prohibition the moment the Congress came to power. The promise still remains unfulfilled and the Congress is now functioning as Government under a free Constitution of India.

The criticism made against the reform was then and is now of the same nature. The answers given fifteen years ago are as fresh today as they were then. Will the Planning Commission and the State Governments heed to this voice that brought freedom to our land?

10-4-'52 —M. P. Desai]

How can total prohibition be brought about immediately if at all? By 'immediately' I mean an immediate planned declaration bringing about total prohibition not later than three years from 14th July, 1937 the date of the taking of office by the first Congress Ministry. I imagine that it is quite possible to bring it about in two years. But not being aware of administrative difficulties I put down three years. I count loss of this revenue as of no account whatsoever. Prohibition will remain a far cry, if the Congress is to count the cost in a matter of first class national importance.

Let it be remembered that this drink and drugs revenue is a form of extremely degrading taxation. All taxation to be healthy must return tenfold to the tax-payer in the form of necessary services. Excise makes people pay for their own corruption, moral, mental and physical. It falls like a dead-weight on those who are least able to bear it. The revenue is largely derived, I believe, from industrial labour which together with field labour the Congress almost exclusively represents.

The loss of revenue is only apparent. Removal of this degrading tax enables the drinker or the tax payer to earn and spend better. Apart, therefore from the tremendous gain, it means a substantial economic gain, to the nation.

I put this prohibition in the forefront because its result is immediate. Congressmen and especially women have bled for it, national

[illegible] it by any [illegible] that I can conceive [illegible] the other five [illegible] are highly likely to follow the six. The [illegible] non-Congress Prime Ministers are [illegible] interested in seeing India sober rather [illegible] drink.

The cry of great expenditure in preventing illicit distillation is thoughtless where it is not hypocritical. India is not America. The American example is a hindrance rather than a help to us. In America drinking carries no shame with it. It is the fashion there to drink. It reflects the greatest credit on the determined minority in America that by sheer force of its moral weight it was able to carry through the prohibition measure, however short-lived it was. I do not regard that experiment to have been a failure. I do not despair of America once more returning to it with still greater fervour and better experience in dealing with it. It may be that if India carries out prohibition it will hasten the advent of prohibition in America. In no part of the world is prohibition as easy to carry out as in India, for with us it is only a minority that drinks. Drinking is generally considered disrespectable. And there are millions I believe who have never known what drink is.

But why should prevention of illicit distillation cost any more than prevention of other crimes? I should make illicit distillation heavily punishable and think no more about it. Some of it will go on perhaps till Doomsday as thieving will. I would not set up a special agency to pry into illicit distilleries. But I would punish any one found drunk though not disorderly (in the legal sense) in streets or other public places with a substantial fine or alternatively with indeterminate imprisonment to end when the erring one has earned his or her keep.

This, however, is the negative part. Voluntary organizations especially manned by women will work in the labour areas. They will visit those who are addicted to drink and try to wean them from the habit. Employers of labour will be expected by law to provide cheap, healthy refreshment, reading and entertainment rooms where the working men can go and find shelter, knowledge, health-giving food and drink and innocent fun.

Thus prohibition means a type of adult education of the nation and not merely a closing down of grog shops.

Prohibition should begin by preventing any new shop from being licensed and closing some that are in danger of becoming a nuisance to the public. How far the latter is possible without having to pay heavy compensation I do not know. In any case, generally, licences that lapse should not be renewed. No new shops should be opened on any account. Whatever immediately is possible in law should be done without a moment's thought so far as the revenue is concerned.

But what [illegible] prohibition [illegible] prohibition [illegible] prohibition against sales of intoxicating drinks and drugs except under medical prescription by a practitioner licensed for the purpose and to be purchasable only at Government depots maintained therefor. Foreign liquors in prescribed quantity may be imported for the use of Europeans who cannot or will not do without their drink. These will also be sold in bottles in select areas and under authorized certificates. Hotels and restaurants will cease to sell intoxicating drinks.

Harijan 31-7-'37

TO THE PLANNING COMMISSION

All know why Governments are hesitating to implement their Prohibition promises. The cause is mainly economic — they are not prepared to lose easy income from excise. One may grant that a sudden loss of this revenue may create a little headache and worry to the administrator or Finance Minister. It might be therefore necessary to graduate this cut in the public revenue say during the course of two, three years. But it is in no sense an argument to stand still and not move at all. But the point is more serious and fundamental. — Is it wise statesmanship and sound economics to collect such income? I may be pardoned to quote Hermann Levy from his book *Drink*. While discussing this aspect of the drink revenue, he says —

> Drink always was and still is one of the most favourite means of public finance. Yet it is very doubtful whether the drawing of large amounts of revenue from sources which give rise to permanent stimuli to wasteful spending — which is not even much repressed by high taxation — can be regarded as a policy conforming to the fundamental principles of sound economics. (P. 102)

I hope the Planning Commission, which is not a mere economic body but which claims to plan for the good and healthy life and prosperity of the nation, will take this aspect of the question in view and plan a graded course for securing Prohibition in the whole land within the next two or three years. This at least we all owe to the Father of the Nation.

15-4-'52 M. P. DESAI

By Mahatma Gandhi

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LET US STOP TO THINK

In my article *Straight from the Heart* I have suggested the discontinuance of All Services as one of the desirable steps towards a free happy and self-sufficient India. Most people will probably be astonished at such an idea and even laugh it to scorn. This is simply because they do not *stop* to think. If they did reflect for a moment, they would see that it is by no means a laughable matter and deserves biblical consideration. I invite them to give me a few minutes attention, by reading the following lines.

It should be clearly understood from the beginning that we are aiming at a truly democratic state of society which will give full advantage to the people who produce the fundamental needs of life.

In the first place let us consider who make use of the Air Services. Is it the rich The Government representatives and the military. Are these services of any use to the peasantry and labourers? None at all. On the contrary the poor are the losers in that the wealthy and the Government are tempted to waste more and more money, all of which originally comes from the sweat of the poor manual brow—I say waste it, yes because there is no actual benefit.

Take the civil population. One man flies because the other man flies. Very likely both feel in their heart of hearts they would rather not. But they would be ashamed to say so, and they also must not get left behind in business in politics and even in fashion. So the mad race goes on. But supposing they all stopped flying? Then no one need feel ashamed, and no one would get left behind. There would come a sense of relief.

Then there is another vital point. Man's psychic and physical makeup is not suited to flying. However strong or brilliant a man may be he is not at his best after reaching a place by air. When a Minister rushes to England in a few hours for conferences he is not in anything like so fit a condition to deal with the weighty problems in hand as he could be if he had gone by sea and had a fortnight's respite to reflect on the world situation on what he is doing and where he is going and time physically to relax and enjoy the fine sea air. By flying man as it were outruns his own mental equilibrium and physically also his body cannot adjust itself properly to such violent changes of climate diet and material surroundings which in its turn have a detrimental effect on the mind. So what is the advantage? Some people will argue that flying is bringing the nations of the world nearer together. I would say only in the matter of time, which in itself is a man made illusion. In all other respects flying is taking the nations of the world further apart. People nowadays see nothing of the countries they pass over and remarkably little even of the countries they visit beyond the airports and modernized cities. It is all unnatural and unhealthy. Flying has also led to the increase of interference and poking of the nose by powerful nations into the affairs of weaker ones poisoning the international atmosphere. If people would mind about a little less and attend to their own affairs at home it would be much better. In the same way it would be much better for internal affairs if people kept quieter feet would certainly be better governed if Ministers kept their feet on the ground and made less speeches.

Now let us consider the military aspect. In *Straight from the Heart* I have put forward disbandment of the Army and Navy. This automatically puts an end to military flying. At the same time we should dismantle all air stations and landing grounds and make the whole of India inhospitable to air-craft by planting trees digging trenching and so forth in all strategic open spaces and tracts. This would have far-reaching protective advantages both military and civil.

From the international point of view if only the world could make up its mind to do away flying it would find that it [illegible] would sui[illegible] would feel as if [illegible] out of a frightful nightmare. It would also [illegible] easier and it is a practical thing to check up [illegible] air-craft than to check up on banned bombs.

If the advantages and disadvantages of flying [illegible] intelligently and honestly weighed the scales go [illegible] heavily on the disadvantage side. The advantages [illegible] are all an illusion and therefore as light as air [illegible] think of any which are real and solid.

Yet man goes on inventing still faster and [illegible] methods of getting about. Like all other material [illegible] it is insatiable and will, as sure as fate lead man to his ruin if not checked.

Unfortunately there is little chance of modern man having the strength to throw off completely this evil habit of artificial speed (which is just like a drug), but at least he should be able to pull himself together sufficiently to give up flying. It is absurd and childish in the extreme to accept every new invention as an advance! The intention of air-craft has been definitely harmful to man and it should be recognized for what it is—a curse.

With this, as with disarmament it is India's natural birthright to lead the way to a saner and happier world.

Gopal Ashram MIRA
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HARIJAN

April 26 1952

BIG V. SMALL SCHEMES

Principal S N Agarwal writes

In the course of his recent address to the Silver Jubilee session of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry at New Delhi, the Prime Minister Shri Jawaharlal Nehru is reported by the P T I to have observed that

> He had started feeling more and more that greater stress should be laid on smaller schemes of national reconstruction rather than on big ones But whatever was done in the field of planning or implementing big projects it should be seen that for their working after completion no foreign aid was necessary"

The above observation by Pandit Nehru is surely welcome If it really indicates any substantial change in the economic and industrial policy of the Government of India So far the Government has been [illegible] inordinate fondness for 'big' schemes which a poor country like India can ill afford under the present circumstances Several of these schemes have [illegible] to grief for various reasons some of them [illegible] be abandoned after wasting crores of rupees in the initial stages because they were later on found to be uneconomic and too costly The implementation of these "big" and grandiose schemes including the [illegible] Valley Projects has set in motion a chain of foreign capital and foreign experts specially from the United States The Prime Minister expresses the [illegible] after their completion no foreign aid would be necessary but unless and until India is able to [illegible] its own heavy machinery and spare parts required for installing giant schemes such a hope will remain only a pious dream.

In India the basic problem that constantly stares [illegible] face is that of poverty unemployment and, [illegible] much more under-employment We have [illegible] man power but very scarce capital resources therefore naturally require labour-intensive [illegible] than capital intensive schemes of national reconstruction If full employment is to be assured [illegible] millions of unemployed and underemployed population in our country, the Government [illegible] launch a large number of "small" schemes which would not only provide ample work for the [illegible] areas but also make every village in India feel [illegible] of Swaraj Today, the villagers are not [illegible] impressed by huge schemes taking shape at [illegible] places they are interested in their own villages [illegible] want something to be done for their economic [illegible] quickly and before their own eyes. During [illegible] recent election tours in the villages I noticed in [illegible] longer for land for village roads, for wells and irrigation works for small village schools and [illegible] The village folk are also prepared to contribute [illegible] own manual labour for the welfare [illegible] provided they are able to see the fruits [illegible] labour in the near future and in their own [illegible] that I why Gandhiji attached so much importance to decentralized socio-economic planning and constructive work Such small village schemes do not wait for the import of foreign capital and foreign experts' and advisers they can be implemented locally and quickly

This does not mean that there should be no big schemes at all But these should be minimized and only if be confined to the basic or key industries The main plank of our national reconstruction should [illegible] numerous small [illegible] in rural areas Let us hope that [illegible] India and the Planning Commission [illegible] see this healthy change in their [illegible] the final Five Year Plan

The Times of India (31 March) report is rather different from the P T I report quoted above The former says as follows

> Mr Nehru said that he had come to feel more and more that greater stress should be laid on small community development projects of the type established at Faridabad and Nilokheri rather than on any big schemes of industrialisation"

The P T I report does not refer to the Faridabad Nilokheri projects at all The Hindi report in the *Hindustan* of New Delhi seems to give a verbatim report of the speech which was made in Hindi A specific reference has been made in it to the above projects following a general statement in favour of small schemes as opposed to big ones "Though the two parts are separated from each other by other observations, from the tenor of the speech it is reasonable to infer that by smaller schemes Shri Nehru had in his mind only the schemes of the kind specifically referred to above

From the reports that I have seen, Faridabad Nilokheri and Etawah are not projects of the same type Of the three Etawah alone seems to have been conceived of with a village outlook, even if of a different pattern from that conceived of by the Gramodyog Sangh (Village Industries Association) Experience alone will show what corrections and adjustments both will need.

Etawah has not been specifically mentioned in Shri Jawaharlal Nehru's speech. One does not know if he has greater attraction for Faridabad and Nilokheri or for Etawah If it is the former two it is still an approach of as doubtful value as that to big ones They will have to depend as much upon continuous foreign imports as the big projects They cannot be self-reliant and self sufficient I am not sure if the same will not be true of the Etawah project Let me hope Shri Nehru's expectations will be fulfilled at least by Etawah type projects.

Speaking generally, from big industrial projects to the small township projects is a great climb down But I feel we shall have to be still more realistic (or idealistic according to the way you look at it) and get to a still lower level for some years to come Instead of planning to encourage crowded townships with factories luxury houses etc we shall have to think of attending to every hamlet in its own place and making it a fully productive fully employed and self supporting unit The former give employment to a few people with high remunerations. They attract from the neighbouring villages a larger number of people who do not find employment and create insoluble problems The standard of living of a few is raised at the expense of the many Ultimately they lead to robberies, dacoities revolutionary activities and murders

the political solution devised for them is periodical wars which may in modern civilization take the form of total destruction by means as foul as atom, petrol and bacteriological bombs

Whether our schemes are big or small, so long as schemes and science are linked with trade, commerce and a large army of top heavy, technical and administrative staff, — whether in Government industry or commerce, — they can not bring happiness to mankind There would be starvation and unemployment in the midst of plenty suppression of freedom and individuality in the name of law and order making robots of men in the name of technological advance, and constant destruction of men and materials produced at enormous expense

Any way I hope Shri Jawaharlal Nehru will advance still deeper in his ideas about smaller schemes and instead of building a few new up-to-date townships will proceed to rebuild villages which are in a state of disintegration on account of neglect and exploitation by cities

Wardha 7-4-'52 K G MASHRUWALA

AT THE CROSS ROADS*

I — The Food Problem

Yesterday I described to you in brief outline the technique of action that Gandhiji evolved out of his basic disciplines and how he used that technique to win India's freedom Let us now see how application of that technique can enable us to realize the fruits of freedom and to sustain that freedom

Democracy is a plant of slow growth It needs patience, peace and staying power Let us see what will give these to us in the easiest and quickest manner

Translated in terms of the millions the four ingredients of democracy are food, clothing health and individual freedom Let us take the question of food first

We are faced with a crisis on the food front Last year we had to import 2 million tons This year (1951) the corresponding figure will be 5 million tons In the coming year (1952) we are told, there will be a food deficit of nearly 7 million tons The problem it has been stated has been accentuated by the steady growth of our population

As an immediate solution, the Government resorted to the policy of imported food from abroad at the cost of nearly 100 to 150 crores of rupees every year For long term solution there is a tendency to promote large-sized consolidated holdings and mechanized farming, helped with fertilizers — natural and chemical — imported or home-produced. Should an uncovered margin be still left and the Planning Commission tell us it is likely to be left the gap is to be filled by importing food the cost being met by our earnings from the export of raw material and manufactured goods. In practice, this has actually led to the Government substituting non-food-crops like jute and cotton in certain parts for food crops

Internally we have set up a system of procurement and control to regulate the crisis specially in the interest of the non-producing city-dwellers There are besides certain deficit areas and seasonal shortages to cope with They are being covered by imported food material and by drawing upon food supplies from areas where there is a surplus at the time The biggest factor which has accentuated the problem is the requirement of our non-producing population, particularly of industrial and urban areas The total offtake for all rationed areas urban as well as rural comes to 7 to 8 million tons This is partially met by internal procurement which comes to about 4 million tons leaving 3 to 4 million tons to be made up partly by food imports and partly by squeezing the supplies from the unrationed areas

This in brief is the background of our food problem Before Gandhiji died, he warned us against the trap into which we would run if we pursued the policy of relying for food on outside supplies The import of food and the ebb and flow of food stocks within the country as basic features of our food economy are at best palliatives that serve to mask the symptoms It is much better as Gandhiji told us to let deficit areas appear as deficit so that we feel the pinch and do not lull ourselves and the people into a false sense of easy going complacency than convert artificially the whole country into a deficit area and cover up the dismal fact by begging food from outside Let the shortage in deficit areas be met by a nationwide austerity programme or even by imports provided the imports are strictly restricted to deficit areas only The local surpluses when they arrive can be utilized to build up regional grain reservoir so as to reduce to the minimum the internal movements of grain But the balance of the whole country should not be disturbed Even if this costs us more in money, it does not matter The extra expense will be worth the contentment and peace it will bring to the people and the stability and staying power it will confer upon us These are assets whose value cannot be over-estimated whether in peace time or in the eventuality of a war Probably in the long run the cost will not be heavier than what we have to pay in order to maintain a highly paid extensive and corrupt machinery of control procurement and movement of food-grains which has done more than anything else to lower the standard of public morality and bring into disrepute the administration Let the open sore remain exposed to view It will serve as a constant reminder and warning

The administration will then be compelled to tackle the evil at the root and end the crisis in the shortest possible time or have to clear out and make room for a better one. Released from

* This is the third and last of the Gandhi Memorial Lectures delivered by Shri Pyarelal at Kanpur under the auspices of the Agra University, on 3rd 4th and 5th January 1952 and published with its kind consent

the jugglery of experts, we shall breathe freely once more and be ready for a genuine popular effort.

But what about the uncovered deficit in the meantime? Is it inevitable? The reply is 'no'. I am afraid we have not learnt or taught our people to utilize our internal food resources and food-producing capacity to the full. Our country is rich in food resources. We have an endless variety of edible herbs, roots and tubers like sweet potato yams cassva and tapioca, whole jungles of jack fruit and mango and banana, cocoanut palm and cashewnut and extensive crops of groundnut and gingell linseed and other edible oils to mention only a few. And there are simple homely and inexpensive ways of preserving them and using them to provide all the nutrition we need. We have recently started a chain of non-cereal Anna-Purna cafeterias and their extraordinary popularity has surprised everybody. These Anna-Purnas, are however, only urban novelties. The principle is capable of countrywide application. The trouble is, we have neither the men nor the leadership nor the machinery to inspire the masses. The government machinery continues to be the white elephant it was. The various political organizations in the country — including the Congress are more anxious to capture power than generate power by humble service of the people in the way Gandhiji taught us. I dare say if instead of railing at the administration we all made up our mind to supplement its efforts if the various political organizations, instead of engaging in mutual recrimination, spread themselves out in the country to help the people, we should be much nearer the solution of our food problem than we seem today, and the food problem would cease to be the bug-bear it has become. Students can play a great part in this. They can go to the villages equipped with the requisite knowledge which can easily be acquired in a short time. I say this on the strength of experiments I myself made in Noakhali. It showed how little can go how far when it is done in the right way and the right spirit and how its effect outruns mere arithmetical progression. But I must here resist the temptation to enter into further detail.

I can very well understand the eagerness of those who favour large scale collective farming. The cat was let out of the bag by a friend who is in the administration and therefore knows all the ropes when he remarked the other day: "Large-scale collective farming is the method *par excellence* of making procurement easy and increasing it to capacity. If we have a system of small-scale individual farming on a co-operative basis procurement will not be so easy: there will be fierce resistance and we shall find it difficult to meet the growing needs of our industrial areas." Must we continue to subsidize the needs of our "industrial population" by a step-motherly treatment to the country-folk in non-rationed areas?

(To be continued)

PROF SHAH'S CANDIDATURE

I am glad to share with the reader the gist of a Gujarati letter received by me from Prof. K. T. Shah in respect of his candidature of the Presidentship of India. He has reiterated therein to short what he has said more fully in his letter to Shri A. K. Gopalan when he consented to accept his nomination. As stated therein, he holds contrary to what I had assumed that the President of India is not a mere titular head of the Republic. He has some definite powers and there is reason to believe that occasions may arise to make use of them. He also draws my attention to the conditions for 'assumption', as he says, on which he has agreed to contest the election. They are

> that the contest is to be a matter of asserting a matter of principle and not a case of personal or party wrangling that those who invite me to contest realize that I am and shall continue to be an entirely non-party individual that there would be no personal canvassing by myself and that my supporters accepting me as a non-party candidate would do everything necessary to make the contest fair and free."

With regard to Dr. Rajendra Prasad he has made it clear to his sponsors

> 'There is a personal reason for hesitation which I trust you will fully understand and sincerely appreciate. I have the highest regard personally and esteem for the present President Dr. Rajendra Prasad. I regard him as amongst the few honest and sincere Congressmen holding secured even today the high ideals which actuated that organization in the days before it came to power. A man of honesty and learning profound a statesman with ideals and understanding he is an individual I can say from personal knowledge and experience of rare courage and understanding of simplicity and dignity which makes him most eminently fit for the highest office in the Union. For my own self I would never dream of contesting this or any other office in popular gift against him. But I have carefully weighed the considerations of long range constitutional importance you have urged and have long pondered over the position when we are to create new conventions and set new precedents. Personal considerations must in such cases outweigh and give place to public principles and as such I have subordinated my personal feelings in the matter and given this answer only on its merits as a matter of public interest.

I am glad that this seeming competition is thus run in a very sport manlike manner as one as Dr. Rajendra Prasad and Prof. Shah are concerned. I may add that Prof. Shah is under no illusion about the results and has taken this step only in order to establish a principle.

I am aware that there are other candidates also. I must say I do not take them seriously. Their candidature must not be confused with that of Prof. Shah.

I for one do not think that it is always be insisted upon that the President should invariably be a person who has not belonged to any political party before his election. Since a person before being held fit for this office will generally be one who in a way he must have led the country for a long time in various fields of national activity not excluding politics, normally as a member of some party or another. And more often than not he will have belonged to the majority party. Since in a party governed democracy the election will necessarily go in favour of the candidate proposed by the governing party, the establishment of a different principle is not likely to succeed through a routine of elections. It can be established only by an agreed convention that is for practical purposes if the majority party consents. If it does not and the electoral procedure becomes the normal method there is rather the possibility of the

[illegible] and dignity of the Presi[illegible] possibility could have been [illegible] largest and the most re[illegible] had created other party leaders before [illegible] Babu [illegible] In that case, what the [illegible] could normally expect is that even if the [illegible] proposed is that of a party leader, he is one whose [illegible] the nation are undisputed, who is held in high [illegible] public and whose capacity to discharge [illegible] of his office without favour or fear and in set[illegible] parties is recognized

Wardha 18-1-52 K. G. MASHRUWALA

SHRI VINOBA'S UTTAR PRADESH TOUR

II

Land-problem in Uttar Pradesh

Let me now jot a few words about the land problem in this province. It has its own peculiar features here and is not the same throughout. Its form in the eastern districts differs from that in the western. The holdings in the former are generally very small, even the Zamindari estates are not as big as they usually are in the western part. Fragmentation seems to have continued for long and without interruption. Than the western part enjoys water facilities of tube-wells and irrigation canals which are not available in the latter. Of course the facilities benefit mostly the large zamindars. To add to the difficulties in the eastern part the rivers Ghoghra and Sharavu washed away large quantities of the rich soil and the land is without fertility. Then there is the problem of the dwindling food-crop cultivation created by the increase in the cultivation of sugar-cane for sugar factories. This problem affects the whole province. It has seriously hit the old *gur* and *khandsari* (the hand-made sugar) industries which have practically gone out of existence. Moreover the cane-cultivation is fast destroying the fertility of the soil and in recent years it has considerably gone down.

The Zamindari Abolition Act of the Congress Government has contrary to expectations, worsened the condition of the peasants. The big land-lords have parcelled their lands among their relatives and have converted the remaining land into large farms which is a legal device for circumventing the law. Farms are taking the place of the abolished Zamindaris which is not only *Zamindari* in disguise but worse than it. The owners of the farms get extensive facilities from the Government in the name of Grow More Food campaign. The farms consist of not hundreds but in many cases thousands of acres of land. Tenants who had been cultivating definite pieces of land for years are being evicted. The labourers who work on these farms are in a miserable plight. They grow wheat and other crops with their labour but they have no share in the produce. They are given their wages in money and have to buy their food-grains from the ration-shops. It is a sad irony that the producers of the finest variety of wheat should be compelled to buy whatever the ration shop may offer them at any time. They are in the same position as the bullocks which drag the plough but must live on fodder. Here too as elsewhere *Bhoodan Yajna* is the only remedy for this situation.

The Pardah

Uttar Pradesh has also its social problems to solve, and the most exasperating of these as we experienced it is the *pardah*. In Telangana the women attended the meetings just as freely as men. Here they are conspicuous by their absence or near-absence. When they do come, it is only for beholding the Saint (Sri Vinoba), other meetings they do not attend at all. At Fyzabad they had come once before, which was 30 years ago, to attend a meeting of Gandhiji now they had came to attend that of Vinoba. But they sat behind the curtains. The curtains were eventually removed when Vinoba reprimanded the people for this ugly practice and the leading villagers assured him that this would not happen again. In another village the women were willing and every wished to come to the meeting but they could not for fear of displeasing their elders. And the meeting was being held in the courtyard of their own house! Mahadevbhai could simply not bear it. The report reached Vinoba and they were allowed to come. That evening, Vinoba devoted a good part of his speech to the removal of this silly custom. He spoke with visible vehemence and I cannot resist reproducing it in part. He referred to his experience at Fyzabad and said that the women there did not know that they had the right of vote. Going to the polling station and exercising it was out of question. Of the women of our country the Muslim women of Delhi and the Harijan women of Maharashtra seemed to have been the only ones who exercised their right in large numbers. It was a tragedy, Vinoba said that while the Constitution granted them the right of vote and made them politically equal with men the hold of this outmoded and reprehensible custom would not let them come out of the four walls of their homes to attend a meeting in their own village. Most of you are Hindus who generally quote the authority of the *shastras* for resisting reforms. But even the *shastras* insist on the presence of women in every ceremony. Rama had to perform a *yajna* but could not because Sita though living was not present. In the end her earthern image had to be placed in his side to overcome the difficulty of her physical absence. We report Sita ram and Radheshyam parrot-like but keep our women in prison. It has weakened the country. This custom seems to have come from the Muslims. It is not bad to accept good things from others but a custom which isolates women and weakens and degrades the country must be abandoned."

They should consider, Vinoba continued, what would happen to the boys and girls when mothers were kept illiterate and ignorant. Children received more from their mothers than from the schools. The mothers told their children stories from Ramayan and Mahabharat and *bhajans* from poet-saints and these set the foundation of the children's character for the whole of their life. That was why the scriptures spoke of the mother as the first *guru* of her child. The father was the ritual teacher come second and third only.

"We should not forget that God resides as much in woman as in man. There is no difference in them from the point of view of the *atma*. Just look at the galaxy of the great women we had had. The questions which Gargi put to sage Yajnavalkya in the assembly of the seers of the time in King Janaka's court constitute an ocean of our Upanishadic literature and are still read and pondered over. The Upanishad says that her questions were like pointed arrows. How dare we keep women in the *pardah* in the land of Gargi?"

The problem of drink too I there though not in the virulent form in which we found it in Telangana. The figures of the addict which we got were truly terrifying. Not only do men drink but also women. *Hukka*-smoking is quite wide-spread. In a certain village it was revealed on enquiry that the number of alcohol-addicts was three times that of the literates. Vinobaji asked them if they valued wine three times more than knowledge. The scriptures had listed drinking as one of the five great sins. He asked them to pledge their word of honour that henceforth they would have nothing to do with drink. And women should help their men in keeping the pledge. A truly devoted wife was accorded the dignified epithet of being a *pativrata* which means the guardian of the husband's pledges. Let them deserve it by helping their husbands in the fulfilment of their vows. Formerly, in every home in Northern India, he continued, Tulsi's Ramayan used to be recited every day. It had ceased now. It was a sad loss to life and culture of the people. For with those daily recitations of Ramayan and the love and devotion to Rama as a result of it the drink habit would

[illegible] Gujarat Ra[illegible] the well-[illegible] And [illegible] [illegible] break [illegible] Rajaji Sadhuji is walk [illegible] There are seasoned [illegible] forests [illegible] with [illegible] he left footmarks of [illegible] that way [illegible] Himalayas [illegible] emerge [illegible] through thinking of [illegible] feel so them lonely and [illegible] that he was thinking of the [illegible] he set out for these [illegible] doing *tapas*? He had [illegible] he returned to [illegible] the [illegible] at Sabarmati

The True Kshatriya

[illegible] would [illegible] from village to village on his [illegible] stirring the poor to their rights [illegible] in such [illegible] meaning to a sceptical but [illegible] and [illegible] He is not [illegible] the need and justice of equal [illegible] He is binding them into a new [illegible] He is reinterpreting and [illegible] Speaking of the duty of a *Kshatriya* [illegible] We have to lay new norms of the duty of a *Kshatriya*. The duty of a *kshatriya* [illegible] making war but in preventing war. Our religion must teach not to kill but to die so that [illegible] may be saved. *Bhoodan Yajna* is founded [illegible] conception of religion.

Sannyas

[illegible] about sannyas (renunciation) at another place. He said that it was one of the greatest words of [illegible] language and there was no exact synonym for it in [illegible] language. It demands that a person should on his [illegible] coming of age entrust the management of the household to him and devote himself to the service of the [illegible]. This law was not to be confined to private life. It applied equally in public life. But both in the Congress and the Constructive Institutions the older generation [illegible] to their jobs until the young virtually drive them out from their positions. They should resume their places voluntarily so that the younger generation should have a chance to develop their capacities. The benefit of the experience of the old would be at their disposal when needed, and the country would go ever forward.

Realization of God

Vinoba explained also how they could realize God in life if they so wished. Krishna as God is an ever present reality and we can behold Him if only we knew the right way of seeing Him. Those who did not cultivate this sight could not recognise Him even when He was present in flesh and blood. Shishupal and Jarasandha did not recognise Him. He is present in our hearts and there He awaits our recognition of Him. Krishna created in his village Gokul the atmosphere of mutual love and co-operation of the unity of hearts. Let us do that and we shall see Krishna dancing with us. Let us give land to the landless and create love and we shall feel His presence in our midst."

Self-Sufficient Villages

On another occasion Vinoba said that the chapter of War (i.e. the Canto of the Mahabharat describing the war) was over and we had now entered upon the chapter of Construction (i.e. the Canto of Mahabharat known as *Udyaga*). He said: Even as the *rishis* sang *This is whole, That is whole*, we should be able to say this village is whole and that one too is whole. of course, [illegible]

Propagation of Good Literature

And so we fell on People give their land [illegible] Vinoba [illegible] from his abundant learning. In course of his tour this time he has been continuously insisting on the need of propagating good literature. He said: There is an impression around that study and contemplation are things to be pursued exclusively by students and anchorites and not by the ordinary people. This is a wrong idea and this attitude is deplorable. home in which there is no atmosphere of study and of daily contemplation of the highest thought fails in its function and remains the poorer for it. He advises the people to read his books which he says will give them the benefit of good company for ever. The tree withers away for want of water. It is the same with work. It loses vitality if it is not fed on contemplation and inquiry. The books he recommends most are his sermons on the *Gita* (*Gita Pravachan*) available in both Hindi and Marathi and the small booklet *Bhoodan Yajna* (Land-Gift-Sacrifice). Speaking about the former he says that *Gita Pravachan* embodies the essence of his life and every Hindi-knowing household must possess a copy of it. Thus about 10,000 copies of the book have been sold. We have also made 250 new subscribers of *Sarvodaya*. The propagation of Sarvodaya literature is an important item of our work.

Centres of Culture

In the course of our journey from Meerut to Sitapur we visited several places of historical and cultural importance. But of these those which have now received added importance by associating themselves with *Bhoodan Yajna* are the Meerut Gandhi Ashram the Hastinapur Ashram, the International Centre of Muslim culture at Deoband and some others. With all these institutions our relations have now become more intimate and close. The Ashok Ashram of Kalad is also one of these centres and I must make particular mention of the remarkable service which Shri Dharmadeo Shastri the head of this institution and his noble wife are rendering to the hilly tribes of their area. They have done much towards weaning the people away from the drink habit which is quite rampant there. The readers of *Harijan* however are acquainted with Shastri's beneficent work and I would not bother them with details.

I will mention just one more incident. We were in Rishikesh. There on the bank of the Ganga that evening Vinoba delivered a most penetrating speech on *Brahma vidya* (the Science of the Self the Supreme Reality). There was a spell of inspiration and we listened to him in silent adoration. Later that evening the hermits from the monastery of Kali Kamliwale Maharaj came to see Vinoba. Next morning as our way forward we stopped for a while at their *dharmashala* (rest-house). We were received very lovingly and the Sadhus made a touching gift to Vinoba of a rosary of *rudraksha* beads and a jarful of Ganga-jal (the sacred water of the Ganga).

(Abridged from the original in Hindi) D. M.

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TASK BEFORE MINISTERS

(By M K Gandhi)

I have before me quite a number of letters bitterly criticizing what they consider to be their luxurious life They accuse them too of favouritism even nepotism I know that much criticism comes from ignorance Ministers should not be sensitive They would take in good part even carping criticism They would be surprised if I were to send them the letters I receive probably they receive worse Be that as it may the moral I draw from them is that the critics expect much more from these chosen servants of the people than from others in the way of simplicity courage, honesty and industry In this matter we cannot imitate the English rulers of the past except perhaps in industry and discipline The whole purpose of this note will be served if on the one hand, the Ministers profit by valid criticism and the critics learn to be sober and precise about their facts Inaccuracy or exaggeration spoils a good case

On the train to Delhi 8 9 47
Harijan 21 9 47

SIR STAFFORD

With the passing away of Sir Stafford Cripps India has lost a true friend By the part he played in the history of the transfer of power, Sir Stafford has won an abiding place in the hearts and affections of Indians

His outstanding legal talent and his record as a diplomat and a minister of the Crown would have by themselves sufficed to entitle him to a niche in the temple of fame But even more valuable perhaps was the human side of his personality It proved no small asset in the difficult task which the British Cabinet Mission had to handle

He was an ardent social reformer and a rebel in his own party All this harmonized with Gandhiji's own make-up He shared with Gandhiji his deeply spiritual outlook and Gandhiji was happy to find in him a fellow crank and faddist as a vegetarian and a nature-curist In his very first letter to Gandhiji after the arrival of the British Cabinet Delegation in India Sir Stafford invited him to join in the silent prayer service arranged by some common Quaker friends, including Horace Alexander and Agatha Harrison , and when later Sir Stafford fell ill at Delhi Gandhiji sent him his most charming nature cure doctor — Dr Dinshaw Mehta — who completely won my (his) heart " Between him and Gandhiji there grew up a personal bond of affection which on Sir Stafford's part found expression in the message he sent on the 78th birthday of Gandhiji

> " You have devoted so many years to the cause of Indian freedom that I hope you may live long (to 125 years at least) to see the results of your labours come to a full fruition of happiness for your people
>
> These are difficult days but nevertheless we are progressing in the right direction A few short steps and the great act will have been completed and then we can all rejoice together in this accomplishment of Indian freedom

In the course of the negotiations the Cabinet Mission were led to adopt a different line from what Gandhiji had suggested Gandhiji had suggested to them that they should follow the democratic principle of handing over power to the Congress or the Muslim League — both their creations — whichever commanded their confidence and not attempt an amalgam of incompatibles which might result in a fearful explosion Sir Stafford on the other hand, with other members of the British Cabinet Delegation thought that they could not safely entrust the power solely to the Muslim League At the same time while appreciating the view that in the alternative the best course was to put the task squarely on the shoulders of the Congress and rely upon it to do the right thing by India as a whole they felt that in the situation by which they found themselves confronted they were bound to try for the co-operation of both the parties At another time, when the internal relations were less a different course might have been possible They decided to temper courage with prudence "

Their conclusion was unassailable if the premises on which it was based was conceded Underlying the British attitude which Sir Stafford voiced was the assumption, unconscious perhaps that the British people were morally bound to see that a solution of the Indian problem to their satisfaction was found before they could quit India Gandhiji regarded it as a relic of British ' imperialism ' which the Labour Government had inherited and which it could not shake off in spite of its leftist protestations The logic of events inexorably drove the British

government [illegible] near [illegible] position, when they [illegible] the [illegible] government with Pandit Nehru as [illegible] President at the Centre But the [illegible] bureaucratic forces who [illegible] had more than once vaguely [illegible] Cabinet Mission's negotiations and after [illegible] the pitch with the result that we all [illegible]

Sir Stafford and Gandhiji had differences of view which both expressed frankly but that only added to their friendship as frank discussion should always do between friends Sir Stafford's interest in India did not abate after Independence He continued to watch with deep sympathy and sorrow the travail and growing pains of free India not unmixed with the feeling, one fancies, that perhaps the past policies of the British Government were in no small measure responsible for the tragedies which marred the final and crowning act of the British Labour Government In his last letter to Gandhiji dated 1st October 1947 he wrote

> I have purposely refrained from writing to you in the most anxious and perilous times through which you and your country — or your two countries! — have been passing. But I feel now that I must express to you my admiration for the splendid work that you have done All your friends in this country and they are many admire greatly the determined way in which you have set out to conquer the evil by good It has been a great inspiration for all of us who have the good of India at heart We have been [illegible] sad at all that has happened and we are really [illegible] of the fact that the post history [illegible] in the present discontents
>
> I pray that you may be given the strength to persevere and that by your example the evil spirit of continued faction will die down so that India and Pakistan may resume their progress towards what I still hope may one day be the goal of unity

Equally touching was his condolence message on Gandhiji's passing away Another 4 years and he himself was stricken down with an illness which proved to be his last

On his return to England in June 1946 after the Cabinet Mission's negotiations he wrote a touching letter to Gandhiji about the illness of their daughter whom they had put in a special Quaker home. The letter went on to refer to the "wonderful spiritual atmosphere" about the place which will have we hope, its healing effect with the other treatment she will be able to have

In his final illness, as a nature cursist that he was, Sir Stafford fell back upon his faith in the-healing power of the spirit as his principal weapon It did not cure him — nor can medical science guarantee cure in every case, but it gave him what no medicine can give — spiritual solace and the strength and courage to fight the fell illness with undisturbed peace and presence of mind It came very near to Gandhiji's *Ramanama*

New Delhi 23-4-'52 PYARELAL

AT THE CROSS ROADS

(By Pyarelal)

II — Intensive, Small-Scale Cultivation

I have referred to the problem posed by the growth of our population Population control of course is the ultimate answer How it should be done is another question into which I will not enter here But it is clear that our policy in regard to agriculture should be such as to enable us to maintain the maximum population on a limited acreage for the longest period of time without exhausting the soil I shall presently show that this can best be done by adopting a system of intensive individual farming on a co-operative basis supplemented by handicrafts and cottage industries as advocated by Gandhiji instead of large-scale collective, mechanized farming and a policy of heavy industrialization

Cultivation in China

Prince Kropotkin showed by his experiments what results could be obtained by intensive small scale cultivation Here is another witness This is what F H King that great American authority on agricultural-physics and soil management writes in his *Farmers of Forty Centuries* We desired to learn, he says how it is possible after twenty and perhaps thirty or even forty centuries for their soils the refers to China, Korea and Japan) to be made to produce sufficiently for the maintenance of such dense populations as are living now in these three countries We have now had this opportunity and almost every day we were instructed, surprised and amazed at the conditions and practices which confronted us whichever way we turned instructed in ways and extent to which these nations for centuries have been and are conserving and utilizing their natural resources surprised at the magnitude of the returns they are getting from their fields '

And this is what he found In the Shantung province in China a farmer was having 12 in his family He kept one donkey, one cow, both exclusively labouring animals and two pigs on 2 5 acres of cultivated land where he grew wheat millet, sweet potatoes and beans Here is a density of population equal to 3 072 people 256 donkeys 256 cattle and 512 swine per square mile In another instance where the holding was one and two-thirds acres the farmer had 10 in his family and was maintaining one donkey and one pig giving to this farm land a maintenance capacity of 3,840 people 384 donkeys and 384 pigs to the square mile or 240 people, 24 donkeys and 24 pigs to one of our forty acre farms which our farmers regard too small for a single family" The average of seven Chinese holdings which Mr King visited and where he obtained similar data indicated a maintenance capacity for those lands of 1,783 people 212 cattle or donkeys and 399 swine, — 1,995 consumers and 399 rough-food transformers per square mile of farm land

And what are the practices of the system of

[illegible] all this possible [illegible] subsoil are carried into the villages and [illegible] between the intervals when needed they [illegible] expense of great labour composted with [illegible] use and often afterwards dried and [illegible] future being carried back and used in [illegible] home made fertilizers Manure or all [illegible] and animal is religiously saved and [illegible] the fields in a manner which serves [illegible] far above our own practices

[illegible] figured out too the economic value [illegible] in a city The International Conce[illegible] city of Shanghai in 1908 sold to a [illegible] the privilege of entering resi[illegible] public places early in the morning of [illegible] and removing the night soil [illegible] for more than $31 000 gold for [illegible]

[illegible] manured value of the [illegible] human population has [illegible] 10 crores in round figures [illegible] enormous cattle wealth could [illegible] crores worth of manure Even if 25% [illegible] be conserved the total manure [illegible] from the excreta of the human and [illegible] population of India would be worth 303 [illegible] crees And yet our Ministry of Agri[illegible] proposed to spend 173 8 crores * of rupees [illegible] in six years (1951 56) on a scheme [illegible] artificial fertilizers 'which will be [illegible] and no loss basis "

[illegible] Tilma Singh basic school at Seva[illegible] the first things that the children [illegible] to reserve and turn into compost [illegible] and put it back into soil The [illegible] in soil fertility and in [illegible] crop yield is serving as an eye[illegible] object lesson to the villagers all [illegible] from the difference it has made in [illegible] generation of the village-folk They [illegible] dry trench latrines and to con[illegible] with waste into compost. This [illegible] part of the basic system of educa[illegible] Gandhiji conceived and introduced

[illegible] of Agriculture to Cattle-culture and Industries

[illegible] related to the system of agriculture [illegible] and human economy is the ques[illegible] cottage crafts and cottage industries [illegible] must have supplementary cottage [illegible] to sustain it Recent advances in [illegible] have brought an increasing realization [illegible] of the Law of Return i e the [illegible] returning all animal and vegetable [illegible] to the soil for building up soil [illegible] a country like ours where agricul[illegible] with all the soil depend upon the main [illegible] proper balance between the cattle [illegible] and human population inhabiting it, [illegible] of cattle wealth becomes a basic

[illegible] was subsequently reduced to 134 crores [illegible] the [illegible] of Shirdi project

[illegible] this may be economically [illegible] and cattle population must [illegible] cattle that turns the soil [illegible] and the oil press lift the [illegible] the bullock cart when it [illegible] Similarly the human [illegible] in processing their field [illegible] handicrafts and other [illegible] they are not engaged [illegible] intelligently done [illegible] would [illegible] faculties too and [illegible] education needed [illegible] they do not grow up into the [illegible] Gandhiji's 'Brother Ox' This [illegible] with our human and cattle [illegible] must be protected from the [illegible] of mechanical power

Let [illegible] necessary of life — [illegible] which [illegible] mills has remained unsolved [illegible] The present (1951) per annum [illegible] both in India is 11 5 yards and the [illegible] Planning Commission promises [illegible] yards of cloth per annum at the [illegible] plan Now 20 seers of ginned cotton will [illegible] of unginned [illegible] hanks of yarn (of 840 yards) [illegible] hours Thus, each member [illegible] say five by spending 43 to 48 minutes daily for the whole family giving four hours [illegible] collectively to spinning and ancillary processes will produce enough yarn to be woven into 121 sq yards of cloth That will give per head 24 yards of cloth per annum That means that if [illegible] quota of 15 yards per head is prepared [illegible] a family of 5 will have to spend [illegible] half hours daily or each individual [illegible] daily Therefore Gandhiji suggested that spinning should be regarded as one of the basic occupations in which each and every one of us should engage for at least half an hour daily and thereby solve the unsolved cloth problem for good Not [illegible] mere theoretical calculation The 7th grade children of about 14 years of age in the Sevagram Basic School produced 10 sq yards in 117 man hours (from cleaning of cotton to the production of finished cloth) which means 9 man hours per square yard of finished cloth

[illegible]

By Mahatma Gandhi

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HARIJAN

May 3 1952

SARVODAYA ATTITUDE TOWARDS CENTRALIZED INDUSTRIES

A defective report of the second part of the resolution of the Sarva Seva Sangh made at Sevapuri seems to be responsible for its criticism in the Press. A careful and accurate translation of the original Hindi resolution is published elsewhere in this issue

The emphasis on decentralization both in Government administration and economic field is not a new feature in the Sarvodaya ideology For bringing about economic equality and establishing a non-violent society, the Sarvodaya workers have always pinned their faith on decentralization and village Industries Centralized industries are a hindrance to economic equality and peace Indian leaders following Gandhiji from whom they have taken this idea are not the only body of persons who think thus Many a western political and economic expert has also advocated these ideas

All nations are crying for peace India stands for it in an unmistakable manner But it is not realized that large scale industries and armament are interdependent and the enlargement of the one needs the enlargement of the other India cannot reduce her armament if she goes mad after large-scale industrialism But those who direct the economic policies of our country are either themselves not convinced of these principles or are under the influence of people whose interests are tied with centralized economy Hence we see establishment and organization of huge centralized factories day after day throughout the land There does not even appear any clear vision policy or discretion in the institution of large scale industries The only way open to the public to protest against and defeat this activity is that of boycotting products of such industries

But this has become so complicated a matter that it is difficult to attack it from all sides Hence the Sarva Seva Sangh has directed the initial attack on only two spheres of centralized industries, namely articles of food and clothing For practical purposes these would be in matters of food things like milled rice mill-flour mill sugar, biscuits foods mill oils *vanaspati* drinks like coca-cola all foreign foods etc in matters of clothing, all cloth not made of hand-spun and hand-woven yarn

It will be seen that no new principle has been advocated in this It is the principle on which the Charkha Sangh and the Gramodyog Sangh have been based The movement has been simply sought to be intensified Indeed the word "cloth" might have been replaced by 'body-[illegible] also the elimination of factory made leather and rubber articles of personal use

The restricted application of the ideal seems to have disturbed the attention of the critics If they expect Hindi constructive workers should not think of organizing boycott of factory-made articles of even food and wear their objection is not acceptable Indeed the sponsors of the resolution will not I think feel sorry if any person eliminated from his use as many things as possible of centralized industries including even railways, motor vehicles etc But this has not been expressly advocated

The other and the more important part of the resolution relates to the *bhoodan* movement This too has been criticized in the light of Shri R K Patil's views about the difficulties regarding the distribution of the gifted lands Shri Patil's views are entitled to be considered with attention and respect I shall try to do so as soon as possible

Wardha, 22-4-'52 K G MASHRUWALA

AGREEMENT OR SLAVERY BOND ?

I

(By Suresh Ramabhai)

Terms of Agreement

The well-known British journal, *New Statesman and Nation* has described 1951 as the year which may well be remembered in history as the first year of the American Empire In the opening week of 1952 were laid the foundations of American penetration in India too On 5th January 1952 an Agreement was signed at New Delhi by Prime Minister Nehru on behalf of the Government of India and by the U S Ambassador in India on behalf of the Government of United States of America. In his recent address to the Parliament the President of India has given high praise to this Agreement Quite a large and influential section of the Indian press has hailed it as a landmark in the history of Indo-U S relationship No apology is, therefore needed for a critical study of this historical document

At the outset it must be stated that this new Pact is in pursuance of the Point Four Aid agreement for technical co-operation signed on behalf of the Governments of India and U S A on December 28 1950 in which an Aid of 1 2 million dollars has been provided for technical training etc The present Pact goes far ahead both in its objectives and contents

Objectives

1 Promoting and accelerating the economic development of India

2 Promoting international understanding and goodwill maintaining world peace and undertaking such action as the two Governments may mutually agree upon to eliminate cause for international tension

Thus it can be said without any fear of contradiction that it is a politico-economic Pact and not a puny Technical Aid Agreement

Terms

How the said objectives are sought to be achieved can be gathered from the terms of the Pact. The Pact consists of 10 Articles which may be summarized as follows

1 The obligations assumed in this Agreement will be performed on behalf of the Government of India by a duly designated Ministry and on that of the U S Government by a Technical Co-operation

[illegible] the latter [illegible] in [illegible] He and [illegible] diplomatic [illegible] the Government of the U S A in India and shall [illegible] fully in the privileges and immunities enjoyed by all missions and personnel

4 The Administration shall furnish a field party of specialists to collaborate in carrying out the Technical Co-operation Programme The party shall be under the direction of the Director All of them shall be selected and appointed by the U S Government All facilities shall be provided to the Technical Co-operation Directorate or the Administration It will have fully in all the privileges and immunities, including immunity from suit in the courts of India which are enjoyed by the Government of the U S A

5 (a) As regards finance the U S Government will provide by depositing in U S A until 30th June [illegible] a sum of 50 million dollars (about Rs 24 crores) to be credited in a Special Fund called the Indo-American Technical Co-operation Fund (Fund A) while the Government of India will constitute a Special Development Fund (Fund B) exceeding Rs 25 crores for making available supplementary finance Besides the U S Government will further bear a sum of about four million dollars in meeting in U S A the expenses of its experts, the tuition and other charges of Indian nationals sent abroad for training in this connection and the costs of technical assistance provided by the U S Government through private agencies

(b) The fund B shall be strengthened by the sale proceeds of saleable goods imported under this Pact as also by repayment of the sums (belonging to the Fund A) disbursed as loans to private agencies or State Governments

6 (a) The Fund A shall be jointly administered by an Indian Government officer and the American Director It will be utilized only for the execution of agreed projects of technical co-operation

(b) Fund B and its proceeds are like the Fund A to be utilized only for the projects approved by both the Governments

5 Allocations will be made whereby agreed amounts shall be transferred from the Fund A to the consolidated funds of the Government of India or shall otherwise be authorized to be expended Such transfers and/or authorizations to expend shall be in the forms of grants-in-aid and loans But nowhere in the Pact has it been indicated how the loan portion is to be repaid

6. No funds or parts thereof allocated to or derived from any programme of assistance undertaken by the Government shall be subject in any garnishment, attachment seizure or other legal process by any person firm agency corporation organization or government

7 Agreed projects of technical co-operation shall be executed by a Central Committee (of not more than seven members) to be constituted by the Government of India But no recommendation of this committee involving the allocation of expenditure of funds made available by the U S Government can be given effect to without the concurrence of the Director

Functions

The Pact gives no idea how the American assistance is to be exactly utilized Obviously its purpose is to attain the objectives mentioned above Though reports in the Press point out that this is to be done by growing more food and establishing certain types of townships yet as the text of the Agreement in question makes no mention of them comments on the same would be beside the mark here

Next we shall examine the economic and political implications of the Pact as evident from the aforesaid terms

(To be continued)

MESSAGE OF SEVAPURI

(By Shankarrao Deo)

The Sarva Seva Sangh and the Sarva Seva Samaj have pledged themselves at Sevapuri to an objective of 25 lakh acres of land for being distributed to the landless all over India within two years In doing so they have taken up for the whole nation the torch lighted by Shri Vinobaji on the 18th of April of last year in Telangana. It is the torch of a non violent economic revolution which will usher in a Sarvodaya Society based on justice and equality It can now be truly said that this movement of *Bhoodan Yajna* has become national for there is no one in the country who does not subscribe to the ideal of equitable distribution of land It is also a happy augury that the leaders of all political parties and groups have blessed this movement and promised their full support

There is a general feeling that after the 15th of August 1947 the people have not felt the natural glow of freedom or have not been enthused for new tasks inspite of all the constructive efforts of the Government and various other political parties Instead, dark and deep clouds of frustration have hung heavily in the Indian sky and as a consequence the people are morose and sullen A careful analysis of this frame of mind of the people seems to show that their frustration is due to the fact that though they got a bumper crop of what they sowed they unfortunately expected quite a different harvest

The revolution that was completed on the 15th of August 1947 was really a political revolution, though during its progress some social and economic content was given to it This revolution had released vast energy in the country It swept away a mighty empire and full power was transferred to the people Yet the power generated was so great that by using a part of the residue Sardar Patel the iron man of India, brought about a second non violent revolution within an extraordinarily short span of time by the integration of the States and the creation of a great and united India

The Congress Government that took over the reins of power from the foreigner could boldly steer the ship of the State during the stormy days that followed the partition of the country and successfully rebut the catastrophic repercussions of the second World War Today we have a stable government and peace reigns supreme throughout the breadth and length of the country These are the exploits of the non violent political revolution for which the nation suffered and sacrificed They naturally and inevitably create the feeling of reverence and awe in the minds of impartial and appreciating foreign observers It is but meet that we should also feel proud of them

But unfortunately the people expected the Government which came into power on the

upsurge of an [illegible] to bring about revolution [illegible] their economic life They w[illegible] an impossible from the present [illegible] It could only consolidate the gi[illegible]lution of which it was itself a child [illegible] never start or initiate another revolution People fired by an idea or an ideal and ready to suffer and sacrifice for it can alone ignite the spark of a new revolution It is a long and strenuous journey

Then Shri Vinoba started on his walking tour and appealed in the name of justice and equality to the conscience of those who had lands to voluntarily surrender them so that they could be distributed to those who have no lands but who are versed in agriculture and want to adopt it as their profession Thus began the campaign for the non-violent economic revolution At Sevapuri the Sarva Seva Sangh and Sarvodaya Samaj have decided to carry on this campaign so far confined to his personal efforts on a nation-wide scale Of course Shri Vinoba will continue to be its leader This inspiring call for a non-violent action is bound to appeal not only to the *sevaks* of the Samaj or the constructive workers throughout the country but to the whole nation This is sure to rouse the people out of the sloth whose germs are bred in inaction for it creates a new way of social activity which has a universal appeal

The resolution brings into bold relief the urgent problem of the equitable distribution of land and the complementary problem of giving employment to all, through the spread and encouragement of village industries. It also advocates the boycott of those centralized industries which come in the way of self-sufficiency In matter of food and cloth As is said in the resolution, the Sangh and the Sammelan recognize that social justice is indivisible and therefore must extend to other fields of life also As far as the industrial sector is concerned the resolution says that this is possible only through decentralized economy and therefore it is necessary that village industries are encouraged and organized on a wide scale

Thus the Sevapuri session of the Sammelan has not only placed before the country a definite programme of the economic revolution based on Gandhian ideology but has also adopted the Gandhian technique of carrying on a movement to a successful end by rousing and harnessing the mass energy by fixing targets which lead to concentrated efforts on their part

I had said in my article "Thoughts on Sevapuri", (*Harijan* 29-8-'52) that If the *sevaks* and the constructive workers are to be the leaven of this non violent revolution they must prepare themselves for this task by first bringing about the necessary changes in their personal lives ' Sevapuri has now assigned this task to them Let them begin

SEVAPURI RESOLUTION

[illegible] Sarva Seva Sangh announced its follow[illegible] [illegible] Sarvodaya Conference Sevapuri

Bhoodan-Yajna

[illegible] Sarvodaya Samaj aims at the establishm[illegible] of truth and non-violence of a classless [illegible] society in which there is no exploitation [illegible] which gets full opportunity for individual growth [illegible] development The main issue before us is to devise [illegible] measures to proceed towards this object in the face of the economic inequality rampant in the country The *Bhoodan Yajna* movement, inspired and led by Vinobaji, has provided a solution for it in ample measure Demonstrating the efficacy of non violence this movement has confirmed again our faith in non violence We are glad to note that the movement has attracted the attention not only of this country but also of those abroad As desired by our workers and countrymen it is but meet that this movement is carried on with redoubled zeal and vigour under the direction of the Sarva Seva Sangh Shri Vinobaji is also of the view that fastest of confining the movement to his personal efforts alone it should be made nation wide The Sarva Seva Sangh therefore feels called upon to take up this responsibility on its shoulders under the leadership of Shri Vinobaji

The fundamental principle of the *Bhoodan Yajna* movement is that all children of the soil have an equal right over Mother Earth In the same way as those born of a mother have over her It is therefore essential that the entire land of the country should be equitably redistributed anew providing roughly at least five acres of dry land or one acre of wet land to every family The Sarvodaya Samaj is appealing to the good sense of the people should prepare their mind for this equitable distribution and acquire within the next ten years at least 25 lakhs of acres of land from about five lakhs of our villages on the rough basis of five acres per each village This land will be distributed to those landless labourers who are versed in agriculture and want to take to it as their no other means of subsistence

Centralized Industries

For the establishment of Sarvodaya it is necessary to make a progressive advance towards creating a socialy based on economic equality [illegible] Also, to give employment to everyone We believe that this is possible only under decentralized economy That is through village industries

To this end a [illegible] such centralized industries as come in the way of self sufficiency in food and cloth should be boycotted

(Translated from Hindi)

Note

Bhoodan Committee

Regional *Bhoodan Yajna* Committees have been appointed for most of the provinces of India They will have to obtain land gifts and other donations to the extent of targets fixed for their respective regions and to distribute the lands in accordance with the principles laid down by Vinobaji A list of Committees for each region may be obtained by writing to the Secretary Sarva Seva Sangh Sevagram

---

By Mahatma Gandhi

SARVODAYA

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UNTO THIS LAST

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FEAR MOST FEAR

[illegible] I wonders that I yet have seen [illegible] in me most strange that men shi[illegible] [illegible] death a necessary end [illegible] [illegible] when it will come [illegible] says Julius Ca[illegible] or in Shakespe[illegible] [illegible] death is anything else is mana[illegible] [illegible] indeed, in the opening line of the 16th chapt[illegible] [illegible] the Lord puts fearlessness as the first attrib[illegible] [illegible] man

[illegible] is continually fearing—fearing [illegible] [illegible] it all which is the most terrible

[illegible] most amazing demonstration of what fear [illegible] [illegible] is seen in the present-day armament [illegible] [illegible] nations of the world Even India, whose [illegible] policy is non-aggressive is now spending mon[illegible] [illegible] before on her armed forces We hewled at th[illegible] rulers for spending huge sums on the army and [illegible] have sulkone them ourselves in the name [illegible] [illegible] national peace!

Each Indian knows quite well that armaments will [illegible] [illegible] from frightful devastation, and that the mos[illegible] [illegible] armaments may do is to enable it to inflict mar[illegible] [illegible] equal devastation on the other party The world [illegible] set for mutual destruction everybody fearing [illegible] In this atmosphere international efforts fae [illegible] [illegible] moment or even reduction of armaments [illegible] [illegible] Fear and suspicion will continually [illegible] [illegible] proceedings and unilateral and agreement even [illegible] [illegible] reached

[illegible] Indian was one of this frightful dilemma [illegible] [illegible] at least one of the bigger nations breaks [illegible] [illegible] by casting this unholy fear aside and [illegible] [illegible] disbanding its arms and navy Of all the nations India who should take this great step forward In one flash she will become the spiritual and moral beacon of the world India the storehouse of age-old wisdom, India the birthplace of Buddha and Bapu, what has she to do with this fear and violence? She must shake herself free of this hypnotizing sickness as foreign to her spiritual nature and become worthy of her ancient heritage

As I write these words I can see people throwing up their hands in horror and exclaiming The moment we do such a thing Pakistan will devour us! What nonsense!" Pakistan is not an unmitigated devil that she should not be able to feel the thrill of a new Light as other nations will On the contrary she would feel it more because she would then know that India's protestations of non aggression and friendliness are cent per cent sincere She is also not such a fool as not to know that henceforth inside opinion will be dead against her if she takes aggressive action of any kind against unarmed India

For maintenance of internal order there should of course be a strong and highly disciplined police force There is nothing illogical about this Inside one's own country one has to deal with anti-social elements with scoundrels and madmen of all kinds, mostly of low mental [illegible] and moral development These people are the product of faulty governments and it will need many generations under good government to evolve a state of society which does not produce such people Until that stage is reached disciplinary police (or any other name which may be chosen) must be maintained along with reformatory institutions and other measures

The position with regard to one's international relations is quite different Here one is not dealing with low and ignorant types but with the leading men of other countries However much we may disagree with Truman Stalin Churchill or any other national leaders we must admit that they are each in their own country men of outstanding intelligence and experience, otherwise they would not be where they are, and that they are therefore entirely capable of understanding and responding to a great and courageous act like unilateral disarmament on the part of another nation That is one great difference

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

[illegible] printed [illegible] 1952. All [illegible] Secretary
Mugani[illegible]
N[illegible] to women
[illegible]
Mu[illegible]
[illegible] CHANDRAN
[illegible] Akhil Bharat [illegible] Sevak Sangh

DRINK AND POVERTY

In my previous note in the *Harijan* of [illegible] 1952 on 'All Thought Proposition', I had tried to show that allowing drink to the poor so as to realize excise income with which to subsidize foreign food grains will not be proper nor really helpful as the remedy will be worse than the malady. The poor labourers and workers, with the removal of prohibition, will be drawn away to spend their hard-earned money after drink and will have left no money or very little if at all with which to buy food even though subsidized. This is a general truth whatever the use for which excise revenue is collected. It is the main problem which the reformer cannot afford to forget. Hermann Levy in his book *Drink*[1] — *An Economic and Social Study* pointedly notes this, which is worth while quoting here:

> The real sources of secondary poverty are drinking, betting and smoking. Very often the worker wastes a large part of his time and energy between the intake of the factory and that of a pub.[1] — (P. 38)

It is particularly with secondary poverty that there is the danger of that reciprocal action to which the Amulree Report called attention: the withholding [illegible] from humanitarian improvements and their application to drink may allow deteriorating conditions at [illegible] to deteriorate further. As the Report observed, [illegible] the danger of a vicious circle need to be [illegible] with by seeking refuge in the public house: a man or woman may become tolerant of bad [illegible] at home and *pari passu* the means to remove the conditions may be seriously prejudiced by the amounts spent on intoxicants. We were impressed by the evidence put before us in this regard [illegible] witnesses from their own experience [illegible] of the social conditions in the poorer [illegible] of large cities.

The conclusion thus is fairly clear: secondary poverty [illegible] unhealthy allocation of an income itself [illegible] to meet the prime necessities of life is the [illegible] for the reformer. And very often it is drink which is the main agent, direct and indirect, of maldistribution. (P. 39-40)

Therefore if at all we care to see that our workers get their primary needs of food and raiment, it is the greater reason that we should draw them away from the suicidal temptation of drink which will otherwise throw them and their families into hunger, squalor degradation and debasement.

20-4-'52 M. P. DESAI

'WON'T DIE TILL I HAVE SEEN HIM'

[The following is based on Shri Krishnadas's description of an incident in the first edition of his *Seven Months with Mahatma Gandhi* which has been omitted in the new abridged edition. pp. 34-5. — V. G. D.]

(On the road between Nikrarajt and Sasaram in Bihar)

One of the tyres burst and we came out of the car as it had to be replaced (August 1921). It was drizzling and I was standing close by Gandhiji on his left, when an old woman, supporting herself on a stick came to me with slow steps and asked: 'My son, who here is Mahatma Gandhi?' I was feeling shy and made no reply. So the woman stepping forward repeated her question. Gandhiji then asked her: 'Why are you searching for him?' She replied: 'Sir, I am 104 years old and my eye-sight has grown dim. I have visited various holy places including Badarikashram. In my own village I have dedicated two temples and provided for worship of the images. Just as we have had Rama and Krishna as *avatars*, so also Mahatma Gandhi has appeared as an *avatar*, as I hear. Until I have seen him death will not come to me.' As she was saying this her eyes were suffused with tears. She now knew that the person who was speaking to her was Gandhiji himself. He asked her what food she took. She replied she took syrup of Durva grass only once a day. While this talk was going on some villagers who were standing by informed us that the woman had been standing there all day long with a view to having *darshan* of Gandhiji. She was too old to walk about. When we passed her, our car was going very fast. If therefore the tyre had not burst just near her, she could hardly have noticed anything. Or if the tyre had burst at some little distance from her, she could not have walked so far to have a look at Gandhiji. The tyre burst at a distance of only five yards from where she was standing. It was a strange coincidence indeed.

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HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor K. G. MASHRUWALA

गांधी सेवा संघ वर्धा

1628

VOL. XVI No 11 AHMEDABAD — SATURDAY, MAY 10 1952 TWO ANNAS

PROHIBITION PROGRAMME NOT TO BE ONE OF MERE REPRESSION

(By M K Gandhi)

I venture to submit that prosecutions are the smallest and the destructive part of prohibition. I suggest that there is a larger and constructive side to prohibition People drink because of the conditions to which they are reduced It is the factory labourers and others that drink They are forlorn, uncared for, and they take to drink They are no more vicious by nature than teetotallers are saints by nature The majority of people are controlled by their environment. Any Minister who is sincerely anxious to make prohibition a success will have to develop the zeal and qualities of a reformer He will then require pickets and men and women who would 'preach about the evils of drink' and do 'other kindred work' It is just in these very things that he will want an army of volunteers who will be associated with him in reforming the life of the drunkard He will have to convert every drink shop into a refreshment shop and concert room combined Poor labourers will want some place where they can congregate and get wholesome, cheap, refreshing, non-intoxicating drinks, and if they can have some good music at the same time, it would prove as a tonic to them and draw them These can, by judicious management and association of the people, become paying concerns for the State

Young India 3-9-'27

There is no doubt that any State that seriously wants its people to give up the evil habit cannot be satisfied merely with making it legally impossible to indulge in the evil habit but to find out the cause of the habit and to educate the people to give it up In the end no State need suffer by depriving itself of the drink revenue The inevitable outcome of any policy of prohibition carried out side by side with constructive work of the nature suggested by me must result in an ever increasing prosperity of the people and therefore of the State

Young India, 18-8-'27

DRINK, DRUGS & GAMBLING
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NOTES

Khan Sahab

Khan Saheb's illness continues to cause anxiety Perhaps many of the readers may not be aware that Khan Wali one of Khan Saheb's sons is also lodged in another jail and so far as I know, not brought to attend and give company to his own father This outdoes even Lord Linlithgow's attitude towards Gandhiji

Pakistan is anxious to unite all Islamic powers Can it be done by coercing all her neighbours — Afghans Pathans and Kashmiris? Can she expect to attain greatness by neglecting to obtain the blessings of her best man alive?

The persecution of the Khan family no doubt is very painful to us because of our personal relations with them But the family is too brave to appreciate feelings of pity towards them They expect our prayers and not pity The brave ask for and take pity only from God Moreover, it is not they who are to be pitied, but the Pakistan Government which is going a downward path We all pray for the health and life of Badshah Khan and his comrades

Wardha, 30-4-'52

Land-Gifts to Political Sufferers

Shri C R has done well in stopping the land-gifts to the political sufferers I hope such of the other State Governments also as were guilty of taking similar liberties with public lands to enrich their political comrades will do likewise

Wardha 29-4-'52

The Indian Ceylonese

In spite of the explanations given by the Ceylon Government the impression is not removed that the virtual disenfranchisement of a majority of the Indian Srilankaites is a deliberate step I am glad to learn that the leaders of the aggrieved community have decided to launch a movement against it in strict accordance with the principles of non-violent resistance The statement issued by the leaders defining their attitude and the scope of the movement is wise and restrained I hope nothing will tempt the people to transgress this restriction Neither impatience nor passivity will do

Wardha, 29-4-'52

Minorities in Pakistan

I hope the minorities in Pakistan will not feel frustrated or downhearted by the infliction of separate electorates on them against their own wishes It is a challenge to them to rise up to the occasion If there is the will for it, the challenge can be taken up and met through a non-violent social constructive movement There was always the need for it But the necessary awareness and will to act are not generated until there is a pressing need for it It has come to them now

The minorities must realize that the root of this evil lies in our inability to break all social barriers *inter se* A strong movement for the absolute fusion of all castes and other separatist groups will alone save them Religion must not stand in the way of social fusion All Hindus, Christians, Jews, Anglo-Indians and as many Muslims as will join (and there will be many) must become a single social group They must inter-dine inter marry live as neighbours in the same street or parts of buildings, and create joint community life There is no need to renounce their particular religions Religion must not be confused with social usages howsoever old and sanctioned by sect rules If the wise and religious minded people among them will sit together they would also be able to devise common religious prayers in which all can take part and thus make, the social fusion stronger The secular-minded leaders can devise steps for the economic and educational uplift of the poor among the minorities without distinction of caste or creed

This reform is needed in Indian India also But, for obvious reasons, it is more difficult to achieve it here in spite of Government support The population is very large With minorities reduced to the point of extinction in Pakistan, if this movement is taken up, in right earnest it might succeed there better, and possibly spread in India also to the advantage of all Will leaders of Pakistan minorities take up this suggestion?

Wardha 29-4-52 K G M.

AT THE CROSS ROADS

(*By Pyarelal*)

III — The Slogan of Standard of Living

Here you will ask What about the standard of living? Will not adoption of Gandhiji's system of economy result in a 'lowering' of the standard of living? Here, let me once more warn you, as I did in the beginning, against being swept off your feet by words and phrases Everybody today talks about raising the standard of living of the masses If by this is meant that those who have not enough to eat should have plenty, those who are naked should have clothing, those who live in ill-lighted, ill-ventilated hovels, should have sunny, airy decent houses to live in, I am wholly for it Judged by this criterion, I make bold to say that the economic system recommended by Gandhiji is the most efficient, the most inexpensive and the surest way of insuring a decent standard of living to the people at large in the immediate present But perhaps this is not what is generally meant, when people talk of raising the 'standard of living' The false standards of values in which we have been educated make us think that If a man consumes home-grown, garden-fresh vegetables and fruit It means a lower, primitive standard of living On the other hand, tinned fruit and vegetables are equated with a high standard of living If we give our people training in music and they grow up in healthy, natural surroundings so that they sing out of sheer exuberance and joy of living, it is rural simplicity, but if they glumly sit round the radio and listen to 'canned' music, in the selection of which they have no choice, it is considered the hall-mark of a high standard of living If the worker or the craftsman can stay and ply his craft in his village home, where he will have fresh air and sunshine, free all the year round, it is rustic style of living But if he is provided a fortnight's escape from the dull monotonous and soul-killing toil of the factory by being allowed a free holiday in the countryside once in an year It is acclaimed as a realization of the worker's Utopia! I recently read a very enthusiastic futuristic description of air-conditioning The ideal envisaged is a densely packed city — densely packed so as to reduce the air-conditioning expense It is enclosed in a giant steel or glass capsule from which all sunlight and natural air have been excluded Sunshine is provided by synthesized day-light or piped through solid quartz tubes Temperature and humidity are controlled by the air conditioning plant The air is filtered and purified by chemistry, rain will be provided wherever desired by hydraulic gadgets. There will even be imitation breezes, synthetic warbling of birds and rustling of leaves and even the musk of flowers Only the musk will be of coal-tar parentage and flowers and leaves a monument to the triumph of the chemistry of plastics and aniline dyes And mind you, this was not a skit, but a serious contribution in a leading United States magazine

I do not want you to despise material goods. I do not despise them myself, nor did Gandhiji Nobody did more than he, in his own way, to provide a little more of the material means of life to the masses He went even so far as to say that God cannot appear to the starving poor except in the form of bread and clothing As I have already said, democracy and freedom lose their meaning to people who lack elementary means of subsistence But beyond a certain limit hankering after more and more material goods becomes a hindrance to freedom It can only be satisfied at the expense of democracy.

Socialization of Industries

It has been suggested that socialization of industry will rid mechanized mass production of most of its capitalistic evils and insure for us the

twin boon of freedom with abundance. The assumption betrays a misapprehension of the basic issue. As a talented young writer, in one of the most brilliant monographs on the subject that I have seen, has pointed out, so long as the common man has no comprehension or control of the factors which affect his life, self-government, in the true sense of the word, will remain at best only an illusion. He will be at the mercy of experts and bureaucratic managers — oligarchies of ambitious individuals and adventurers who as the experience of all history shows once they come to stay remain to rule. Only when the factors which affect the elementary well-being of the common man are compressed within the ken of his mental horizon, will he be able to govern himself and realize true democracy. In the baffling vastness created by the present day method of production he gets lost. He is surrounded by a world whose working he does not understand, much less control. Far flung markets are created for goods which are produced at one end of the earth to be consumed at the other. Price mechanism becomes mysterious and incomprehensible to any but the specialist. The worker produces only what others have planned. I have slightly compressed and adapted the argument of the writer.

Economic Set-up of Gandhiji

In the economic set-up envisaged by Gandhiji the common man may have a little less of the "gaudy" goods of life but the bounds of his freedom are enlarged. It will be a world which he can understand and therefore control. He will plan as well as produce. Freed from the domination of intellectual aristocracy, he will learn to take his destiny in his own hands.

Would this mean a return to the pre-scientific era or a rejection of our recent gains in technology and science? No. Gandhiji's world too will have its technicians and scientists. But their energies will be harnessed to solve the everyday problems of the common man in the villages. Science and technology will no longer be the monopoly of the privileged few, the big producer or the sophisticated city-dweller as they are largely and primarily today but belong equally to all. Not only shall we not ban machines which supplement human labour or increase its efficiency. Instead of displacing them we shall have many more of them besides what we have today. The level of machinery or organization that we may from time to time or ultimately adopt cannot be arbitrarily fixed. It will probably vary from time to time and from place to place, the guiding principle always being that it must be within the mental reach and comprehension of common people and their financial capacity to own them individually or collectively. The same principle must apply to the motive power used.

Dispersal *vs.* Decentralization of Industries

Before I close this topic, I should like to examine one or two current fallacies. Too much reliance seems to be placed on the "inevitable dispersion" of industry owing to the menace of atomic warfare. This is sometimes confused with decentralization. The threat of atomic warfare might lead to dispersal of industry, not its decentralization. Industry dispersed in this way, will still be centrally controlled and powered. Dispersion of industry under the threat of war and decentralization of industry with a view to putting the destinies of the people in their own hands are two different things. As an economic and social policy decentralization can be effective only on the basis of individual production and individual production is no more mass production on a reduced scale than a wrist-watch is a tower-clock in miniature. The two are built on different principles. Individual handicrafts-production and dispersed mass-production respectively rest on two incompatible, mutually exclusive and rival systems of economics with different norms *raison d'etre* and spheres of utility.

A Discussion with Gandhiji

In the early stages of the labours of the Planning Committee, appointed by the Congress, a discussion once took place in Gandhiji's hut between Gandhiji and some of the 'experts' on the Committee on the question of encouraging village industries. Pandit Nehru was present as the Chairman of the Committee. It was suggested that if an excise duty of 2½ per cent or something like that were put on mill cloth and an equivalent subsidy given to *khadi* to begin with it would equalize the prices of *khadi* and mill cloth. The reply he received was that it would be wrong in principle to prop up "inherently uneconomical industries" and make them compete with machine products to the detriment of the latter as it would curtail the 'productive capacity" of the country. Gandhiji answered that it was the factory product that had over long periods been and was even now being subsidized at the cost of the common man in a number of ways as for instance, by cheap railway transport, special municipal facilities and agricultural and food policies especially designed to cheapen raw materials and food for the industrial population at the expense of the non-urban and so on and so forth. Now, all this does cost the country something — does it not? But we do not mind it because of the concomitants of city life which result from it i.e. quick travelling, motor cars, radio, cinema, electric light and a thousand and one thrills which Stuart Chase has called the 'toys of civilization and which the city-bred intellectual, who today guides our social destinies cannot do without. The so-called economical character of factory production is not an 'inherent quality', but only a 'conferred attribute', depending upon the standard of values which we have adopted for ourselves. Gandhiji's plea was turned down and we decided to continue to support the unpatriotic sugar and textile industries to the detriment of their village counterparts with the result that

both our sugar and cloth problems remain unsolved to this day and we have had a crop of scandals in regard to both which should make us prick up our ears We have today made the pursuit of that will-o'-the-wisp called 'national prosperity' our objective, as if 'national prosperity' could exist independently of or at the expense of the immediate basic well-being of large numbers of our people This deviation from the ideal of 'unto this last', in our national policies, on which Gandhiji laid so much emphasis makes a person like me feel extremely uneasy It might well prove to be our bane

(To be continued)

HARIJAN

May 10 1952

THE WORKING OF THE SPIRIT IN LAND-GIFT-SACRIFICE *

(*By Vinoba*)

Bhoodan-Yajna (Land-Gift-Sacrifice) is a work of basic importance It is true that as a friend suggests, it has its limits Even then let me place before you my ideas in the matter The powers of the indwelling Spirit are immeasurable and unlimited If I set a limit to them, I must regard myself as incapable of attaining self-realization We have seen that without the pressure of law people have parted with their lands When I explain to them that like air, water, light etc, land is also a gift of God and all sons of the soil have equal right over it, they willingly respond to my appeal and donate lands The people have thus accepted this revolutionary programme and given us a glimpse of the unlimited power hidden in the Spirit.

If we believe that the State has to "wither away" one day, why cannot it happen in 1952? We should have an unflinching faith that others can do what I can If I approve of this idea, manifest my faith in this method, and first gift away all *my* lands, why will it not inspire others to do the same? One zamindar donated 500 out of his 1900 acres, saying that they were three brothers and now I was the fourth Similarly another accepted me as his third brother and gifted two acres from his six Hardly any day passes when such incidents do not take place I ask you that if God inspires *me* to ask for land and if one man believes that he can do a particular thing, why cannot all people do it? Surely the nature of the Spirit in one is not different from that in another and there is no limit to its powers Hence, I proceed with my work with the faith that the Spirit is present in all men and there is no limit to his powers, and what sacrifice one can do, all can do

It has been often suggested to me that we should agitate for legislation My reply to them is Let it be left to the legislators. We must follow our own method of doing it Maybe, all land might get distributed among the landless through the Land-Gifts Movement and there might not at all remain any occasion for legislation But if human will fails to become strong and successful enough to solve the land problem, and it becomes necessary to resort to legislation our achievements would have paved the way for legislation That is to say, our achievement will make legislation either unnecessary or create an atmosphere for its easy passage

Moreover, there is a method — a particular attitude of mind in my asking I ask with great humility I do not want to resort to threats and intimidations If I were to tell them that if they did not part with their lands in *Bhoodan-Yajna*, I would deprive them of their lands in the course of the next three or four years with the aid of law, I do not know the proper way of asking I must not give up my faith. Faith is like a firm wall It is not like a curtain suspended with strings Faith either stands firm or lies flat It is either complete or not at all Just as a person is either wholly alive or quite dead, and cannot be 40, 50 or 60 per cent alive, and 60, 50, or 40 per cent dead so too faith cannot be halfway No important work is ever accomplished without faith Act (*kriti*) follows faith (*shraddha*) and conviction (*nishtha*) follows act Before conviction grows in a man, he works with faith. Conviction is faith affirmed by experience. Faith precedes conviction and has to be there before a man commences any work Hence I say that since we want to solve this problem by the moral force of man we should have unflinching faith in our method

I have been often asked if I expected to solve the entire land problem in this manner My reply to them is neither Rama nor Krishna could solve all the problems of the world World problems can be solved by the world alone I can make no egoistic claim that I can solve anybody's problems That is why no worries disturb me at night and I go into deep sleep as soon as I lie down on my bed I do my work throughout the day Whether a day brings me four thousand, or four hundred or only four acres I am neither elated nor depressed I sleep and work as king Janaka and that is the reason for my being able to work day after day

Now about Satyagraha You should know that if I have any reputation in the country it is only as a Satyagrahi It means that if I ever find that Satyagraha was imperative nothing will prevent me to offer it But Gandhiji gave us as a maxim the famous line "One step enough for me" That does not mean that we know nothing about the next step But as soon as a person gives room in his mind to the next step he begins to harbour a doubt about the success of the first step If I have to nurse a sick person it would

* Being the concluding part of Shri Vinoba's speech on the first day 13th April of the Sarvodaya Conference at Sevagram.

not be right to [illegible] simultaneously plan to arrange for his [illegible] in case the patient died I should serve him with the hope that he will be cured by my treatment and nursing If, however, he dies in spite of my care, I should take the fact peacefully and proceed to make arrangements of his funeral as the next step Does not out contemplation of the next step indicate a fear that people might not in response to our appeal donate lands? This way of thinking betrays our lack of faith in the donors This is not the way of a man of faith, but of the politician If there were some alternative ready-made method it might also perhaps fetch land But it would not have been the right way of accomplishing the task It would have spoiled the work and weakened our will And weakened will cannot bear fruit Let me assert as a truth of personal experience that whatever *sankalpas* (wills) that have arisen in my mind have been invariably fulfilled I therefore approach the people for land-gifts with the faith that the Lord who dwells in me, dwells equally in the hearts of others So I must reason with them to make them understand my mission I must do so not once twice but again and again Even Shankaracharya had no other weapon except that of reason Ultimately we must rely only on our power of persuasion The Lord says that we should forgive offenders and there is no limit to forgiveness

Hence, what you call 'Satyagraha' will remain a real Satyagraha only to the extent it retains its persuasive character As soon as it takes the form of coercion, it ceases to be a Satyagraha As the mother always hopes that her wayward child will improve some day so also a Satyagrahi must have an unshakable faith in the people's capacity to heed to reason and call to duty There is of course a place for Satyagraha in this But if we have not properly grasped the spirit of Satyagraha it will not remain a Satyagraha but become violence

A question was put to me today "Should a donation of a few acres by a landlord owning a thousand to ten thousand acres of land be accepted? How can such giving of alms be good?" As a matter of fact this question comes before me almost every day and I refer to it in my speeches and put my answer into operation also I explain to the people that I desire to humiliate neither the poor nor the rich So if a great landlord donates a few acres I decline to accept his gift But my experience has been that if people are properly persuaded, they give a sufficient donation To cite an incident A landlord owning 300 acres came and offered me one acre I declined to accept his gift. On my explaining to him my point of view he unreservedly raised his donation to 30 acres It took hardly two minutes to persuade him Man likes to please the Lord with a small sacrifice if it is possible If the Lord would be pleased by the offering of a flower, he would not offer Him a fruit He wishes both to worship the Lord and [illegible] his money If I had been asking for donation for the erection of a temple or a *math* I would have been satisfied with an acre But I ask for land as a right of the poor About ten thousand people have so far donated lands in this way Some of these donations are indeed examples of such nobleness of mind that I shall carry their sacred memory throughout my life

Another question put to me is "If a landlord gives donations it might add to his name, but is it not a humiliation for the donee who has to accept it as a favour?" My reply is 'No' Because I do not beg alms I ask for the land as a right of the poor If I gave him cooked food instead of land it would certainly be his humiliation As a thirsty man is not humiliated if he asks for and accepts water so is the landless not humiliated by accepting land Rather, he must be thanked for accepting the donation For a mere acceptance of land will not give him crops. It is only when he puts in hard labour that he will reap the harvest So the donee has no reason to harbour any inferiority complex.

There are two more charges made against me First that I give a fresh lease of life to the landlords I accept this charge I certainly desire to give a fresh lease of life to the landlords, but remember that I do not give a new life to zamindari. It is a disease of which I want to cure the landlord and give a new life to him My remedy partakes of a special feature by which the poor do not remain poor and the rich do not continue to be rich

The second charge against me is that I am generating a spirit of revolt in the people by making them land-hungry I accept this charge also For I desire to stave off a violent revolution and bring about a non-violent one

Let me say a few words about the question of the legal hurdles which we may have to face in effecting the transfer of the gifted lands. A friend asks what would our position be if the Government does not offer the necessary legal facilities? I must say that I do not share his doubt The Government will certainly come to our help and provide all facilities It is in its own interests, apart from the fact that it is its duty However supposing it does not, we have hardly any cause for fear or worry I shall thank the donors and go forward on my way A *fakir* has nothing to lose It is for the Government to think and weigh up the problem and arrive at the right decision

Finally a word about the goal we aim at and the work for which indeed we have gathered here It is obvious that we aim at creating an ideal social order The purification of the mind for our individual salvation cannot be the sole concern and purpose of our convening such a large gathering Kripalaniji has explained it quite lucidly He gave us a masterly analysis of the problem Analysis is useful in elucidating

the varying importance which is to be accorded to the various elements composing a thing But analysis has its limitations Ultimately it is in the synthetic product that we find the real satisfaction of a thing Mere analysis might even rob the thing of its life As normal human beings, we like *modak* (sweet-balls) Analytically it is just flour, *ghee*, and sugar But none would care to eat them separately or even as a simple mixture We relish them in their peculiar preparation In the same way we say that we have accepted this work because we want to change and revolutionize the society, and also because it will alleviate the miseries of the poor, and further again because we want to cleanse and purify our minds and hearts Really it is like a piece of confectionery which we have prepared of all these purposes and accepted it in the hope that it will give us all that it may have to give

I hope that the followers of Sarvodaya who have gathered here will realize that *bhoodan* comprehends all that they want to do, and success in this work will make for success in every other field of constructive effort

(Translated from Hindi)

BEAUTY CONTEST

The public must have known about the All India Beauty Contest held in Bombay on 3rd April 1952 One need not speculate about the various motives of all those who organized or lent their support to this exhibition It will however be admitted by all thoughtful people that the competition can do no good to women. It may be conceded that such competitions are not approved of by the women of India in general, but the mere fact that even a few women did participate and lent their support to this function is sufficient to bring dishonour on women in general A timely note of warning must be sounded on activities of this nature as otherwise this idea will take root in the youth of the country with disastrous effects on the present and future generations of the nation

India is passing through hard and difficult times A large section of our people has not enough to eat or sufficient to wear Millions are homeless It is a matter of misfortune that even under such a plight of the country a few men and women could conceive of an idea of organizing a function of this nature and feel gratified at its successful (?) termination

Have those women who either participated or lent their support to this exhibition ever pondered seriously on the meaning of human existence and the relative duty of the individual therein? Have they made any attempt to find the causes of the present plight of the country or played their part in improving it? No country can ever prosper without the willing sacrifice of its people

A correct concept of Art and Culture is indispensable for the evolution and perfection of human existence This can only be realized by a sympathetic understanding of human miseries and one's humble attempt in removing them Those who have not gone through this purifying process are liable to have an erroneous or distorted idea of Art and Culture It is regretted that some women should engage themselves in such activities in the name of Art and Culture—activities which are a mockery of and revolt against our traditional concept of womanhood

It is difficult to imagine how women in general are benefited by such activities The chance of getting a little publicity has attracted a few women to these contests They have also been tempted into it Their capacity to judge rightly [illegible] the ability to resist this temptation Other [illegible] will not be in a frame of mind to discriminate between [illegible] notoriety and fame There may however, come some time [illegible] when they will regain their balance and realize the distinction between moral strength and weakness fame and notoriety evolution and degradation But, may be they will not then have the necessary strength to shake off their weakness

Man at one stage exploited woman by pandering to her vain fancies with rich garments and jewellery This technique now seems to be outdated and man is at his old game again by offering her new allurements such as quick riches, publicity and doubtful fame Alas that women fall willing preys into his snares!

A word to menfolk may not be out of place here To what purpose do you encourage and pander to the weakness of women? Have you seriously considered the consequences of such activities not only on the present but also on the future generations? May I request you to examine your decisions in the light of human good? I am sure you will not be swayed by false notions of your previous pronouncements or prestige in the reconsideration of an issue of such immense magnitude

It has become the fashion these days for our public workers to reiterate their faith in the Father of the Nation and claim support to their activities in his name Let us consider Would he ever have supported this type of activity?

No religion would give its approval to such contests Nor who has the welfare of humanity at heart will lend his or her support to it Not one of our modern leaders—Dadabhai Naoroji Justice Ranade Badruddin Tyabji Surendranath Banerji Agarkar Lokmanya Tilak Gokhale Pherozeshah Mehta Barrister Bapista and last but not the least, Mahatma Gandhi would have ever approved of this show

Women of India whatever your Faith it is your foremost duty to raise your voice of protest against this dangerous activity Your culture and progress will depend upon the intensity with which this protest is voiced. The well-being of the present and the future generations is at stake You can make or mar the future The issues involved are too large and serious for an attitude of complacency or indifference You must out and act in time You must not tolerate this outrage on womanhood. In this, you can count upon the support of all right thinking men.

I appeal to every citizen to express his disapproval of the Beauty Contest recently held in Bombay This must necessarily be done in a dignified manner—without impugning any motives to anybody Protest meetings should be organized in every place Those taking interest in this matter will please correspond with the undersigned

On behalf of the Vyavahar Shuddhi Mandal, I appeal to every organization—of men and women—working for social religious or national ends to take an active part in this work

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ANGELS WEEP

(By V. G. D.)

In August 1921 a meeting was held at Gauhati in Assam (Krishnadas *Seven Months with Mahatma Gandhi*, —1 Ganesan, first edition, p 64-6) Gandhiji addressed the meeting and towards the end of his speech said, 'If you longed for Swaraj surrender the foreign clothes you have on and cast them into the fire I will be presently lighting' So saying he set fire to the huge collection of foreign clothes lying in front of the platform All at once a sort of frenzy seized the whole assembly and from all sides foreign clothes rained in heaps upon the burning pile There were some in the crowd who were seen to cover their nakedness with their towels or *chudders*, consigning their *dhotis* to the flames In such large quantities were clothes offered to the sacrificial fire that it kept on burning till the next morning

A similar meeting was held at Allahabad on August 10, when also Gandhiji set fire to a heap of foreign textiles. Pandit Motilal Nehru's 'contribution to that pile deserved special mention,' writes Shri Krishnadas (*Ibid* p 28) His foreign neckties hanging on a rope in his own house had already attracted the author's attention In addition Nehru senior had sent for the bonfire other foreign clothes including fine garments of foreign make

On October 19 the same year a meeting was held in Bombay near the Elphinstone mills. Gandhiji addressed the meeting and while he was saying that the people were not as keen on *khadi* as he would wish and they had not succeeded in putting a stop to the imports of* foreign cloth, his eyes filled with tears (*Ibid* p. 315), and with moist eyes he continued, 'I have just returned from a visit to districts in Andhra where a famine is raging Some of their women, it has been reported to me, unable to bear the pangs of hunger, have ended their lives and the lives of their children by drowning Such is the heart-rending condition of our people I am about to set fire to the yonder pile of foreign cloth but there is also a fire raging within my breast, and the fire I am lighting is but an outer expression of the fire that is consuming me within' (*Ibid*, p 317) At the end of the speech Gandhiji said, 'Swaraj is attainable only through the spinning-wheel'

We have now attained Swaraj And what has this National Government done? And what do the people do? Instead of organizing rural production, it has flooded the nations' markets in a facile but suicidal attempt to combat inflation with foreign cloth of all kinds and unwholesome taste It is a painful sight enough to make angels weep tears of blood

* At Barisal Gandhiji said, 'To import foreign cloth is as absurd as to import from abroad oxygen for our body' (*Ibid*. p 135) Calcutta traders argued that foreign cloth was no poison that it should not be supplied to a customer To this Gandhiji replied (*Ibid*, p. 146) 'ordinary poisons acted only on the body and at the worst would kill it, a contingency which could be contemplated with equanimity But the degradation of the soul of a whole people which the use of foreign cloth by Indians involved, was too horrible to contemplate'

AGREEMENT OR SLAVERY BOND?

II

(By Suresh Ramabhai)

As promised let us now examine the economic and political implications of the Pact

Economic Implications

1 Such a vast network of American experts and knowhow is going to be established in India as has never been known in her long and chequered history

2 No official or non-official body or authority in India can interfere with the activities and the programmes the Americans choose to enact

3 Not a cent out of the American 50 million dollar fund can be spent against the wishes and tastes of the U S Government It is a strange kind of generosity or *dan* in which the *dani* (donor) exercises such control over the use of his *dan* (gift) as a mortgagee in possession of a shop or factory might exercise over the mortgagor—debtor's business

4 For the duration of the Agreement, India shall have no independent control over her own Fund !!

5 The U.S Government is free to impose any condition or conditions it may like in connection with the repayment of the loan portion of the Fund What repercussions they may have one cannot say

6. The U S Government hereafter acquires the undisputed right to start and develop such enterprise or concerns in India as may help it to secure for itself a permanent market for its finished goods or build up a *pucca bandobast* (a solid base) to obtain the requisite raw materials for home consumption. It thus obtains a free hand to build the American economy on firm foundations and for all time In other words under the Agreement the agriculture of India our handicrafts and industries, our trade and commerce, our markets and homes may be recklessly thrown at the mercy of the U S. Government and capitalist.

7 No more shall we be allowed to remain the architects of our own destiny Not a blade of grass will move but by the will of the American Director or his company They will have full rights to veto down the opinion or suggestions of the Indian people or their representatives who would have to accept American dictation.

8 The American aid is in the nature of an investment on behalf of the U S. Government to secure a firm foothold in the Indian sub-continent. It is an initial investment by which U S A. can make India bleed white for the American's pleasure and his way of life It is in fact an essential advertisement in order to earn multifold profits in the not very distant future when American goods will stalk the country

History affords several instances of investments of this type A conspicuous one is that of free distribution of opium by the British in China. It is virtually a common practice of every intelligent businessman

Political Implicatiana

Next we turn to the political implications of the Pact

1 The second objective given above makes it clear beyond doubt that the Government of India has agreed and begun to view the world political scene through the U S glasses What is peace to America is peace to India and so also tension Ostensibly neither America nor India may adopt a line of action which the other does not approve But since India will have been placed under an obligation which may not be lightly disowned or discontinued after operations have advanced to a certain extent, it is obvious that in an extreme situation, India will have to approve what America directs her to approve.

2 The U S. Government hopes to kill two birds with a single stone Who does not know that an account

of the continued researches in science new models of machinery are springing up day after day rendering the old models useless and cumbersome.' But where should the hungry stock of old models go to? Machine is like that monster which demands incessant work otherwise it would eat up the very master. America has developed the art of solving this riddle by doling out aids or loans (as Marshal Aid, Point Four Aid etc.) to one country after another. She is, therefore able to dispose of her unusable stuff with a clean conscience and put the aided country in eternal obligation! Besides it gives her a unique opportunity to seize the same by the neck.

Agreement or Slavery Bond?

Hardly anybody is unaware of America's intentions in Asia or Europe. That she has a passion for nesting the so-called menace of communism is common knowledge. It is why she is doing her best to help General Franco in Spain, the British in the Middle East, Emperor Bao-Dai and the French in Indo-China and General Chiang Kai Shek in the Far East. There is no reason why she should not contribute her mite for the same in India.

In the light of the above conclusions one cannot but feel suspicious about the motives of the U. S. Government in offering this Aid. May not the so-called Agreement become a slavery bond to India? Will it not enable America to overwhelm India completely?

These misgivings are confirmed on going through the reports of the speeches delivered to the American Congress at Washington on March 13 last by some of the leading officials of the U. S. A. The Secretary of State for America, Mr. Acheson is reported to have said that the 1953 Mutual Security Programme called for the expenditure of $ 227,000,000 in technical assistance to Asia, Africa and Latin America the figure for India being not yet made public. He stressed the need for aid to India in very strong terms. But why? To quote his own words:

The advice of all our observers on the ground is that unless the newly independent Government under Prime Minister Nehru can show substantial progress in economic development over the next five years there is the likelihood that to the next elections democratic forces will be endangered either by extremists or by communists."

Further Mr. Acheson went on to compliment us on the "tremendous effort" India was putting up in "its fight against communism". Really are we putting up this fight?

Again, Mr. W. Averell Harriman supporting the Mutual Security Programme, warned the American Congress that any resolve to cut this programme would mean a reduction in the 'strength being built in the free world for our common defence against the threat of the Kremlin'. By this programme Mr. Harriman wants to secure 'well-equipped allies' in India and elsewhere for the youngmen of United States 'fighting for freedom'.

Any doubts in this regard are thoroughly cleared by the speech of the U. S. Defence Secretary Mr. Robert Lovett. Without mincing words he is reported to have said that the 'first criterion in granting United State military assistance will be 'performance of the nations in raising effective forces'. He assured the American Congress that performance would be the test.

It can therefore, be safely concluded that the American Aid (and the Aids to follow) is but a means to achieve the end of drawing India into the 'cold war', a war that has already enveloped Europe and America in its painful grip. How far will our Government succeed in its remaining neutral' despite the Aid only the future can say. But it is high time that the authorities in New Delhi and the Parliament ponder over where they are leading the country to.

(Concluded)

"HARIJAN" CIRCULATION

The following is the latest position of *Harijan* circulation:

	Harijan	*Harijan Bandhu*	*Harijan Sevak*	Total
5-5-'52	4 114	6,790	5 291	16,204
15-4-52	3 878	6,370	3 239	13,487
Net Increase	236	420	2,052	2,717

It will be observed that the *Harijan Sevak* has made a steep increase during the last twenty days under report, and has kept *Harijan* behind. The main credit for this goes to the Bihar Government and the Muzaffarnagar District Branch of Panchayat Raj Vibhag U.P. who have placed orders of 1 000 and 515 copies respectively. Among those who have made great efforts to enrol private subscribers for *Harijan Sevak* Shri Ramakrishna Jaju of Sholapur may be particularly mentioned. He has sent a list of some 200 subscribers along with their subscriptions. We are thankful to all of them.

Shri Ramakrishna Jaju says that he heard complaints to the effect that we are not very anxious to see *Harijan Sevak* prosper. This opinion is surprisingly erroneous. *Harijan Sevak* is an all-India publication and we expect to see the day when its circulation will be greater than all the Indian language editions put together. It is no pleasure to us that the English language still predominates Hindi in our country.

5-5-'52 JIVANJI D. DESAI

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HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor K G MASHRUWALA

VOL XVI No 12 AHMEDABAD — SATURDAY, MAY 17, 1952 TWO ANNAS

NOTES

Dr. Rajendra Prasad

Everyone will rejoice at the election of Dr Rajendra Prasad as the first President of the Indian Republic elected under the permanent provisions of the new Constitution He enjoys universal respect and popularity and is pre eminently qualified for that honour May he live long and represent our nation in the assembly of World States

Wardha 8-5 '52

New Government

On 2-9 46 the Congress first accepted office at the Centre having agreed to join Lord Wavell's cabinet Gandhiji was in New Delhi at the Bhangi Colony On their way to Government House for swearing-in ceremony Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel Shri Rajendra Prasad and Shri Jagjiwanram went to Bapuji to seek his blessings They were received by Rajkumari Amritkaur who garlanded them with yarn-garlands while Shri Abha Gandhi put saffron mark on their foreheads and distributed *gur* to celebrate the occasion It being a Monday Gandhiji was observing his usual silence He, therefore wrote out his blessings on a piece of paper

> " You have been in my thought since the prayer Abolish Salt Tax Remember the Dandi March Unite Hindus and Muslims Remove untouchability Take to Khadi "

Pyarelalji read out the note Shri Manibehn Patel took possession of it and has preserved it till this day This was followed by the singing of the *Vaishnava jan* hymn after which the three ministers proceeded for the swearing in ceremony

The note may well be regarded as Bapu's ' Instrument of Instructions Let it be remembered that it includes Khadi

Wardha 8-5-52 K G M

(From Hindi)

AT THE CROSS ROADS

(By Pyarelal)

IV — The Problem of Defence

There is, however a more serious reason that can be pressed against this system of economy I conceive it in advance It will not enable us to build a mighty war potential The nature of modern war is such that it cannot be successfully waged by any nation which does not possess a highly developed system of capital goods industry supplemented by mass producing consumers goods industry capable of rapid conversion to war time needs in armaments and other war material Again it cannot be waged successfully except by nations that can mobilize their entire man power in military or industrial conscription And the universal conscription of population as well as conscription of wealth in the form of heavy war-time taxation can most easily be enforced under a system where large numbers of people are dependent for their subsistence upon large scale private employers and corporations or the one all embracing corporation — the State I was once discussing this question with the Governor of one of our Provinces What you say is all right ' he said at the end of the argument ' But what about the military expenditure ? Cottage industries cannot finance our growing war machine ' And today our Commander-in-Chief too is telling us, we must have rapid development of our home industry ' if we want to be a great power in the modern world '

We have therefore to make our choice If we want armaments — a mighty war machine let us go in for centralized mechanized system of mass production We too then shall have our armament Kings and Merchants of death our Schneiders and Skodas that will not scruple to amass profits by selling armaments to potential enemies in peace time to keep their show running And these will be used to slaughter us and our folk in the event of a war If we want health freedom leisure sunshine and life food and clothing for the millions, we have to go the way that Gandhiji showed us

But then our neighbours will swallow us " people tell me Friends It is an unworthy fear A people that could bring to its knees the mighty

[illegible] cinema [illegible] digested [illegible] have not dis- [illegible] weapon with [illegible] them and [illegible] than arma- [illegible] have against aggress[illegible] the philo- sophy [illegible] philosophy failed [illegible] just as its [illegible] many later and [illegible] armaments fail — as they [illegible] armaments and [illegible] ones — what then [illegible] alternative except [illegible] circumstances? Even the British [illegible] India found itself re- duced to [illegible] declare that it would have to retire [illegible] line of defence beyond Allahabad perhaps abandoning the entire coastal belt and the densely populated areas be- hind it to the Japanese invasion Usually when we put our reliance on armaments there is no thing but direct surrender left to us once our armaments are overpowered or taken away from us But there is a potent and unfailing means of vindication of their honour and self-respect still available to the people if they have been trained to wield the weapon of Satyagraha That was the power revealed to us by Gandhiji at the time of the threatened Japanese invasion during the darkest period of the last world war It enabled us to keep our heads high and our spirits braced Extinction under Satyagraha is not annihilation And if war unto death is an admissible solution of the problem posed by possible aggression by a powerful neighbour why not non-violence unto death without surrender? I suggest it is the nobler and by far the more effective solution

The Modern Menace to Freedom

Any way there is not much meaning in jeo pardizing even in peace time popular freedom for the fear that it might be lost in the event of a war Let me explain It has very aptly been observed that as a result of technological advan- ces during the last century on many points nature has been conquered but man and his liber- ties have sustained a succession of defeats Paradoxical as it may seem progress in science and technology instead of widening the frontiers of individual freedom, has been a causative factor in the decline of liberty and concentration of power in the hands of the ruling oligarchies during the last century As Aldous Huxley has pointed out never were the political bosses armed with more efficient instruments of coercion than they are today Not only has technological advance provided them with bigger and better instru- ments of coercion with which they can bend large masses of people to their will, it has also provided them with instruments of persuasion incompara- bly superior to any that the earlier rulers possess ed A political party or an oligarchy controlling the Press the telephone and the radio can hypno- tize millions by its propaganda The masses have no weapons comparable to those in the arsenals of the rulers of today In a country therefore where the democratic machinery may be sup- pressed or where it may cease to function prop- erly people who feel oppressed are likely to find themselves without any effective mode of resist- ing the oppression unless they can offer resistance on a plane where technological superiority does not count. So far the only hopeful issue that has been discovered in this respect is Satyagraha. And one pre-condition for successful Satyagraha apart from the cultivation of the basic disciplines among the people — particularly the leaders — is that a part of citizens should have easy access to natural resources and possess sufficient manual skill to be able to provide themselves with the elementary means of subsistence without depend- ing upon big capitalists big employers or the one all-embracing employer — the State

If we could bring about non violent organi- zation among the people — and the only known and tried way to do so is through the medium of constructive work — we could cure many of the ills like black markets controls corruption and so on, from which we are today suffering and which fills the hearts of the youth with frustra- tion

Function of Constructive Work

We are all familiar with the complaint that the Congress leaders in power do not take in terest in the development of what Gandhiji called constructive work' It is no surprise to me The function of constructive work is to forge a non- violent sanction Its use is to bring strength to the elbow of the Government in power if they make it their own, or to put a brake upon it if they go wrong The Congress leaders were keen- ly interested in the development of a non-violent sanction when they were out to give fight to the British power But since they have come into power, they have a more handy sanction ready at hand, and one has the suspicion they do not very much care for — if they do not actually fight shy of non-violent strength For this weapon can prove double-edged if the rulers are not very careful as to the path they choose to tread

This reluctance or disinclination is funda- mental The first concern of the State will natu- rally be to strengthen the hands of the politicians or the group that is in power not to arm the people with the power of resistance which the rulers no longer need for themselves and which is capable of being turned against them And that applies to political parties in opposition too In trinsically they share the limitations of the pre- sent Government in power As regards the personnel, when one finds that they do not scruple to steal each other's members, who be- come good if and as soon as they join them and are dubbed as blackguards if they don't or if they go over to the other side, the difference

between [illegible] thus only that between half a dozen and [illegible] They have all equally lost faith in non-[illegible] as the weapon of choice. The missile mind [illegible] share in, or capture of, power if they were [illegible] fallen in power tomorrow, they will be forced to follow the same patterns of conflict as the present Government by the logical necessities of the premises which they have adopted in common with the Government in power. Then denunciation of the present Government for neglect of the constructive programme and deviation from Gandhiji's ideologies no less than their pledges to do better in this regard. If they are put in power therefore leave me unimpressed. I would like us to cease to depend upon the use of government machinery for the development of constructive programme or the implementation of Gandhiji's basic policies and apply ourselves to creating the non-violent sanction which is the only remedy for our present ills and ultimate guarantee of our liberties in peace time or in war. Put the destinies of the people in their own hands therefore I say. For that you have to work from outside and from below occupy yourselves with little things and forget the big. You will then get big results.

And — one word more — do not despise the basic disciplines as outmoded vestiges of the pre-scientific era. The world needs them more than ever.

A young English friend who came all the way over from England to meet Gandhiji at Sevagram to understand the problem of non-violence in a letter once wrote to me: "The third world war has already begun under the table. There can be no world peace unless there is a return to spiritual disciplines and religious convictions." He is an Oxford don and a brilliant and successful play-wright. He doubted if the West would be able to achieve it. Let that privilege be yours, ours — India's.

(Concluded)

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Educational qualifications

College

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I shall be present throughout the Camp.

Signature

Place

Date

If admitted I shall arrive at Wardha [illegible] on

[illegible]

N.B. All applications should be [illegible] by the [illegible] Students' [illegible] Wardha only on receiving information that they have been admitted.

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Director, B. B. Workship
T. K. KOTAIKANNAN, Secretary, [illegible]

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Under the auspices of the Akhil Bharat Sarva Seva Sangh an All-India Saphai Training Camp will be conducted in Maganwadi, Wardha, for a period of three months commencing from the 1st of July 1952. The object is to create the nucleus of a band of workers who will be fired with missionary zeal for saphai and possess adequate understanding of the theory and technique of sanitation work in villages and towns.

Only those who have already actively engaged in experience in Constructive Work and who have thereby realized the crying need for a million with and intensive campaign of saphai will be admitted. Candidates should be capable of hard manual work. During training will involve taking part in sanitation projects, digging drains and pubic latrines and digging trenches. A instruction will be in both Hindi and English. A good working knowledge in these two languages will be necessary. General knowledge and spiritual sensitiveness will be additional qualification. The age limit will be generally between 22 and 35.

In the case of those who need it, stipends would be available to cover expenses of boarding and lodging and in extreme cases of need of travelling also. All applications should reach us in the month of June. [illegible] the latest. Applications should contain information [illegible] Constructive Work so far done and the other [illegible] mentioned. Every application should be accompanied by the recommendation of [illegible] who will be a Constructive Worker.

Maganwadi, Wardha
[illegible]

T. RAMACHANDRAN
Secretary
On behalf of Akhil Bharat Sarva Seva Sangh

HARIJAN

May 17 1952

GRATITUDE

We shall do everything we can for the people here but we must tell you our bitter experience Gratitude is not a characteristic of these people No matter how much you may do for them they will not hesitate to turn against you at the first opportunity (*Our Next Shore Neighbours Ch. IV Hindustan Times*)

Thus records Shri Kaka Kalelkar as the complaint made to him by some of our people when he visited East Africa last year

I remember having read somewhere a similar experience recorded by Tolstoy in the reaction to his acts of generosity towards his tenants and servants But Tolstoy was a deep investigator and found out the cause of this apparently unnatural conduct He explains it by an example I do not remember what exact example he has given but it is somewhat of the following type

Suppose you are a smoker going along a street You want to smoke but find your match-box empty Someone is passing by and is about to light his cigar You ask him to allow your cigar to be lighted with his match and he allows you to do so No doubt, you will say "Thank you" But what after all, is the amount of gratitude you are going to bear towards him for this act of generosity? Do you think you are going to feel all your life how kind and generous he had been to you? In the same way if a man like Tolstoy who had plenty of money in his pocket and to whom a rupee was not more worth than a match out of a smoker's match-box gave it away to a servant or tenant or a beggar why should the receiver feel grateful towards the donor for all time to come? The donor did not become any the poorer on account of his gift He had not to give up any of his luxuries — not to say necessaries of life — for the purpose Indeed, it was good and necessary for him to reduce his possessions even as it is good and necessary for a corpulent man to reduce his fat How happy and even thankful, would too fatty people feel if science found some method of transferring their abundant fat to people who had none? It would be a mutually advantageous transaction and no relationship of obliger obliged be claimed on either side

The case for gratefulness falls even further down where the relationship of donor and donee is subjoined to a previous or concurrent relationship of exploiter and exploited Whether the donor is a rich individual or a trust or a State like U S and the donee a beggar or a social worker or a nation in need if the donation is given out of the donor's plenty without any loss in his own comforts and with an eye to avoid some fear or other the donee gains a lasting sense of gratitude is not likely to be generated Indeed, there is the possibility of a feeling of jealousy and disrespect for the donor being developed, and an attempt made to get as much as possible out of him with even a threat to turn against him if the demand was not granted

U S has been spending enormous amounts in Europe and Asia ever since the end of the War The expected result should be that of love and gratitude towards the Americans I understand however that this is not so in either of the continents The money is accepted and even attempts are made to get more but there is no feeling of any genuine "Thank you" in the hearts of the benefited people There is a fear that the very help might make the recipients turn Communists — a result U S is so anxious to prevent

It will be well to remember in this connection the parable of the Golden Mongoose from the *Mahabharat*

King Yudhishthir initiated his great *Rajasooya Yajna* (Coronation Sacrifice) Handsome gifts and donations had been made thousands of *brahmans* fed The water of the washings of their hands ran like a muddy rivulet

A mongoose appeared on the scene Half of its body was golden the other half like that of an ordinary mongoose It rolled itself in the muddy water of the washings and looked at the ordinary half of its body Finding that it had remained unchanged it turned to the King and told him that it had measured the value of his generosity and found it to be nil

The King asked it to explain itself

The mongoose said that originally its body was like that of a normal creature of its species Once it chanced to have half its body made wet in the mud caused by the water used by a poor man's guest for washing his hands with after a meal It found that the wet half immediately became golden On enquiry it found that the poor host had been himself starving for several days Upon his succeeding in getting some grain he cooked it and was about to eat it, when suddenly a man turned up and asked for some food The host would not refuse though he himself was starving The beggar ate it all, and then asked for water The host gave even the jar of water which he had secured with great difficulty The beggar drank a part of it and with the rest washed his hands It was that little wash-water that had made half its body golden Thereafter it had been in search of more such water in order to turn its other half golden but had not succeeded It had come to the *yajna* with great expectations but was sorely disappointed to find that the King's charities had no value

The receiver's heart is filled with lasting gratitude only when a gift is made out of a man's own wants

This is not to justify the ingratitude even of a receiver of such a trivial thing as a match Even a stray dog or a ferocious lion remembers

[illegible] the [illegible] of a [illegible] piece of [illegible] as it is able to remember [illegible] Unfortunately man is often not so noble as a dog or a lion (as the lion is called) but that [illegible] in no way condoned to him A person who has intelligence enough to reason about morals can never think of justifying ingratitude on his own part

My article is more addressed to the donors as a friendly warning Let them give something which they themselves badly need, and would have to go without at least for some time Let them not give by way of charity their discarded rags and spoilt food. Let them realize that according to the moral law, the rich the intelligent and the more advanced (individuals or nations) are but trustees of their gifts and in parting with their lands moneys or skill for their poor and less advanced countrymen or sister nations they do no more than perform their duty as good human beings If they give from their surpluses or even from their needs but with an eye to secure some advantage or avoid some fear they should be prepared for disappointment Since they have much they must give and give *in sooth* without attaching any strings or expecting returns That is the right way of generating a sense of respect in the donees or winning their love

" Wardha 9-4-'52 K G MASHRUWALA

U. S MONEY

(By Shankarrao Deo)

Shri J C Kumarappa in his article The Noose ? " in the *Harijan* of March 8 1952 warns us against the danger of basing our agriculture on American crude oil There are also other important aspects of this matter which we must consider before we freely allow the flow of American money for our small and large development projects In nature the subtle is more powerful than the gross Nowadays the American Ambassador is much in the news and the Press reported prominently that when Mrs Roosevelt arrived at the Taj in Bombay thousands of Indians were awaiting to greet and cheer her In a city like Bombay crowds gather even out of curiosity and normally not much importance might be attached to that fact

Powers that be vauntedly say that no political strings are attached to the American help But that does not mean that U S does not calculate and build upon the silent effect of the help on politics Though they are young in age compared to us they know human nature perhaps better than we do and can rely on the secret and silent working of their dollar When Bhishma was asked why he did not help the Pandavas though he believed their cause to be just he replied अर्थस्य पुरुषो दासः । (Man is a slave of money) * Can we of the present age claim to be greater than Bhishma or Drona in moral character If we accept American or any other foreign aid of this magnitude — strings or no strings — we are bound to feel its influence in our international affairs

They say India is poor and if she wants to keep away the wolf of Communism out of her door she must accept foreign aid and that can be at the present moment only American Is that really so ? Indian masses are poor and so perhaps their Government also But what about the Indian rich ? Have they exhausted all their monetary resources to help their brethren ? One can understand if we receive the technical or scientific help from the Americans or for that matter from anybody who is in a position and willing to give it But as far as receiving money from foreigners is concerned the law of Swadeshi demands that before we have emptied our own coffers we have no moral right to present the begging bowl to others परस्परं भावयन्तः श्रेयः परमवाप्स्यथ । Thus fostering each other you shall attain to the supreme good '

What is this law of Swadeshi ' Gandhiji defines it as that spirit in us which restricts us to the use and service of our immediate surroundings to the exclusion of the more remote Swadeshi is the law of laws enjoined in the present age Spiritual laws like the natural laws need no enacting They are self-acting But through ignorance or other causes man often neglects or disobeys them But we must remember that infringement of natural as well as spiritual laws does not go without punishment. Will our rich men as also the Government take heed '

* This is in accordance with the popular interpretation of the referred reference. I am aware that scholars interpret this as meaning that Bhishma was bound to be loyal to the Crown —S D

Hindi " Sarvodaya "

Readers of Hindi *Sarvodaya* are informed that its issue for May will be published on the 25th and will reach the readers before the end of this month It will contain a full report of the proceedings of the Sevapuri Conference

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VINOBAJI'S APPEAL TO THE NATION

My dear fellow countrymen

I was touring Telangana during the summer of the last year. All the while I was thinking of the grave problem confronting the people there. At one place at the request of local Harijans to get some land for them, I asked the village people to donate sufficient land for them. The people accepted to my request and I received the first *bhoomidan* that day. This was on 18th of April 1951. This is how the idea of *Boomidan-Yajna* came to me and I tried it during my Telangana tour. It gave encouraging results. Within a period of two months I received about twelve thousand acres of land. I believe that it was very helpful for easing the situation there. It had its effect on the whole of India and we find that Telangana is much quieter today.

I had been trying to find some field for experiments with non-violence since Gandhiji's death. I took part in the work of rehabilitating the Meo Muslims with this very idea. It was a good experience. It encouraged me to go to Telangana. I saw there the vision of Ahimsa in the form of *Bhoodan Yajna*.

There was a background for the *bhoomidan* I received in Telangana. It was doubted whether the same experiment could be carried on in other parts of India, in the absence of that background. It was necessary to test it in other parts in order to clear that doubt. In the meanwhile I received an invitation from Pandit Nehru to place my views before the Planning Commission. It provided me with a reason for starting on this walking tour. In the course of two months which I took to reach Delhi I received some eighteen thousand acres of land. I then realized that the masses were eager to welcome non violence.

At the request of friends of Sarvodaya in U. P. I ventured on this experiment of *Bhoomidan Yajna* in the larger field of U. P. There are more than one lakh villages in U. P. In order to settle at least one Sarvodaya family in each village we decided to collect at the rate of five acres for a family, five lakh acres of land. Notwithstanding that many of the workers were busy in the elections for about three months the people gave good response. We have received more than one lakh acres by now. I see in this nothing but the hand of God. He wills and welcomes this activity. Some of my companions also feel like this. The result is that the workers who met in the Sarvodaya Sammelan at Sevapuri have resolved to collect at least twenty five lakh acres of land within the next two years.

I am aware that the problem of India's landless labourers cannot be solved by merely distributing 25 lakh acres among them. It will require at least five crore acres to solve this problem. But if we can collect 25 lakhs as a first step, and thereby convey the message of non violence to India's five lakh villages, I believe it will [illegible] distribution [illegible].

I have not [illegible] land from big land holders but [illegible] requested small land holders to contribute their quota to this *yajna* and I am very happy to say that these poor people of magnanimous hearts have responded to my prayers with great affection. The offerings of the poor people in this *yajna* remind me of the offering of berries by Shabari to Rama and of parched rice by Sudama to Krishna. I will ever remember the gifts of these devotees of God. This *yajna* inspired the poor to work for their own salvation and the rich for self-purification and relinquishment of ownership.

I have received land-gifts from people of all classes and denominations. Hindus, Muslims and others. Even those who hardly have anything left with them as Harijans and women who do not have much right on immovable property have given me land-gifts. The donors came from all political parties and all stages of life. I have asked all to regard *Daridhanarayana* as a member of their families and give him his share as a right and not as a piece of charity, and people have given me with the same feelings.

We should not feel ill at ease with the word *dan* (gift) in the term *Bhoomidan-Yajna*. Shankaracharya has explained the word *dan* as equitable division. I use the word with that connotation. The receiver of the land will not get his bread for nothing. He will have to work upon the land, improve it, and eat it with his own sweat before he can get his bread from it. He has no reason to feel humiliated. So we are giving him his own share and not bestowing charity on him.

We approach people for land gifts with love and humility and reasoning. We have set before us three principles:

1. We do not mind if one does not give land even after understanding. Because we believe that one who does not give today will give tomorrow. The seed of thought sown in his heart is bound to bear fruit some day.

2. If one gives with understanding, we feel happy, because it creates deep and far reaching goodwill.

3. If someone gives without grasping the idea behind it and under pressure we do not feel happy because we do not want to grab land anyhow but to create the sentiment of *Sarvodaya* and *Sangayogya* in the world.

I believe that in *Bhoomidan Yajna* we have found a programme wherein all parties can co operate. They say that the Congress needs purification. As a matter of fact all parties need purification but the Congress is mentioned because it is the biggest organization. I believe that if the Congress and other parties accept this programme and work it in the spirit of truth and

[illegible] time with the [illegible] tions in it the [illegible] olution. And, [illegible] ment of peace

[illegible] programme [illegible] all to the [illegible] of God who [illegible] ity to the [illegible] If Gandhiji [illegible] quieted [illegible] have [illegible] ging vil[illegible] my experiment [illegible] of money [illegible] umstances have [illegible] ml be audacious [illegible] great *yajna*. But [illegible] of humility I dedicate [illegible] all my sisters and brothers

[illegible]

4.10.114

VINOBA

PROHIBITION *vs* EXCISE

(By P. Kodanda Rao)

I. Consumption

[illegible] formed for Excise policy that even apart [illegible] considerations, the Excise tax was the most [illegible] that the State has for controlling con[illegible] intoxicants. While Prohibition would not [illegible] promote consumption but would unfl[illegible] consumption [illegible] incidentally [illegible] State to the bootlegger. On the [illegible] Prohibition that Excise [illegible] consumption. It is not as [illegible] the only effective Governmental [illegible] consumption under Prohibition [illegible] Prohibition Enquiry Committee were [illegible] that consumption of Country [illegible] State was not materially [illegible] that therefore Prohibition must be [illegible] failure, while the Minority held [illegible] all intoxicants including Country [illegible] considerably reduced in Dry areas while [illegible] consumption of Country Spirit had gone [illegible] that from the point of view of re[illegible] Prohibition was more effective [illegible]

[illegible] as to the quantity [illegible] in the nature of things there are no [illegible] estimates of the quantity of illicit [illegible] information available. [illegible] The Minority held that [illegible] offence was in measure of its [illegible] the quantity of [illegible] Majority of the Committee, how[illegible] illicit [illegible]

[illegible] 800 [illegible] all [illegible] was [illegible] 000 [illegible] 1000 [illegible] 000 [illegible] 13 [illegible] consumption [illegible] Major[illegible] areas [illegible] 8,200 [illegible] proof gallons [illegible] that consumption [illegible] than in the Dry areas.

The Majority [illegible] Prohibition [illegible] tion in consumption [illegible] the consumption [illegible] illicit [illegible] that [illegible] of consumption [illegible] Prohibition [illegible] Majority [illegible] than the mind Committee.

II. Government *vs* Bootleggers

It has been suggested that [illegible] which [illegible] illicit traffic revenue to Government under Excise was diverted [illegible] illicit trade under Prohibition and that therefore Excise was better than Prohibition. [illegible] consumption and consequently [illegible] for of [illegible] a problem common to both the Dry and Wet areas. And if the number of offences in each be any index, there was greater loss of revenue in the Wet than in the Dry areas of the State according to the set of figures and only slightly less in Dry areas, to the [illegible] set quoted above. Government was perhaps losing much revenue from illicit consumption in the Wet as in the Dry areas, if not more.

The only difference was that in the Dry half only the illicit trade in making and [illegible] in the Wet half both the illicit trade and [illegible] were making money. It is difficult to estimate with any accuracy the total bill of the consumers in either half. In the Wet areas where the illicit has to compete with the illicit, the price per unit of illicit consumption paid by the consumer was lower than the licit. But in the Dry areas where there was no such competition, the price of illicit unit was very much higher than the corresponding price in the Wet. Given the same quantity of illicit consumption, the illicit trade made more money in the Dry than in the Wet. It was likely that the illicit trade made somewhat more money from the Dry half than from the Wet half, even if the number of offences was somewhat greater in the Dry

[illegible] pail [illegible] country [illegible] probably [illegible] and illicit [illegible] than fair illicit consumption [illegible] the Dry [illegible]

Universally [illegible] come to the illicit trade [illegible] only in small quantities but in [illegible] is long as there are profits in the illicit trade [illegible] to exterminate the traffic but [illegible] if the illicit prices can compete successfully [illegible] Dry [illegible] But that would entail loss [illegible] to the illicit trade but also [illegible] unless illicit consumption increases [illegible] to the fall in the illicit price. [illegible] increase in even illicit consumption [illegible] is not [illegible] fixed

III Offences

It has been suggested that offences had increased due to Prohibition. It is therefore necessary to compare offences under the Prohibition Act with those under the Excise Act and other Acts to form a fair idea of their relative contribution to crime.

According to the Report of Judicial Administration (Criminal) published in the Majority Report the number of offences was as under:

Offences under	1947	1948	1949
Excise Act	3920	4753	5398
Prohibition Act	4881	5906	6801
Police Act	7084	12022	12024
Local and Special Acts	39608	65679	74847

The Prohibition offences were consistently more than Excise offences though according to the figures of illicit distillation relied on by the Majority the offences in the Dry areas were less than in the Wet areas. As compared with 1947 the figures in 1949 rose by about 50 per cent under Excise, 40 per cent under Prohibition, 70 per cent under Police Act and 40 per cent under Local and Special Acts. It will be noted that the increase under Excise was greater than under Prohibition.

The Minority of the Committee held that Prohibition was not the worst offender against the law particularly if allowance was made for the fact that illicit liquor was available in the Wet halls and its consumption was over 6 lakhs of proof gallons in 1949. The Majority of the Committee observed that disregard for law engendered during the freedom struggle and aggravated since independence was general that liquors had degenerated into licence and that Prohibition was not alone in contributing to it that corruption was due largely to the several control measures adopted by Government during the war and since and that Prohibition was also a control measure and contributed its share in corruption. And they nevertheless come to the conclusion that the breaches of the Prohibition law were universal. In the light of the figures quoted above it would seem that Excise was a greater offender than Prohibition and Police Act greater still.

Government's own Excise policy contributed not a little to offences and corruption. Increasing taxation of illicit consumption eliminated illicit traffic, and the auction system had aggravated it. The Majority of the Committee found that the vicious element of speculation which underlay the auction system and which was an integral part of the Excise policy was a prolific source of a variety of scandalous malpractices and was largely responsible for corrupting the Excise administration in the Wet districts. It was in order to control offences as well as consumption, that the Majority recommended the abolition forthwith of the auction system and the scaling down of the prices of illicit consumption. With these recommendations the Minority was in full agreement. From the point of view of offences against the law Prohibition was not the worst and Excise was worse than Prohibition.

It has been urged that Prohibition not only lost revenue to the State but also involved prohibitive cost to enforce it. It should be noted however that illicit distillation and smuggling are offences both under the Prohibition and Excise Acts. According to the figures relied on by the Majority of the Committee the number of detected offences in the Wet areas was consistently more than in the Dry areas. Even if Prohibition were withdrawn there is no reason to suppose that offences would materially decrease. Only they will all be under the Excise Act instead of partly under the Prohibition Act. In any event the Madhya Pradesh Government did not incur any extra expenditure on account of Prohibition in half the State, but classified the Police expenditure under Prohibition and other for a time.

RISE IN "HARIJAN" CIRCULATION

Thanks to the efforts of friends. The rise in the number of subscribers is encouraging. I am constantly thinking how I should make the Weeklies deserve these efforts.

I am anxious that I should give as much of and as quickly as possible Vinobaji's precious thoughts and movement. Also so many matters of great importance arise week after week, on which readers expect to have considered opinion of *Harijan*. Indeed, there is in evidence a new awakening in the people which deserves to be encouraged and well-guided.

I also receive from distinguished writers and colleagues precious articles which I am anxious to find room for in *Harijan* but am unable to do so. I feel cramped for want of space. I have been cutting down my own notes and articles, in order to accommodate important matter. Until the number of subscribers well exceeds the marginal line, it is not possible to give more pages very frequently. If the present rise continues and the total number of subscribers reaches a figure of say 8,000 subscribers for each of the editions it might be possible to give more matter. I hope it will happen so.

K. G. MASHRUWALA

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To Sarvodaya Workers

Reg No D3092

HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor K. G. MASHRUWALA

गांधी सेवा संघ वाराणसी

1623

VOL XVI, No 13 AHMEDABAD — SATURDAY, MAY 24, 1952 TWO ANNAS

"REDEEM OLD PLEDGES"

(By Gandhiji)

[The text of Gandhiji's Instrument of Instructions to the Interim Government of 1946 was reproduced in the issue of the last week. Gandhiji explained his "Instructions" at length in the post prayer speech that evening. The following is the relevant part of it as reported in the issue of 8th Sept. 1946]

Free Salt

What was the first duty of the Ministers, he asked and replied that their first act should be to remember the Salt Satyagraha and remove the salt Tax It was on that issue that the country had given such a noble fight in 1930 Was the Dandi March that had electrified the whole country and brought women to the fore It symbolized the Congress pledge to win freedom for the toiling masses India's woman-hood reached the high water-mark during the Salt Satyagraha and extorted the admiration of the whole world It was now time to redeem that pledge and make the poor man's salt as free as water and air It was not the quantum of taxation but the fact of salt being free or not that made all the difference to the poor Removal of the Salt Tax would take the message of Swaraj into the huts of the poorest without distinction of Hindu or Muslim, caste or outcaste and serve as an earnest of early termination of all oppression under which the masses have been groaning

Communal Unity

The second task before the Ministers was early realization of communal unity That could not be done by a Government notification The Ministers would have to live for it and die for it If he had his way, remarked Gandhiji, he would declare that hereafter the military would not be used for the preservation of internal peace Personally he would like to see even the use of the police banned for that purpose People must find other means to prevent the communities from flying at each other's throat. If the worst came to the worst, they must have the guts to fight it out among themselves without external aid He ventured to say that so long as they needed the help of British arms for their security, their slavery would continue

Eradication of Untouchability

Then there was the total eradication of untouchability As early as 1920-21, the Congress had declared untouchability to be a blot on Hinduism They were pledged to remove it root and branch The conditions of life in the sweepers' quarters in all the big cities of India was a shame Before this he used to appeal to the Viceroy to improve them Now it was the responsibility of the Interim Government and they could call the Ministers to account for it.

Khadi

Lastly there was the pledge of Khadi to be redeemed to provide clothing to the poor villagers The Congress by a resolution in 1920 had resolved that all of India's inhabitants must be clothed in hand spun and hand woven cloth to the exclusion of all other The Congress was still pledged to it They had not yet carried out that resolution Instead people grumbled that they could not produce yarn which was required for the purchase of Khadi under the new A I S A regulations. Wherefrom was the Khadi to come If people did not spin? asked the speaker They could not get yarn spun for wages owing to an abnormal inflation of wages all round They must spin for themselves There was no other way It was the solemn duty of the members of the Interim Government to redeem the pledge about Khadi and to see that nothing but Khaddar was used in their homes or in their offices As for yarn required to purchase Khadi, he made them a sporting offer The new A I S A rules allowed them to present yarn spun by friends for the purchase of Khadi but not yarn spun for wages As their friend, he would, out of yarn presented to him by the people, undertake to provide them with all the yarn that they might require for the purchase of Khadi There was no doubt a dearth of Khadi in the Khadi Bhandars but he would try his best to carry out their orders He, however warned that it might be only coarse for the present and they would have to be satisfied with that He could not guarantee to provide them with fine Andhra Khadi For that, they must wait till India was completely independent

(India has become completely independent. But whither Khadi? — K G M)

By Mahatma Gandhi

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SHRI VINOBA AT SEVAPURI — I

[The concluding portion of the first speech of Vinoba [illegible] Sevapuri Sammelan was published in the issue of [illegible] 10th May. The following is the first part of the [illegible]]

Obstinacy of Vinoba

At the outset Vinoba expressed his regret over the [illegible] inconvenience which might have been caused to the [illegible] by the change of the venue of the Con[illegible] Upon his own suggestion it had been decided at [illegible] Karampalli to hold the Conference this year at Seva[illegible] But in the meanwhile he set out on this tour and [illegible] the idea of interrupting his Sheodan work in [illegible] English for attending the Conference. Vinoba con[illegible] that there was in him an element of obstinacy and though he felt sorry that for his sake the conveners and the visitors should have been put to so much inconvenience, his nature prevailed and he stuck to his scheduled programme. So it was that eventually the conference was held at Sevapuri in Uttar Pradesh. This obstinacy Vinoba said appeared even when Jawaharlalji invited him to Delhi for discussing the draft plan of the Planning Commission. He decided to obey his summons but he was averse to go by train. So he set out on a walking tour to Delhi to meet Jawaharlalji. Though the long delay must have annoyed Jawaharlalji he very generously forgave him. When he reached Delhi after two months Jawaharlalji was busy with the affairs and had little time to spare for him. Yet he managed to have discussions with him during three sittings. It was really very kind of Jawaharlalji.

Was this obstinacy justifiable? he has often asked himself. He felt that there was in it something good too. Generally whatever a man does has both its good and bad points and it is difficult to analyse them, and disentangle the good from the bad and assess the true worth of a particular act. Be that as it may generally he did not like to leave off a work he might have commenced. And he found support for it in the *Gita* which says "Do not give up a *karma* (action) natural to you even if it has defects."

'But, Vinoba continued ' generally such obstinacy is dictated by circumstances which leave no alternative. My present obstinacy was dictated by an important idea. I had set out on a definite mission which was great and good, and until it took a definite shape I could not think of diverting my attention to other matters. It is not even within my capacity to attend to more things than one at a time. No deity can be pleased without single-minded devotion. So if the deity of literature politics or philosophy. This was the reason for my refusal to return to Sevagram for the Conference with the result that the venue had to be changed with such an amount of inconvenience to you all. I am deeply grateful to you for your generosity.

Am I Changed?

A friend had remarked that he was glad that he [Vinoba] had now abandoned his abode in the sky and come down to earth. Vinoba denied that there was any change in the state of his mind which continued to be what it was. He had always been a servant of the villagers. The only change that had taken place after Gandhiji's death was that the area of work had enlarged. During Gandhiji's life-time he was content, under his beneficent guardianship to silently carry on village work around Wardha. If Gandhiji had been alive, he would have still continued doing scavenging or weaving, the two branches of constructive work which most attracted him. Gandhiji's death had compelled him to enlarge the sphere of his work.

The Genesis of the Walking Tour

"On Bapu's departure I was faced with the problem of finding my duty under the changed situation. I did [illegible] *fai*[illegible] That is not [illegible] for [illegible] was [illegible] our [illegible] Conf[illegible] The [illegible] lating the [illegible] self to this task. I [illegible] to do [illegible] of the work. I got an opp[illegible] ring so[illegible] ervice to the Mess. Ever[illegible] also in [illegible] was through pr[illegible] I travel led through [illegible] I come to the conclusion [illegible] ed to change our society and the [illegible] his [illegible] non-violent means. It was [illegible] come into close and direct relation with [illegible] the people. For this it was necessary to [illegible] My decision had been made though it had not [illegible] public. When I was pressed to attend the Sarvodaya Conference I put my decision into practice and set out on the plan as fixed. I may tell you that I could not have [illegible] known our country as well as I did in the course of this journey. Had I remained fixed at one place and just [illegible] reflected about it.

On my way back to Wardha I naturally chose a different route from the one I had gone by. Conditions in Telangana just then were very troublesome. The people were groaning under the tyranny of the Communists. Crores of rupees were being spent on the police and military forces posted there. Yet to no effect. And I decided to travel through Telangana. Of course we went unarmed and unprepared as was consistent with non-violence. It had a good effect. It is unnecessary to recapitulate that story. After my return to Wardha I had the invitation from Pandit Nehru to go to Delhi. So began the North India tour."

The Delhi Parleys

Thereafter Vinoba gave the gist of his parleys with the members of the Planning Commission at Delhi. "My attempt throughout the talks was to get to a plan on which we could agree. I explained my view point to them at considerable length and they gave me a patient hearing. It will be recalled that previous to his tour towards Delhi Shri R. K. Patil of the Commission had met Vinoba at Wardha to know his reactions to the Draft Plan and Vinoba had severely criticized it. I reiterated the criticism at the Delhi parleys in the presence of Pandit[illegible]. What had pained me most was the fact that Pandit Nehru had gone behind his promise which he had announced that there would be no more import of foodgrains after 1952. The Planning Commission made no only no mention of self sufficiency in food, it actually declared that for an indefinite number of years we would be required to import 3 million tons of foodgrains every year and this year they wanted to import 5 million tons. When Panditji had declared his policy, I was touring. And wherever I was questioned I used to say that Panditji would certainly keep his promise. Hence I felt that this was a breach of pledge and I expressed my sorrow on this account quite unreservedly. I had hoped and rightly that the Commission would be asked to produce a plan designed to fulfil the objective of self-sufficiency in food within a specified period of time.

So we discussed this aspect of the problem for three days. At the end of the talks they promised to convey their decision to me in writing. This they did. But the meaning was not clear to me. Now Nandaji has explained it. It means that conditions remaining normal the Government promise not to import food-grains after five years.

It is a happy decision and it has pleased me. I hope it will please you also. Though there might be differences of approach the men in the government are after all our people. They take Gandhiji's name. They are led by our beloved brother Jawaharlalji for whom I confess I have some partiality. He is [illegible] to make [illegible]

During those talks it was my endeavour to reconcile our different view points and find out common meeting ground between us

Another point at issue was Vinoba said, that no [illegible] planning was worth the name unless it undertook [illegible] full work to each and everyone They could not [illegible] a family the head of which took care of only eight or ten out of its twelve members He was bound to provide work and food to all its members Even so a national plan must proceed on the basic principle that it had the responsibility to provide food and employment to everyone If it did not accept that responsibility it was not *national planning* and there was no use of making recommendations The only way of discharging the obligation was by providing everyone with the implements of work and by proper distribution of the produce

The plea of efficiency had been advanced in reply to this Vinoba too desired efficiency But before he would speak of efficiency he would provide work and food to everyone He had to start with minimum efficiency If he failed to give work and food even to a few, it ceased to be national. One of the members of the Commission had suggested that it might be regarded 'partial planning' To that Vinoba replied that in that case their partiality must be shown towards the poor And the Planners should tell the people that they were not planning for the whole nation In fine Vinoba pleaded that the Planners should realise their responsibility for the country as a whole and the best way under the present circumstances for discharging their responsibility was to ensure conditions which would enable the villages to convert their raw produce into finished articles locally in the villages This was what he called self-sufficiency for the villages But he would not fight for a name. If they considered that the ideal of self-sufficiency was Utopian, and they would not go after Utopias he would not insist on the word 'self-sufficiency' He called they undertook to provide work for all Vinoba went to the length of saying that he would have no [illegible] if they could achieve that end even through mechanized industries But if they were unable to do that they must adopt his simple *charkha*. They need have no hesitation in adopting it because it was so humble that it would not [illegible] to boil their cup of milk when they had no more use for it and accept its disappearance without grumbling But there was no point in rejecting village industries and implements until they were able to provide their [illegible] But the Commission looked at it from a different angle and that made all the difference. They did not promise to give work to all, but talked of giving it only to a sufficient number of people And they said that they would adopt village industries only if they found that they were helpful from their standard. These were the differences of opinion between Vinoba and the Planning Commission 'But Vinoba said I have patience enough to wait

(To be concluded)

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SARVA SEVA SANGH PROCEEDINGS

There was a general meeting of the Sarva Seva Sangh on 20-4-'52 at Bajajwadi, Wardha. The following are items of general interest from its proceedings

1. Bhoodan Committees

At the Sevapuri Conference the Sarva Seva Sangh undertook the responsibility of organizing the work of *Bhoodan* throughout the country and made a resolve to collect 25 lakh acres of land in *Bhoodan* Following this resolve province-wise small committees were appointed with the concurrence of Shri Vinoba at Sevapuri for some of the provinces. The Sangh took a formal note of these. The Sangh will take early steps to appoint *Bhoodan* Committees in consultation with Vinoba for the remaining provinces

2 Boycott of Controlized Industries

In order to implement that part of the Sevapuri Resolution which pertains to the boycott of Centralized Industries, the Sangh drew up the form of Pledge given below It was decided to print on the back of the form of the Pledge the relevant part of the Resolution to enable the signatory to understand the Pledge in its proper back ground

Pledge to Boycott Articles of Centralized Industries of Food and Wear

I hereby pledge that I will use only the following articles in my food and wear

Article	Pledge will be observed			
	by me alone	by the whole family	in my home	at every place
1. Cloth (Khadi) (by self-sufficiency certified by A I S A)				
2. Hand-pounded rice				
3. Flour ground by hand-mill or animal power				
4. *Gharli*-oil				
5 Granulating sugar and *gur*				
6 Leather goods of Village Industries				

2. It was laid down that it will be incumbent upon every worker of the Sangh and of the constructive institutions affiliated to it to take the full Pledge at least for himself personally while at home (The form of the Pledge will be available from the office of Sarva Seva Sangh, Sevagram)

3. The budgets of Sangh's two *Ashrams* — Gram Udyog and Krishi Goseva and its affiliated Sanghs — Tallini Sangh and Hindustani Prachar Sabha — for the financial year 1952-1953 were discussed and passed

4. In view of his health and the burden of work on him the resignation of Shri Krishnadas Gandhi as a member of the Sangh was accepted.

5 Shri Annasaheb Sahasrabuddhe (Secretary, A I T A) was taken as a member of the Sangh

VALLADHSWAMI
Secretary,
Sarva Seva Sangh

(From Hindi)

HARIJAN

May 24 1952

TO SARVODAYA WORKERS

Dear Friend,

You are aware that we resolved at Sevapuri to obtain gifts of 25 lakhs (2.5 million) acres of land in the course of the next two years On the day following this resolution, we proceeded to take two steps

The first was to appoint a Committee for every Province In choosing its members, our effort was to appoint only such people who had a moral influence upon the people of their province and enjoyed their confidence, and who would perform this duty with a pure motive For convenient and easy disposal of work, the Committees are generally small ones, consisting of only 5 to 7 members each The resolution directed that the Committees shall be appointed with the approval of Shri Vinoba For such of the Provinces for which it had not been possible at Sevapuri to appoint a Committee or all the members for it the Sarva Seva Sangh was authorized to do so with the approval of Shri Vinoba So far Committees have been appointed for all the Provinces except Andhra, Kerala City of Bombay and Mysore

The other step was to fix a target for each Province for the fulfilment of the total target of 25 lakh acres Such targets have been fixed for all the Provinces except Assam Orissa, Karnatak, Kerala, Gujarat Bombay City, Mysore and Saurashtra

Immediately after returning from Sevapuri to your own Province, you were required to do two things (i) to appoint a Convener of your Committee and (ii) to convene a Conference of such people of your Province as sympathized with this mission, and were expected to give their hearty co-operation to it The principal object of such Conference is to obtain the consent and co-operation of the people of the Province to the resolution made at Sevapuri A general programme and division of work among the members and friends for carrying out the mission throughout the Province should also be decided upon in this Conference Responsibility for carrying out each item of the work should be entrusted to definite individuals

There are two main items of work which have to be carried out under the Sevapuri Resolution namely, (i) to obtain land gifts and distribute them to the landless, and (ii) to encourage village industries Both of them are to be carried out mainly in villages. But that does not mean that there is nothing to be done in urban areas. There are so many people in towns and cities, who own lands in villages or who even if they do not possess their own lands can purchase them from those who have and make a gift of them for this cause They should be approached and appealed to for doing so Further they can also contribute in cash or kind for providing the resourceless recipients of land gifts with implements tools wells and the like to enable them to cultivate their lands advantageously This part of the *Bhoodan-Yajna* is well adapted for urban areas, and should be attended to

The altar of the *Bhoodan-Yajna* is in the villages. Hence the plan of our work must be so laid that we shall come into direct touch with the people and convey to every village the message of the *Bhoodan Yajna*, which is a gospel for awakening the sense of social equity of the people Even as hundreds of lights might be kindled from one lighted torch, so it must be with the propagation of a moral message The other torches are kindled by being brought into close contact with the lighted one Similarly in order to carry this message, we must meet the people directly Accordingly, Vinobaji has adopted the method of the walking tour in order to propagate his message And even as the lighted torch touches the unlighted one very gently our appeal to the people must be made with great humility and love in order to touch their cords This is the best and most effective method and *sevaks* and workers should follow it as fully as possible With this object, I had suggested at Sevapuri that every member of the Committee for each Province and every *sevak* should select a definite region for himself and carry out this work therein in accordance with Vinobaji's method Every worker should so arrange his programme that within these two years he can expect to visit every little village of his region at least once and personally deliver the message to the people there

It was decided at Mathura on 1st November, 1951 to collect 5 lakh acres of land from Uttar Pradesh Vinobaji has been touring the Province for reaching this target He will be touring for about 2½ months more in that Province after the Conference Thereafter he will stay in U P at one place for about 2½ months of the rainy season He expects that the U P target will be reached by that time After the end of monsoon he proposes to enter Bihar and tour through it till the next Sarvodaya Conference which is expected to be held somewhere in that Province in February 1953 The Bihar workers have expressed their intention to obtain 4 lakh acres of land from their Province by that time We should all concentrate upon this work in our respective Provinces also according to the same method and should hope rather to overreach the target fixed for that Province than keep under it before the date of the next Conference

I myself propose to walk in parts of every Province, except U P and Bihar during the period I earnestly hope that I shall get the co operation of all my countrymen in this work

30-4 '52 SHANKARRAO DEO

THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF SEVAPURI

(By Damodardas Mundada)

Vinobaji desired that before the date of the Sarvodaya [illegible] he should be able to collect at least one lakh [illegible] acres of land from Uttar Pradesh. The daily post and telegrams and the workers from the districts already covered by Vinobaji alias Brenghi hundreds of acres. There were some workers (for instance, of Goods and Kanpur) who refused to come to Sevapuri before completing their quota. Even their absence was inspiring for the rest of the workers. However as we reached Sevapuri about 3 thousand acres were still wanted to complete one lakh. But there came the letter of the Maharaja of Kashi donating seven and half thousand acres with a promise to gift 1½ thousand more. Thus the total exceeded one lakh. Vinoba's desire was fulfilled.

The Maharaja had written to Vinoba:

> It is difficult to describe in words the sentiments which have inspired you to undertake this difficult mission and to tread the whole country on foot without being least disturbed by the seasonal changes for its fulfilment. You are your ideals incarnate. Your very *darshan* (sight) brings home to the people the significance of your mission. People have begin to feel that an order based in accordance with the Indian culture and traditions and intended for the welfare and happiness of the people is about to come into being. By the blessings of Baba Vishwanath (the Presiding Deity of Kashi) may your efforts bear fruit.'

> सर्वेऽत्र सुखिनः सन्तु सर्वे सन्तु निरामयाः ।
> सर्वे भद्राणि पश्यन्तु मा कश्चिद् दुःखभाग् भवेत् ॥
>
> (May all creatures here be happy, may all be free from disease, may all find welfare, may none suffer from pain)'

To this Vinobaji replied:

> 'I am in receipt of your land-gift given so affectionately as also your promise to supplement it by a further quota. I beg one more thing of you. Even as you have given your own contribution to this service, please also ask your friends to do so. Thus this mission will easily grow and spread.
>
> I am particularly grateful to you for invoking Baba Vishwanath to bless my mission. This, indeed, is your very great help. It is His hand alone that is working behind this cause and it is He alone who can fulfil this great task. I am but the dust beneath His feet.

Till now Vinobaji had carried on this work alone. But now the Conference is going to join and play its part in fulfilling the mission. On 13th April the last day of the National Week the Conference resolved to collect 25 lakhs of acres during the next five years.

The *Bhoodan Yajna* was discussed in great detail during the three days of the Conference. It had so caught the imagination of the workers that some of them sought permission to launch Satyagraha for its fulfilment. It indicated the audience of the exciting days of the Satyagraha in August of 1930 and 1942. Vinobaji with due respect to the sentiments of those who had made the suggestion of Satyagraha explained the place and form of Satyagraha in such movement. The life of one dedicated in Truth is itself Satyagraha. He said: 'A Satyagrahi does not plan the next step when he is taking one. He is a part of the Satyagraha spirit. Whatever step he takes he does it with absolute faith. He illustrated this with a convincing analogy. A mother who is nursing her ailing child does so with an unflinching faith that it should recover. It is possible that it might die. That does not make the mother think of making arrangements for its funeral simultaneously with its nursing. It is with well faith that a Satyagrahi works. It was this [illegible] Otherwise [illegible] create the lax [illegible] spirit.

I have referred to the [illegible] Conference [illegible] India. But they had to do so for [illegible] they had to fix a date for their departure [illegible] it before it. It should not be strange if [illegible] tion of land voluntarily part with it [illegible] has already made a beginning.

Objects of Bhoodan-Yajna

> *It should be remembered that the [illegible] the Bhoodan-Yajna is not mere distribution of land [illegible] the landless. Vinobaji has explained repeatedly that it is [illegible] the beginning, the first step of the movement, [illegible] renouncing the right of ownership in land. It is the unfolding [illegible] possible today. The ultimate goal is the transformation of every village into a Gokul that is a family owning all the land of the village jointly and collectively and living on its planes accordingly. The ultimate solution of the land problem lies in that direction. Indeed necessary precautions have to be taken to see that no one would sell the land thus received. Accordingly Vinoba insists that the recipient of the land shall not sell it for ten years. It is hoped that by that time land will have been enacted prohibiting sales of land. Such prohibition exists in Uttar Pradesh even now.*

The first achievement of Sevapuri was that the Conference decided to collect 25 lakh acres. The movement became an all-India one and the idea achieved international importance.

In addition to this basic resolution and as a fitting complement to it was the second part of the resolution, calling upon the workers of Sarvodaya Samaj to eliminate the consumption of machine-made products in articles of food and cloth. This simple-looking resolution is full of great potentialities. It has both positive and negative aspects touching the life of the people. Though it touches only the individual at present it will go a long way in creating the conditions for self-sufficiency, elimination of money economy and the establishment of a non-violent society. This therefore [illegible] important achievement of the Conference.

The third achievement was the assurance given by the Government regarding food self-sufficiency. Although Pandit Nehru could not personally attend the Conference he had deputed Shri Nanda and Shri Patil. In a personal letter to Vinobaji he also expressed his goodwill and sympathy for the work of the Conference. Shri Nanda discussed with Vinobaji the possible changes in the report of the Planning Commission against the background of the discussions held in Delhi. Vinobaji as is now well known, had severely criticised the report for its failure to tick to the pledge that was given to the country regarding food self-sufficiency. He had felt that it was a breach of promise. At Sevapuri Nandaji assured Vinobaji that it was intended to make the country self-sufficient in food during the coming five years. It was an announcement of very great national importance and when Vinobaji conveyed it to the Conference a wave of joy filled the air. Shri Nanda also assured Vinobaji that so far as education was concerned Basic Education alone shall be the State policy. Vinobaji returned the decision but expressed his fears regarding the shape of the Basic Education Government would organize. The example of U.P. was before Vinobaji's eyes. He made no secret of his opinion that he regarded the U.P. Basic Education a hoax.

The fourth important decision [illegible] personal to Vinobaji. There was no province which did not invite him. Each pressed [illegible] Ultimately the choice had to be made between Bihar and Tamil Nad. Vinobaji himself wanted to proceed [illegible] The 5 6th and sooner or later he will go [illegible] And [illegible] work [illegible]

persistent [illegible] from their 70 [illegible] 4 lakhs if Vinobaji would go to Bi[illegible] accepted and that decided the issue

The organization of the Sevapuri Conference itself was an achievement which needs no appreciation. Though the workers of the Gandhi Ashram applied themselves wholeheartedly to the work they had to face great difficulties. There was scarcity of water and not enough trees to give protection from the sun. Financial help was not forthcoming because of the sudden fall in the markets. Man-power was lacking because the workers of the Gandhi Ashram were all busy with the *bhoodan* work. The invitees insisted that every volunteer should be a wearer of *khadi* that all guests should be fed with hand or bullock-ground flour hand pounded rice cow milk and ghee, and *ghani*-pressed oil. Water was made available only a couple of days before the Conference tube-wells coming to the rescue. Visitors accommodated themselves in tents. Twice they came down on account of dust-storms. Seventy maunds of wheat flour was ground on ordinary and bullock *ghanis* every day in the surrounding villages. An equal quantity of rice was hand pounded. All the milk and ghee that were served were cow's. It was this achievement of Shri Dhirendra Mazumdar which enlisted him in proposing the resolution relating to the boycott of machine-produced food and cloth.

Sevapuri is the Samagra Grama Seva centre of Gandhi Ashram Meerut. Work in *khadi* Gram Udyog, Tanning Go-Seva Co-operative movement, Pre-Basic and Basic Education is carried on at Sevapuri under the direction of Shri Dhirendra Mazumdar the President of the A. I. S. A. There are about 25 devoted workers staying with their families at the Ashram.

It is a part of the wide work that is going on in the province on behalf of the Gandhi Ashram Meerut which has become in U. P. the synonym for constructive work. This institution founded by Acharya Kripalani has played a very important part in the public life of U. P. Among his colleagues may be counted devoted and hard working workers of renown like Dhirendra Mazumdar Vichitra Narayan Sharma Rajaram Bilal Kalku Prasad and several others. The total number comes to about 500 workers. Their affection respect faith, sacrifice and loyalty for 'Dada' (as Kripalaniji is addressed) know no bounds. I have not seen a closer brotherhood elsewhere in the country.

As usual Vinobaji had separate discussions with workers of different provinces. Almost all the regions were represented except the Andhras who were absent except for a few individuals.

The workers from Kashmir presented their problems. They belonged to the border province. They had to face constantly many difficulties. They wanted Vinobaji's message for guidance. Vinoba said that those who worked or stayed on the border should imbibe feelings of non enmity for all. At times even brothers might do harm, and still they do not cease to be brothers. Similarly they must recognize everyone as their brother. That is not only the best principle but also the best policy. The whole atmosphere changes for worse as soon as you imbibe feeling of enmity towards others. Passions rise high and hatred is revealed. Are there not friends on both the sides? If we maintain the feelings of friendship the feeling of enmity will get no footing and Kashmir will play the part of bridging the gulf when the two countries will meet again which they will do tomorrow if not today.

In reply to questions regarding achievement of social unity Vinobaji said that unity must spring from within. "Do not you see that in spite of branches fruits, leaves and several other parts we feel the unity of organism in [illegible] and [illegible] are men [illegible] to be realized. Otherwise if you go on differentiating the white will be differentiated from the black and the black from the white. Let me tell you that this is no differentiation. The real difference is of the starving and the overfed. It is this difference that we want to eliminate. Discrimination is different from differentiation. There can be difference in distribution of bread according to needs, an old man like me may need more milk. But that is discrimination, and it is the beauty of our life.

NAI TALIM BHAVAN CONVOCATION

The Convocation ceremony of the outgoing students of the Nai Talim Bhavan (Teachers' Training Department) was held on Sunday April 6. Forty-four students (13 women and 31 men) successfully completed the regular 9½ months' course which began in July 1951 and received their preliminary certificates. These students represent almost every State and every major linguistic region in India about 30 per cent had been deputed by State Governments 30 per cent by the Ministry of Rehabilitation, the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi and the Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Trust and 40 per cent represented private educational enterprises or had applied for training on their own initiative. 26 have studied agriculture as their basic craft 9 have taken cloth-craft with fly-shuttle loom weaving and 15 have completed their course in cloth-craft with Assamese loom weaving. A special feature of the year's course has been the study of the value of the simple Assamese bamboo loom as a means to self-sufficiency and a practical method of utilizing all yarn produced in basic schools even by beginners.

We are grateful to the Wardha Janapad Sabha for its co-operation with the Hindustani Talim Sangh by which the latter has undertaken the introduction of Basic Education in 50 schools in the area. A demonstration of the possibilities of the Assamese bamboo loom formed a special feature of the programme of utilisation of yarn in these schools and aroused keen interest in the villages.

The students of the Nai Talim Bhavan the majority of whom knew none of the processes of cloth manufacture when admitted have obtained the following results during the 9 months course. Sufficient cotton for 53 persons' clothing has been grown and harvested in a 51 acre field, 2,175 hanks of yarn sufficient for cloth for 24 persons, have been produced during the period, and about 100 square yards of cloth, representing 8 persons' needs, have been woven. The average length of the producing group was 40.

The Convocation function was presided over by Smt. Shantabai Karulkar M.L.A. and the certificates were presented by Smt. Prabhavati Jakaldar M.L.A. Deputy Minister. Smt. Prabhavati in her address emphasized the need to keep close to essentials. The real touchstone of success the reminded her audience was not the possession of a paper certificate but the growth of good village schools in the areas where they were to work. They would be tested in life by their ability to mingle with the people as friends and equals, not as workers coming from outside. The talk was much appreciated by the students present.

6-4-5. MARJORIE SYKES

SARVODAYA

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THE HINDU CODE BILL

The agitation against the Hindu Code Bill has largely subsided now. To that extent it may be justly surmised that it was more a symptom of the election fever than any real or well thought out opposition. That apart one may well say that the time for a dispassionate discussion of the provisions of the Bill and necessary atmosphere for it is restored and we may well avail of it now. In this connection the reader's attention is drawn towards a very valuable contribution that Justice Gajendragadkar of the Bombay High Court has made through his extension lectures* under the auspices of the Karnatak University last year. The learned judge takes a judicial view of the whole question of Hindu reform through the ages and adjudges the chief provisions of the Bill in that light. As he says in his introductory remarks

> 'The questions posed by the Hindu Code are of great importance to millions of Hindus in this country and it is necessary that they should be considered in their proper perspective in the spirit of scientific inquiry. Dogmatic assertiveness would be clearly inconsistent with the spirit of scientific inquiry.'

The results of such an inquiry undertaken by the learned judge might better be seen by going through this small brochure of 52 pages. The merit of the discussion lies in the fact that it is not in an ultra legal or technical manner that the writer approaches his theme, but presents the question to a common citizen, who is expected to care for arriving at the truth of the matter in a dispassionate and scientific manner. I may here merely quote the main conclusion to which the author comes as a result of his inquiry.

He takes up the following four important changes that the Code Bill proposes

1. Divorce and judicial separation,
2. Survivorship,
3. Daughter's share,
4. Woman's right over property,

and says that

> 'I have taken these four topics for special consideration because I wish to emphasize the fact that the departures introduced by the Hindu Code on these four points cannot be condemned as being absolutely inconsistent with all the texts of Hindu Law. Indeed the principal point which I wish to emphasise is that the Hindu Code should be considered rationally and scientifically on its own merits. I have endeavoured to show that it is an illusion to entertain the belief that Hindu Law has never changed or that it is of divine origin. Hindu Law has changed from time to time, though the method adopted in introducing these changes was somewhat unusual. I have also endeavoured to show that during the British rule Hindu Law tended to be static and by reason of the infirmity from which the Courts suffered its further growth was inevitably arrested. Attempts were made from time to time to meet the crying need for reform on some special parts of Hindu Law, but the time has now come when the problem must be attacked boldly and fearlessly and the whole of the Hindu Law must be put on a rational basis.'

* *The Hindu Code Bill* By Justice Gajendragadkar, Price Rs 2/-, published by the Registrar Karnatak University [illegible]

[illegible] Code [illegible] on also [illegible] all Hindus irrespective of their caste, creed [illegible]. The only [illegible] way of bringing about this urgent reform is [illegible] and if you legislate you must legislate [illegible] all India basis on such an important topic [illegible] to suggest that the days when texts had [illegible] such matters have long gone by [illegible] Back to these ancient [illegible] regulate our daily life today.

To those who [illegible] to the Bill on the plea of having a common Civil Law for all India he replies

> I think [illegible] very unwise not to support the Hindu Code on the sole ground that its provisions do not [illegible] all [illegible] alike. I apprehend this attitude [illegible] republic [illegible] final unification of all civil laws in the country but would merely postpone even the unification of Hindu Law.'

And he concludes his argument with the following words

> It is no [illegible] say that [illegible] (the proposals contained in the Hindu Code) affect all of us fundamentally and it is [illegible] duty to consider them dispassionately and without entering into any heated or tumultuous controversies.

I recommend to the reader this able plea of the learned judge for a dispassionate and scientific inquiry of the Hindu Code Bill.

13-4-'52 M. P. DESAI

HINDUSTANI TALIMI SANGH RESOLUTIONS

Appreciation. The Hindustani Talimi Sangh at its meeting on April 27 recorded a minute welcoming the statement on Basic Education made by the Central Advisory Board of Education at its meeting on March 15. The Central Advisory Board has recorded that a system of education cannot be considered as Basic Education in the real sense unless

(a) it provides an integrated course including both the junior and the senior stages,

(b) it places adequate emphasis upon craft work in both its educational and its productive aspects.

The Talimi Sangh has maintained from the beginning that the 7 or 8 years of Basic Education must be regarded as one whole and that the interests of good productive work and of educational efficiency are not opposed but are complementary to each other. The proceedings of the Advisory Board should strengthen the hands of those who are working to establish Basic Education on right lines.

New Magazines. The Sangh has also resolved to resume publication of its Hindi monthly magazine for teachers *Nai Talim* from July 1, 1952 and to start a new English quarterly journal from October 1st which may serve as a forum for those interested in Basic Education in English-speaking circles both in India and abroad. The Hindi magazine will be largely concerned with the professional and technical problems of the teacher and it is intended that the Sangh should continue to use *Sarvodaya* for the exposition of its principles and for articles of general interest.

Eighth Conference. The dates of the next (eighth) All India Basic Education Conference have been fixed as October 30 to November 1, 1952. The Conference will be preceded by a Teachers Conference on October 28 and 29. The Conference will take place at Sevagram.

P. W. ARYANAYAKAM
Secretary,
Hindustani Talimi Sangh

INDIAN CHRISTIANS ON BASIC EDUCATION

[The following were adopted by the All India Christian [illegible] on Basic Education held at Sevagram on Ma[illegible] under the auspices of the National Christian [illegible]]

We are thankful to God for the experience of this Conference where we have been able not only to consult together but also see in action the important aspects of Basic Education We appreciate the kind welcome given to us by the Sevagram community and all that they did to make our stay comfortable and happy We are deeply impressed by the atmosphere of the place and the life and fellowship of the community We recognize that the life and work here constitutes a challenge not only to our educational methods but to the whole of our Christian life and witness

We understand by the term 'Basic Education' education of which the following are the chief characteristics

(a) Useful productive work which meets the primary needs of the individual and the community at the centre of the school programme

(b) Training in life as a citizen of a community and the development of self-reliance, co-operation and a social sense

(c) A religious spirit permeating all activities and relationships

We are convinced that this system of education meets the educational needs of the nation

We believe that Basic Education is in line with the Christian concept of education which involve a harmonious development of the whole personality through constructive and creative activity and training in the art of living together

We believe that through Basic Education not only can the Christian faith be maintained but also a larger opportunity for Christian service and Christian witness is opened up to us

We desire to say to Churches and Missions that the time has now come for them to launch out on a programme of converting their schools including training schools into Basic Schools and recommend that new educational work be planned on the lines of Basic Education We urge all Christian Schools to get teachers trained in Basic Education.

It should be borne in mind

(1) that the object of Basic Education is the harmonious development of personality and care should be taken to see that undue emphasis is not placed on any one aspect to the detriment of others.

(2) that the successful working of Basic Education does not involve any compromise or watering down of our Christian faith and witness

(3) that the adoption of Basic Education does not involve the slavish imitation of any institution already in existence, but that each school has the freedom and the duty to develop its Basic programme according to the needs of the locality

We [illegible] Council [illegible] Conference [illegible] Provincial Council [illegible] by [illegible] a small advisory body on Basic Education

J W SADIQ

Dr. Maria Montessori

Dr Maria Montessori, whose death was announced last week made a revolution in the field of education Less than half a century ago the school was looked upon by children as a branch of the jail department and the teacher as a hard-hearted cruel warder Parents had to spend a lot of time and to use various methods to coerce or induce their children to go to the school Punishment was held to be the most efficient method of imparting knowledge

Not that there was no love between the teacher and the pupil or that the pupil harboured dislike of the school throughout its school life But crude theories of education and discipline made even loving teachers think that it was their duty to use the rod unsparingly in the interest of the child

It was given to Dr Montessori to make the school even a happier place than the average home She banished punishment and even threat of punishment and compulsion in the sphere of training

I believe Dr Montessori received a warmer welcome in India than in Europe Her method of training is eminently fitted to build a non-violent social order Countries which want to prepare their youth for war, bloodshed and torture, it seems did not give her much encouragement

The Montessori outlook has come to stay in India In Gujarat particularly, the late Shri Gijubhai Badheka Shrimati Tarabai Modak and Shrimati Sarladevi Sarabhai have established it on a firm footing with suitable modifications The pre-basic *Nai Talim* also accepts the Montessori outlook, but with different external implements Though physically Dr Montessori is dead she will rank among the immortal benefactors of mankind

Wardha, 13-5-'52 K G M

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Shri Vinoba's Reply to Shri Patil

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HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor: K. G. MASHRUWALA

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SHRI PATIL'S APPREHENSIONS — I

Shri R. K Patil is not reconciled with Vinoba's scheme of giving small plots of land to landless peasants. He has the following doubts

(1) The area proposed to be gifted — generally five acres of dry land or one acre of wet land — is uneconomic — that is, too small to be advantageously cultivated. It is too small even for employing bullock power and other aids for the development of their land. It cannot find sufficient capital and cannot repay loans made on it The owners will therefore again lapse into indebtedness and lose their lands to their creditors

(2) As a consequence, the standard of cultivation will remain poor and undeveloped and production will diminish.

(3) More people than necessary will be occupied in agriculture, thus preventing diversification of employment in the rural areas. In the interest of economic prosperity, it is desirable that the number of people living on agriculture should, increasingly diminish and that on cottage and small-scale industries should progressively increase

Shri Patil is a member of the Planning Commission and is believed to have taken a leading part in drawing up the agricultural scheme of the Draft Five Year Plan That Plan has recommended a particular land policy Shri Patil naturally looks with misgivings at a scheme of distribution, which might conflict with the policy planned by the Commission Shri Patil's objections must be examined against the background of that policy

The policy has been explained in Ch IV of its Draft Five Year Plan

It wants to reorganize agriculture as a branch of modern commerce Hence, like any other commercial undertaking, it would regard it as efficient, if it produced maximum crops, at minimum cost and with smallest number of workers Increase of production, reduction of cost and reduction of number of workers is to be the main aim in the reorganisation of Indian agriculture

In the achievement of this aim, it holds that small holdings are a hindrance

> 'Agriculture cannot be developed as an efficient industry unless the unit of management becomes much larger than it is at present The application on a wide scale of scientific knowledge and increased capital investment (is possible) only if agriculture is organized on the basis of relatively larger units of management and production than the existing holdings' (p 88)

Thus the main aim of the Planners is to secure convenience of management, and the reason is 'economic production' Ensurement of equitable distribution and provision of employment are not the main concern of the Planners This is in accordance with the goal of all types of Capitalistic systems, be it private Capitalism, institutional Capitalism (as in limited companies, so-called co-operative societies, trusts etc) or State Capitalism.

As Vinoba's movement is more mindful of the immediate and pressing problems of unemployment and equitable distribution, there is necessarily an element of conflict, which the keen eyes of Shri Patil cannot fail to notice

Having come to the conclusion that the aim of the land policy is to bring about "a substantial increase in the size of the unit of management", the Draft Plan discusses four methods of doing so It rejects the idea of "nationalizing the land and making it available for collective cultivation" as also of 'placing a ceiling on existing holdings," and declares in favour of the following two:

> (a) 'offering inducements to small farmers to become members of co-operative farming societies' and
>
> (b) "taking the village as a whole as the unit of co-operative management in which, while meeting the claims of ownership through an ownership dividend, the entire area is treated as a single farm and is divided for convenience of cultivation into suitable blocks"

Having set down the aim and the methods the Plan lays down the programme of reorganization it is divided into two parts, one the distant, for eventual realization and the other for being pursued during the next few years, as leading towards the first

The distant programme is "to establish a system of Co-operative Village Management", with the following 'essential features"

(4) The whole village will be the unit [illegible] management,

(5) [illegible] rights of ownership will be re-[illegible] and compensated for by payment [illegible] dends at each harvest,

(6) [illegible] tual workers whether owners or [illegible] will be paid remuneration for work done according to the nature of their work. To the owners this will be in addition to their share in the dividends,

(7) whether lands should be cultivated as a single block or in separate blocks, and by individual families or groups of families, will depend upon the needs of cultivation and other local circumstances. Care will be taken to see that suitable incentives are provided to actual workers to put in their best efforts,

(8) this system will be introduced compulsorily for the whole village if two-thirds of the owners or permanent tenants holding not less than one-half of the cultivated area of the village consent.

It will be noticed that if the number of owners is very large, it would be increasingly difficult to get a majority of two-thirds to bring about this reform. Further, if many holdings are too small, it is possible that the consenting two-thirds may not possess half of the land. Since Vinoba's *Bhoodan Yajna* expressly aims at creating small owners Shri Patil may well apprehend that his scheme of distribution creates a hurdle in the way of the Planning Commission.

So much in regard to the ultimate end of the Commission. We shall consider next week the immediate programme contemplated by the Planning Commission for attaining the ultimate end.

K. G. MASHRUWALA

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PROGRAMME OF ORGANIZED SELF-HELP

(By Vaikunth L. Mehta)

Recently there was held in Bombay a conference of the Samchalaks of the scheme of social welfare and economic reorganization embarked upon three years ago, in rural and forest areas with the aid of the Government of Bombay. Popularly known as the Sarvodaya Scheme of Government, this was conceived shortly after Gandhiji's assassination. As was announced at the time by the Government of Bombay they had decided that the most appropriate manner in which they could do honour to Gandhiji's memory was to promote, on a State-wide scale all aspects of the constructive programme, particularly in backward areas and among the backward population of the State. They decided further, that in order to ensure that the ideals of social progress for which Sarvodaya stood inspired the working out of the programme, the centres that were to be started in each of the districts of the State should be placed in charge of a tried and experienced social worker who had in the past, been associated with constructive work.

2. The choosing of the Samchalaks (as these workers are designated), the selection of areas for locating the centres, the formulation of a general scheme of working—all these preliminaries involved a delay of about a year in the commencement of the Scheme. The majority of the centres were started sometime in the middle of 1949 and have now completed three years' working. With the merging of Indian State territory in the former Bombay Province, some new centres came to be opened a little later. No start was made in any district unless a tried social worker was available to assume responsibility. Because of the unavailability of a suitable worker no centre has yet been started in quota an instance in Broach district. In two districts comprising old Indian state territory additional centres have been started while in two districts there are sub-centres. With each of the other districts in the State having a centre the total number of these units is now 29. Each of these covers a compact block of 30 to 50 villages, the total number of villages now covered being a little over 1,200. The selection has been made on the basis of the backwardness of the area, where either the population is mainly drawn from the backward classes or where there is economic stagnation and underdevelopment. According to a significant interpretation of the term "Sarvodaya", the "good" to be sought has to be first, of those who are at the bottom of the social scale.

3. The programme of work was decided to be left to the Samchalaks to formulate in the light of local conditions and requirements. However, it was agreed that all plans should necessarily include certain items of work. With the recognition of education as the basis of progress, its extension and development comes first in the order of priorities. Every plan is also expected to include in its scope agriculture (including animal husbandry) cottage industries and subsidiary occupations allied to agriculture, health and hygiene, and lastly, recreation, amenities and social welfare. For the carrying out of this programme, the Samchalaks prepare detailed plans and draw up budgets for the financing of the activities. Expenditure is incurred in accordance with the budgets. The programme for the whole State is formulated by a committee, comprising three Ministers of Government and three prominent social workers. The accounts of expenditure are audited by auditors appointed by Government.

4. Apart from this the Samchalaks have full freedom of action in drawing up their plans of work and in carrying them out. They select their own co-workers, allocate duties to such workers and fix the terms of remuneration. Like the Samchalaks themselves, quite a number of their colleagues are also persons attracted to the work in a spirit of service. To help and advise the Samchalak and to strengthen his contact with those among whom he works, there is everywhere, a local Sarvodaya Committee consisting solely of non-officials. Local officials of departments

of Government connected with the work of rural development are invited to attend meetings of the local committees The administrative head of a district also keeps in touch with the work and makes himself and his subordinates available for consultation and advice It is enjoined on all departments of Government to see that the areas covered by the Scheme take full advantage of the various items in their own programme of development and secure the necessary financial aid wherever available But, essentially the scheme represents unofficial efforts sponsored and aided by Government

5. Because of the genesis of the scheme and the Sarvodaya concept that it accepts as also on account of the personality of the Samchalaks, almost everywhere the Centre assumes the appearance of an Ashram, carrying the message of disintegrated service to some of the remotest and hitherto inaccessible parts of the State. Inevitably, again the economic activities centre round handspinning The type of primary education that is developed is Nai Talim The village industries sought to be promoted are those comprised in the programme of the All-India Village Industries Association and developed according to the methods popularized by that body The collection of refuse and night-soil proceeds on what is being attempted at Wardha and Sevagram. Similarly, also, where cattle-breeding is undertaken, the lines pursued are those chalked out by the Go-Seva Sangh. Along with their co-workers, most of the Samchalaks lead a life of service, coupled with physical labour for the benefit of the community

6. Every effort is made to inculcate the value of self reliance and self help For every undertaking for the public good such as the construction of roads the desilting of tanks the erection of bunds or dams the digging of sampoi pits tree planting the appeal made to the local population to provide voluntary labour has rarely gone in vain. This active association with the population served has helped in keeping down the cost of the public utilities or amenities that have been provided It has also taught valuable lessons which stimulate other forms of joint endeavour

7 The most fruitful field for such corporate action is provided by co-operative organization All types of co-operative societies have come to be started in a majority of the Sarvodaya areas The revival of old village industries and the organization of new cottage industries are usually undertaken through industrial co-operatives For the provision of water for irrigation co-operative lift irrigation schemes have been taken in hand in many areas Another form of co-operation growing in popular favour is joint or collective farming or co-operative tenant farming which is encouraged wherever conditions are favourable and the soil is ready

8. Located as many of the centres are in forest tracts quite a number of them have interested themselves in the formation and running of forest labourers' co-operative societies These institutions replace the forest contractors to whose exploiting propensity forest labour is very often a prey The forest coupes handed over to the societies are worked by them as productive units, the surplus earnings—which usually are not small—being utilized either in the payment of bonus to the workers in proportion to the labour put in or in the promotion of educational and other welfare work for the common benefit of the members. Except to the extent that they get such State aid as is ordinarily extended to these special types of societies, the institutions may well be deemed to be based on the practice of thrift self-help and mutual aid

9 In the regulation of their own expenditure too, the Samchalaks observe economy and aim at reducing the dependence of the Centres on grants from Government. For some of the activities, local contributions are secured mainly in the shape of labour the extent of monetary help available being limited since the scheme operates mainly in underdeveloped tracts. Initially, it was expected that the sum of Rs 1 crore assigned for the purpose could be spent in a period of 5 years at the rate of Rs 1 lakh per year for each of the 20 centres in the 20 districts of the Province as then constituted The number of districts has since increased and so has the number of centres. But so economically by and large has the work been carried on, that during the three years that have elapsed the aggregate expenditure, including the cost of the humble buildings provided at a majority of the centres, comes to Rs 31 lakhs much under the sanctioned sum of Rs 60 lakhs for the entire period. As work develops the demand for funds may increase; on the other hand, at few places, if any will further expenditure be necessary on buildings and equipment

10 Recently, the Government of India have entered into an agreement with the Government of the United States for the creation of an Indo-American Technical Co-operation Fund, one of the principal objects of which will be the establishment, in various parts of the country of 50 rural-cum-urban community projects In addition to the sum of 50 million dollars provided under this agreement, certain financial obligations will have to be assumed by the State and Central Governments. The scope of socio-economic effort as outlined in the prospectus of the project is in appearance similar to that of the Sarvodaya Scheme in operation in Bombay

11 The main advantage of the socio-economic reorganization attempted in the rural and forest areas of Bombay appears to lie in the personnel of the agency selected to organise and inspire local effort. It seems likely to evoke greater response and to itself more responsive to local sentiment. It may thus better succeed in developing local initiative and evolving a healthy sense of responsibility Experience gained so far indicates that the desire to keep down dependence on external aid inheres the scheme Hence one may hope that even if community centres spread all over India financed out of the Indo-American Technical Co-operation Fund, that will not stand in the way of the development and extension of programmes of socio-economic reorganization of the modest but enduring type that have been launched, for instance in Bombay with the aid of tried social workers devoted to the working out in practice according to their humble light, of the ideals of the Sarvodaya school of social philosophy

Foreign Motor Companies

I wish to add my small voice in support of Shri N Mahalingam's letter on the subject of *Manufacture of Motor Vehicles in India* published in the *Harijan* of 19th January, 1952. Shri Mahalingam has referred to eight British and American companies which have been permitted by our Government to "build up" (i.e assemble) motor vehicles in India, with parts all made in foreign countries. I have some reliable information about one of these During the year 1951 it cost remittances as follows

For import of materials	To England over	Rs 115 lakhs
" "	To Canada over	Rs 137 lakhs
For salaries of about a dozen Sahibs		Rs 3 lakhs
	Total	Rs 265 lakhs

(The figures come to an average of about 24 lakhs per month)

The Company employs about 1,500 Indian workers, whose total wages come to about Rs 6 lakhs per annum. It means that 1,500 Indians get less than two-thirds of what ten or twelve foreign employees receive The ratio works out at Indian to foreigner as 1 to 120 nearly

These companies do not disclose such information to the public and even to Government departments concerned, and some of our Government officers have such an inferiority complex that they have not the courage to demand proper accounts from the companies

Most of these are available luxury goods and there is no reason why they should be allowed to be imported into India

A PEDESTRIAN

HARIJAN

May 31 1952

SHRI VINOBA'S REPLY TO SHRI PATIL

On being questioned about the statement which Shri R K Patil had issued to the Press from Delhi after his return from Sevapuri, Vinobaji said that he was happy that Shri Patil in the course of expressing his views on *Bhoodan* movement had advocated the cause of village industries "If I had a glimpse of it in the Planning Commission Report, it would not have been necessary for me to severely criticize the report as I did However I regard Shri Patil's discovery of the importance of village industries, though belated, as not a small gain to the country

"As for the *Bhoodan* movement, I am grateful to Shri Patil for welcoming it as timely. But I am afraid that very likely he has failed to grasp the basic conception underlying the movement Otherwise he would not have raised the question which had already been discussed threadbare No doubt, I do want to give land to all those who want to earn their bread by working on land That will be ideal Ultimately it is from this will to honest work and honest living that Sarvodaya will rise and come into being But for the present, as I made clear in my speech on the first day at Sevapuri, we were not going to give it to those who have already some means of earning their livelihood, such as, for instance, weavers, smiths, carpenters and others The land from *Bhoodan-Yajna* will go to those only who are practised cultivators but are landless and have therefore to work as labourers for others, the labour again being not always available I also made it clear that were we to observe no discrimination in the distribution of land, even our Prime Minister might ask for it as a person owning no land

"The Sarva Seva Sangh resolution, which inspires the people to collect 25 lakh acres of land for the landless, itself declares that the problems of the country are not going to be solved by mere grant of lands Agriculture and village industries are inseparably bound up together For this reason, the resolution recommends the boycott of machine-processed articles of food and clothing My formula for village industries is that the raw materials of a village should be turned into finished goods in that village itself, to meet its needs I emphasized and explained the formula at the meeting of the Planning Commission and have put it before the people wherever I have gone If this principle, which the Planning Commission is not yet willing to accept or accepts only half-heartedly with conditions regarding 'efficiency and so forth', is accepted, the whole problem is solved.

"Shri Patil has again raised the question of 'economic holding' in his statement I welcome it because frequent discussion of a thing may be of use for clarifying the issues involved I do not distrust Shri Patil's memory I say this because not only in the Sarvodaya Sammelan, but also in course of my discussions with Planning Commission members and subsequently at the Press Conference in Delhi, I had explained my views on this subject The question of what does or does not constitute an economic holding is a matter of opinion The immediate question is whether or not five acres of dry land or one acre of wet land is sufficient for a family of five In Hyderabad it was regarded as sufficient Here, in Uttar Pradesh, in the eastern districts, I put the question directly to the peasants and they expressed that it was possible to work and earn enough for one's living on even a half of that area Shri Patil should be able to have his doubts answered by the land distribution programme in China and Japan But why go far, let him visit Pavnar and see for himself how even a very small plot of land can be made to yield a very good crop

'He has also raised the question of bullocks Granting that a pair of bullocks will till twenty acres, it does not follow that every cultivator must have 20 acres If he can work the miracle of granting that much land, by all means do it. But since there is not so much land in the country, the only practicable solution would be for four or five peasants to come together and jointly own a pair of bullocks It will be a sort of partial co-operation which may be extended to other items of agricultural work such as irrigation, protection of crops from birds and wild animals etc

"There appears to be fundamental difference between my views and those of Shri Patil I wish that a day must come when every man whatever his station and office, the master and the servant, the teacher and the pupil, the member of the Planning Commission and his peon, the minister and the officer, will work for an hour or two on agriculture and help raise the production of the country. I hold that such loyal dedication to labour will contribute to the welfare of the country and the removal of inequality Maybe, that for this purpose our present cities may have to be destroyed and rebuilt on a new plan Shri Tandon ji spoke about it in his speech and I supported him and said that this was in consonance with the Vedic concept where Indra is designated *Purandar* i.e Destroyer of Cities. I continue to hope that some day, sooner or later, this Vedic concept is bound to materialize."

(Translated from Hindi) D M

IMMORAL LITERATURE

"*Milan, (PTI Reuter)* ' 'Blood and sex' comics are turning the youth and adolescents of today into young ruffians and potential criminals

"That is the conclusion reached by scientists, members of Parliament and legal experts at a conference on 'Press radio and cinema for children', held here under the auspices of UNESCO (the United Nations, Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation)

* * *

"The delegates, who represented 24 countries, including Britain India Sweden, Germany Holland, France, Belgium, Switzerland, Spain and the United States were unanimously opposed to Press censorship of any kind. But all of them thought a measure of supervision necessary

* * *

'As to films, the conference proposed the creation of a second International committee also with branches in member countries of UNESCO, to screen all films and recommend which shall and which shall not be shown to teen-agers and children" (April, 1952)

If the Press is to be allowed to produce low type of literature in the shape of news-items, stories, advertisements illustrations etc. how are the children to be prevented from reading them and looking at them?

Secondly, is it only the child who needs to be protected? Are grown-up persons immune from their debasing influence? If there is no doubt about their injurious nature, why should the Press and the Film-Producer be allowed to produce them? What is that "sacred" liberty of the Press, which wants to publish profane things? Surely "sacred" liberty is different from libertine licence! What is the justification for allowing the adult population to indulge in "murder, blood and sex" songs, pictures, dramas etc?

There is room for literature, shows etc particularly meant for teen-agers and children, but not because the other things are bad but because they are likely to be difficult and dull for them at that age There should be nothing to be afraid of in their getting at them even at a tender age It should be remembered that if they are not allowed to read a book or see a picture because of their age they would be all the more tempted to get at them stealthily, and when a bad thing is acquired stealthily, it causes more harm to the developing mind than if it is witnessed publicly and as a matter of course. If a murder is attempted in your presence, you will be repelled against it and try to prevent it even at the risk of your own life. If you simply read its description or see a false picture or drama of it, instead of having a feeling of horror, you get a feeling of thrill and enjoyment That means that you get a training in murder The ancient Indian writers on Drama had made it a rule that war, death, murder etc. should not be represented on the stage They might only be described. It was a good limitation The well-known Gujarati poet Dalpatram had pledged that he would not write anything which a father may not safely read or sing in the presence of his children or a brother in the presence of his sister Certainly he had set a healthy rule for himself.

Wardha, 28-4-'52 K. G MASHRUWALA

NOTES

Warning to Indian Languages

I am pained to observe that the habit of carrying on correspondence in English is increasing day by day even between persons speaking the same language Of course, the excuse is the convenience of the stenotypist Having regard to the nature of their occupation, they are unable to dispense with the English shorthand writer and typewriter And they cannot afford to keep both English and Hindi stenos and machines Even if they can afford they cannot easily have a competent shorthand writer of Indian languages. If they are touring, they cannot conveniently carry two machines and two assistants

The Devnagari script requires to be reformed to suit the typewriter Various States did establish committees to report on this subject Their reports are published But important people won't agree And so, they are filed, and there is no further doing

And, our ego cannot be reconciled to use the Roman script for writing our languages. Of course we have to use Indian words in our English writings and since we do it without an exact system of transliteration, the correct pronunciation of Indian words is often made doubtful to ourselves But if we standardize the Roman script for Indian languages, there is the danger of Roman script becoming thrust upon us. So we would rather sacrifice our languages and pronunciations than standardize that script either!

Lovers of Indian languages must take this state of affairs as a warning They must promptly come to a decision about the standard shorthand system a common scheme of script reform and a key-board for Indian languages and have them sanctioned Otherwise the result will be that the English language will get more and more thoroughly established for all important and formal work

Wardha, 28-4-'52 K G M

Training for Leprosy Organizers

Maharogi Seva Mandal Wardha has started a training centre for lay workers at Dattapur Leprosy Home under the auspices of the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi. They are to be trained in such a way that they should be able to organize and run a Leprosy Colony with medical help if available But in case doctors are not available the trained lay workers should be able to run colonies on approved lines. Applications are invited for being admitted to the second team of this class, which will commence from 2nd October, 1952.

Educational Qualifications: Minimum qualification for admission is Inter Science Inter Arts or graduates of

[illegible] the Indian Faculty of Medicine, [illegible] of Madhya Pradesh will also [illegible] can be made in suitable cases by [illegible] ning body of the Maharogi Seva Mandal.

Age Between 21 and 40 years Exceptions to the age [illegible] to special cases

Other Requisites Candidates must have humanitarian [illegible] of service sincerity, and devotion to such a type of work The candidate may be of any sex but must be healthy and capable of undertaking pioneering organizational work

Training Period 12 months

Medium of Instruction Medical subjects with the help of English but non medical subjects will be taught in Hindi or Marathi

Arrangements for Lodging and Boarding, Stipend Etc

At present the number to be admitted will not be more than 10 Each candidate selected to undergo the training will be given free quarters and a stipend of Rs 50 to Rs 100 per month according to the needs of the individual for twelve months Boarding charges will have to be paid by the candidate

The candidate will have to give a binding to serve for five years after training on a salary up to Rs 150/ per month according to his merit.

Applications will have to be submitted before 15th June 1952 Hence for further details and information please apply immediately to

Dattapur Leprosy Colony Post Nalwadi, Dist Wardha

Secretary, Maharogi Seva Mandal

Policy of the Harijan Sevak Sangh

The meeting of the Executive Committee of the All India Harijan Sevak Sangh held at Delhi under the Chairmanship of Shri G D Birla on the 10th May 1952 after having transacted its routine business, passed the following special resolution

1 Clarification of Policy

In view of the fact that some good and well-meaning friends in addition to our usual critics have chosen to criticize the activities of the Sangh as only ameliorative and not revolutionary in character this Committee once again reiterates its already well-defined policy in regard to the running of its own institutions like schools and hostels. While there is no doubt that our end and aim is the removal of untouchability the Sangh cannot be blind to the immediate needs of these people who are in a far inferior condition because of this curse of untouchability and delay help to them, simply because they cannot get themselves admitted into the common institutions Further these critics also ignore the fact that the Sangh in spite of its wish to see the Harijan boys and girls sharing the same amenities as the children of the other communities, cannot afford to do so on financial grounds because of the heavy expenditure involved While therefore they do get admission for some Harijan children in the common institutions it has to run its own institutions so that they may save a good lot of money to be utilised in turn on many other needy children. In addition to this our own institutions being run on Gandhian ideals are much simpler in standard and best suited to the economic status of the Harijan community Here again it should be noted that all our institutions are thrown open to the members of the other communities and in a good many of them there are even new caste-Hindu children living side by side with the Harijans

2. Budgets

The meeting also passed the budgets of the Harijan Udyoshala and Kasturba Balika Ashram amounting to Rs 96 178/ and Rs 44,000/ respectively

K. S SHIVAM,
Working Secretary,
Harijan Sevak Sangh, Delhi

THE BOMBAY TENANCY ACT—I

The Bombay Tenancy Act has raised a storm of protest both from landlords and tenants The landlords complain that the Act is a great encroachment on their legitimate property rights They had enjoyed for a long time past the right to fix any rent they pleased for cultivating the lands possessed by them This right has been taken away by the Act which has fixed the maximum rate of rent, whether paid in cash or as a share of the crops Again, a certain class of tenants has been recognized as "protected tenants" and they are given special rights and privileges Other tenants have been ensured their tenancy for a period of ten years Restrictions have also been put on the rights of transfer of land The right to determine the reasonable price of land has been taken away from the landlords and given to Government officers No other private property except land is subject to such restrictions. Such restrictions have naturally reduced the value of land and lowered the financial credit of the landlords As a protest against this measure, the landlords have formed an organization called Khedut Sangh to protect and defend their rights and interests The Bombay Government have dealt with these questions in a Gujarati booklet called *Ganotdhara Ange Samjuti* (Explanation regarding the Tenancy Act)

The main object of the Act has been declared to be the protection of the interests of tenants and cultivators who cultivate land by their own labour This is to enable the tillers of land to enjoy the fruits of their labour so that they might take greater interest in agriculture and have an incentive for raising it from its present poor condition by instituting improvement and reforms The official explanation of the Act says

> "The petty *khatedars* or tenants cultivating land belonging to others are also agriculturists. The interest of these persons are permanently attached with land, they have no other means of livelihood except agriculture and nowhere else to go to outside their villages Such cultivators constitute a great number and it is the object of the Act to protect their interests They are true agriculturists, and the Act aims at securing them that title'

This shows that the Government enacted this legislation with laudable and noble objects But their notions of rights of property are so antiquated and outmoded that in their extreme anxiety to protect them they have laid down some provisions which, far from fulfilling the good objects, have produced the opposite results. To cite an illustration It is provided in the Act that tenants of a certain years' standing will be regarded as "protected tenants" It is to ensure his permanent interest in land But by another provision in the law this right has been virtually taken away because it empowers the landlord to terminate the tenancy of a 'protected tenant' by giving him one year's notice in writing stating that he wants it for cultivating it personally and

thus he can take the possession of the land cultivated by the tenant for a long period. This provision has all of a sudden created a desire in the landlords who till yesterday did not care even to know where their lands lay "to cultivate personally".

Again the definitions of "Agriculturist" and "to cultivate personally" are so defective that they defeat the fundamental object of the legislation, namely, that of restricting the rights of 'absentee landlords'. The Act defines "Agriculturists" as "a person who cultivates land personally" and "to cultivate personally" means "to cultivate on one's own account — (1) by one's own labour, or (ii) by the labour of any member of one's family, or (iii) by servants on wages payable in cash or kind but not in crop share or by hired labour under one's personal supervision or the personal supervision of any member of one's family."

In the above definition the words 'personal supervision' have, in practice been very loosely construed. Some landholders happen to own lands in three or four villages. They keep a clerk or a watchman or both in each village and they themselves or any member of their family visit the village once a while every fortnight or every month. This they call personal supervision. It is no wonder that under such personal supervision the agriculture is very poor. Many landholders who before the act used to lease their lands to tenants, have since, become 'agriculturists cultivating their lands personally' in order to avoid the restrictions of the law. This trick has not escaped the attention of the Government. For they make a mention of it in their booklet. It says

> "This parasite class who has no interest in land and whose means of livelihood are not limited to land only, calls themselves agriculturists. And though they deplore the Tenancy Act and criticize it that it deprives them of their proprietary rights, they do not miss to take advantage of a provision of the Act. For instance, under the pretext of cultivating land personally they dispossess tenants of the land which they have been cultivating for generations past.'

But it is not surprising that it has so happened. For the Government says in the same booklet.

> 'Looking comparatively from the angles of both landlords and tenants the Tenancy Act protects more the rights of landlords than the tenants' right of cultivation."

Thus the legislation wants to achieve the object of safeguarding the interests of tenants on the one hand, as also those of the absentee landlords on the other simultaneously. These mutually incompatible objects have done harm to many tenants.

From the point of view of pure justice, the important question is whether it is the tenant or the landlord who has a prior right over land? Is the tenant who has been cultivating land for generations past, and depends upon it for earning his livelihood, or the landlord who has no attachment and taste for agriculture, and who does not depend on it for his livelihood, but is regarded as its owner by legal convention, the person deserving of protection? Common sense and equity will say that the tenant should have a superior right over land and should be fully protected. If land had tongue it would say: 'I know only the person who tends me and works hard to get the milk of my breast. I know not the man whom your laws declare as owner, but who bears no relationship with me that I am aware of."

(To be continued)

(Translated from Gujarati) NARHARI PARIKH

SHRI VINOBA AT SEVAPURI — II *

As I said, after Gandhiji, I was continually thinking how we could come in close contact with the people and make use of *ahimsa* for solving their problems. And I was led to three items of work. First was the *hank-offering* at the *maha* held in memory of Gandhiji. People offered hanks of self-spun yarn at appointed places as a mark of their respect. But there was no relation between the number of offerers and the number of hanks. It struck me that we should fix it at one hank per person, neither more nor less. If this rule is followed, every hank would be a vote in favour of Sarvodaya." Vinoba said he could visualize the vast potential power behind this idea. If they could explain to the people the idea of Sarvodaya, people in thousands would come forward to offer the yarn and thus help in inculcating and spreading throughout the country the love and dignity of labour. It was a vast programme. They would have an their registers the names of donors of yarn. And their workers would go to them and establish contacts with them. If there was only one contributor in a village that person would come under their particular care. His one hank would be like the *nanda-dip* (the evening lamp) lighting with its lone gleam of light the vast mass of gloom. Thus gradually but steadily they would come in close and friendly contact with the entire society with tremendous results. Gandhiji had once suggested to the Congress to take a hank of yarn instead of four annas as membership fee. But the suggestion was turned down. Meanwhile they had raised the membership fee from four annas to a rupee. Now they and again reduced it to four annas. Thus they kept raising and reducing the fee. But it did not occur to the Congress leaders that they must set give importance to money. That was not going to lead them anywhere.

They (Congressmen) talk of strengthening and purifying the Congress. But they do not stop to think that money could give them neither strength nor purification. If the Sarva Seva Sangh succeeded in convincing and inducing the people to offer yarn-hanks and in spreading the idea to the millions Vinoba had no doubt that they would have not only initiated the people in the noble principle of personal labour but also revolutionized their present mentality. Something had been done during the last year in that direction. Something had been achieved during the current year, but it was not enough. Probably, as has been suggested not more could be done on account of the elections. Vinoba himself had been asked to suspend his journey for a while until the elections had passed off. But he did not like the idea. The Ganga did not stop nor did the Sun from their courses. How could he then do so? It would be different if he broke his leg and had to stop perforce. That would be God's doing. Otherwise he must continue. And he was glad to say that

* The remaining part of Vinobaji's speech at Sevapuri on 13-4-52

the lurer of the elections notwithstanding, the people showed great interest in his work. They listened to him attentively and gave him good co-operation

Another factor that attracted Vinoba's notice since Gandhiji's death was that Gandhiji's institutions had now passed that stage when they carried on their activities with the help of money They should now free themselves from their dependence on money When the Gandhi Memorial Fund was being collected, for a long time he observed silence But when he was specifically asked about the Fund at one place, he had in express the opinion that if they wanted to perpetuate the memory of Gandhiji and further his work money would not help them. Rather it would obstruct their progress He saw no reason to change his opinion. He could think of some items of work such as service of lepers, which would require money But as a general rule Gandhiji's institutions should not utilize funds collected in his memory They should follow the old rule "Don't eat the food offered in memory of a deceased person" If Gandhiji's institutions carried on their activities on the strength of money donations, they would cease to grow in spirit, and fail to contribute towards the establishment of *Gram-Raj* Therefore they should strive to free themselves as much as possible from the dependence on money "Then alone will our work breathe new life and our villages be resuscitated That will create its effect on Government If we attain our objectives and yet the Government does not pay heed to it, you and I know and can consider what steps would follow But it is unnecessary to say anything about it at this stage I wish all our constructive institutions to apply themselves in the experiment of becoming free from money dependence and concentrate their energies on the construction of ideal villages"

In this connection Vinoba endorsed Shri Dhirendra Majumdar's proposal for the boycott of certain machine-made products. Vinoba said that the proposal was full of potentialities and they would be able to achieve some work, only if they put into practice these things Otherwise their words have no effect, like wisdom which exhausts itself in advising others "The people of India are an old and experienced people They expected from the *sevaks* who profess to serve them, a very high standard of conduct, before they are prepared to hear them Those who fail to come up to that standard,—they reject In a way they are very conservative" But, Vinoba said, in this conservatism lay their security Had they listened to any and every reformer, they would have perished before long. However great a reformer might be, our people would not listen to him until they had tested him They were like the earth which sends back the rubber-ball rebounding but opens itself to the pickaxe He was glad that the people did not accept anything on impulse They had been hearing about *Khadi* and village industries for long, but they had not yet adopted these things fully They were still watching and testing the workers It was therefore necessary for the success of the programme that the workers should themselves set an example of their precept and reject the machine-made products from their personal lives This was possible through his programme of elimination of money economy

Vinoba feared that the denomination, "Boycott of Machines" was not quite happy It might give rise to misunderstanding and once it set in, no amount of subsequent clarification would be able to dispel it They must therefore choose a name which might grow and expand. He gave an example how adherence to those words might breed confusion In a particular village which had been the centre of constructive work for a number of years, someone opened a flour-mill. The constructive workers had preached for the use of *chakki-flour*, and they denounced the introduction of the mill; but their protests were of no avail The mill got going and continued When the fact was reported to Vinoba he asked the workers faced as they were with the inevitable situation why they did not open a communally-owned mill? They would have been far better than to own helplessness and let an individually-owned mill carry on At some places, they had to make use of the engines for drawing water for irrigating the fields If they insisted on refusing the grain so grown, they would be acting like narrow-minded sectarians "Therefore we must choose our words cautiously, our words must be free from narrowness, words which may admit of growth and expansion in their meaning This is why he had adopted the expression '*kanchan-mukti*' i.e freedom from money

(Translated from Hindi)

(Concluded)

SHRI VINOBA'S LETTER-BOX

1. Produce of Undistributed Land

The gifted land that is not still distributed to the landless will remain with the donor during the ensuing season After deducting the amount of expenditure incurred by him in tilling that land he will hand over the produce to the *Bhoodan* Committee (13-5-'52)

2. Members of Different Political Parties

It is good that members of different political parties are on the *Bhoodan* Committee But they are taken on it not in the capacity of representatives of their parties but in their individual capacity We recognize men as men only without labels

3 Land-donations by the Government

It is good that the Government has shown willingness to offer land But we want to reach the target fixed by us, with the donations of the people only That is our main task today We do not want to include Government offer in it After reaching our target we shall consider the offer of Governments at the time of distribution

I have full faith that our Governments will offer complete co-operation in our work

4. Expenditure

True, we have to incur some expenses in distributing land The Government of Hyderabad had granted some amount for the purpose We had not to incur any expense in obtaining the lands Because we sell our books in our tour and meet our expenses from what we earn by way of commission There are some workers deputed by the Constructive Institutions who help our work. Their salaries are paid by their respective institutions. Even then some monetary help will be required. But it is not necessary to issue a public appeal for that purpose

Sevagram 16-5-'52
(From Hindi)

VALLABHSWAMI,
Joint Secretary,
Sarva Seva Sangh

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HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor: K. G. MASHRUWALA

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SHRI PATIL'S APPREHENSIONS—II

It was shown last week thet the ultimate goal of the Planning Commission in regard to agriculture was to establish a system of Co-operative Village Management Let us now see the immediate programme contemplated by it, as steps towards this goal It is given as three-fold ;

(i) Establishment of Village Production Councils ,

(ii) Establishment of Registered Farms and ,

(iii) Promotion of Co-operative Farming

The Village Production Council is designed to be the virtual controlling body of village agriculture Whoever cultivates the land, will have to do it in accordance with the instructions of this Council It will also be the dispenser of all aids to cultivators, and stand between the Government and the agriculturists It will be bound, I believe, to carry out the instructions of the Government regarding the production of crops

The Registered Farm is the rebirth of zamindari and absentee landlordism in a new and worse garb It has been already noticed that the Planning Commission has rejected the method of "placing a ceiling on existing holdings and utilizing land in excess of ceiling for increasing the size of uneconomic holdings or for distribution to the landless, or for co-operative cultivation." But Tenancy Reform Laws of some States have already passed such legislations Possibly the Commission regards this as an erroneous step and wants to rectify it in a different manner

The device proposed is the 'Registered Farm' system For this, it is suggested thet

(i) holdings above a prescribed level should be organized as Registered Farms, and

(ii) holdings below the prescribed level should be brought together increasingly into small co-operative farms

The minimum size of the Registered Farm will depend upon the nature of the land, but the suggestion is that it should be "about six times the economic holding" for thet region

It is suggested by the Planners thet the policy of the State should be on the one hand to encourage the formation of such Farms, and on the other to bring them under State control. The controls will be ,

(i) adoption of "approved scientific methods of agriculture" and development of the farms as "efficient units of production" ;

(ii) sales of improved seeds and surplus food grains to government , and

(iii) employment of agricultural workers on prescribed terms and wages

The Registered Farm System has, I understand already come into existence at least in U P Perhaps also elsewhere Just as a large-scale industry pushes out one of the same type on a small-scale, so is this Registered Farm doing in the field of agriculture Like the textile mills, the sugar mills the *vanaspati* and oil mills, the bone-crushing industry, the Registered Farm is being patronized by Government in various ways, such as, supply of seeds, manure, loans, transport and other facilities It is easier and more advantageous for the administrative machine to deal with a handful of big and influential applicants then to do so with a thousand small ones These influential managers can easily contact the highest officers directly and get their demands promptly executed, with the result that small holdings are forced to look more uneconomic than they actually are Moreover the Registered Farm System makes all actual workers on agriculture a gang of mere wage earners They are like Tea Estates and Coffee Estates brought down on the planes Their existence is hostile to the basic conceptions of Sarvodaya. Shri R K Patil with his great enthusiasm for Registered Farms naturally looks askance at Vinoba's land-distribution scheme.

In cases where the Registered Farm System is not feasible, the Planning Commission suggests the method of establishing Co-operative Farming Societies The following encouragements have been suggested for their formation

(i) the area should not be less than that for a Registered Farm, no maximum need be prescribed ,

(ii) societies should be preferred by Government in the supply of seeds, finance, technical assistance and marketing ,

(iii) in consolidation proceedings such villages should be given first preference as have established such societies

(iv) culturable waste lands should be preferentially assigned to these societies, and

(v) 'no adverse tenancy rights should be allowed to accrue against those of its members who may not be engaged in personal cultivation The object of this condition is both to encourage the formation of Co-operative Farming Societies and to assist them in reducing the number of workers required for cultivation of any given area"

Thus the Planning Commission prefers cultivation by paid labour directly under the officers either of the Village Management, or of the proprietors of Registered Farms, or of the Co-operative Farming Societies to cultivation by agriculturists as free individuals The principle that land must belong to the actual tiller is rejected The actual workers on the land will be paid their wages and they will purchase their food from the local ration shops. It may well be something imported from abroad The actual crop produced by them will be sold in the best market

The word "co-operation" is looked upon with favour by all schools of economics Sarvodaya also blesses 'Co-operation' But it is clear that the Co-operative Societies envisaged here are quite a different type of economic organizations than those conceived of by Sarvodaya workers. The first-mentioned are but Joint Stock Companies of small shareholders trading in agricultural produce There is no reason why these Societies should not be called Limited Companies trading in agriculture The word Co-operative Society applied to them is a misnomer These companies are designed to facilitate State control, administrative machinery and regimentation, and to make every agriculturist a farm labourer. They are also intended to reduce the number of farm labourers without any guarantee to find employment for the dismissed workers. The co-operation for mutual help among producers and artisans following a common trade, craft, or occupation stands on altogether a different footing from the above societies. Both the Registered Farm system and the Co-operative Farming Society system as envisaged above are antagonistic to the Sarvodaya ideal.

Obviously Vinoba's movement is a hurdle in the policy advocated by the Planning Commission, and naturally Shri R K. Patil is not reconciled to it

But Vinoba's movement has caught the imagination of the people Its moral and psychological appeal has affected Shri R K. Patil himself Hence, instead of opposing it on the ground of its conflict with the policy of the Draft Plan, Shri Patil has put forth the plea of insufficiency of the acreage proposed by Vinoba, thereby causing a fall in production and prevention of diversification of employment in the rural areas

We shall hereafter examine how far these pleas are good on merits and whether Vinoba's scheme of distribution stands in the way of increasing production and development of rural industries, and even of consolidation of holdings and the like

Wardha 10-5-'52 K. G MASHRUWALA

REFERENCE TO GANDHIJI BY A W BAKER

Mr A W Baker a Carpenter Lawyer and Missionary of South Africa refers to Gandhiji in his autobiography *Grace Triumphant* as follows:

"The South Africa General Mission sent several lady workers to Pretoria to do mission work among Europeans, and to learn Zulu. To make myself competent to teach them I had to go in for a systematic study of the Zulu language Several of them subsequently went to Swaziland and established mission stands at Bethany and Ezulwini

"It was at this time that M K Gandhi came up from Natal to assist me in a law case These ladies, and Mr Michael Coates, took a deep interest in him, which he refers to in his articles *My Experiments with Truth* He was scandalously ill-treated on his way up from Natal, and also in the streets of Pretoria, but showed no signs of retaliation or resentment. I had great difficulty in getting leave for him to travel in the same compartment of the train with me to the Convention at Wellington, and could get no separate accommodation for him there. My host, who was a Dutch Salvationist put a double-bedded room at our service, and I had the great distinction of sleeping in the same bed with the now so highly esteemed Indian philosopher May the Lord soon lead him out into the full light of the glory of God, which is radiant on the face of Christ!" (*Grace Triumphant*, pp, 85-86 by Albert Weir Baker)

The copy presented to Gandhiji bears the following autograph

To my friend
M K. Gandhi
in memory of old associations
in Pretoria in 1893
A. W Baker

"He that followeth *me* (said the Lord Jesus Christ) shall *not* walk in darkness but shall have the light of life" —
John 8-12
John 14-23/27
Ismand PM Burg, Natal 13/7/40

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FOOD AND POPULATION

The Western world seems to be divided into two camps over the question of food and population There are those who, like Bertrand Russell and Vogt, hold that the "Road to Survival" or the "New Hopes for a Changing World" lie in birth-control as the panacea for the problem of world's hunger Russell further believes that it is not merely a 'yellow peril' but is an Asian and African peril He fears that humanity in Asia and Africa is increasing so fast that it will surely bring down the standard of life that the West, by dint of effort through science, has built up during the last century He almost seems to divide the world into white and non-white and to fear the ghost he himself is raising The other school is led by Josue De Castro, who in his latest book, *Geography of Hunger* refutes the main contentions of the Birth-control School and suggests how the peoples of the world can survive the crisis of hunger that faces them today He charges them with want of clear thinking based on scientific data and almost total misunderstanding of the world problem today

In our own land today there has recently arisen a school of neo-Malthusians who advocate birth-control as a remedy for our food scarcity They have a very simple logic — almost infantile in its over-simplification It amounts to saying, there is less food, hence there should be less mouths to need food, therefore control birth And in the pride of scientific knowledge to secure birth-control, they forget the great spiritual problem that naturally raises itself from the depth of the human heart, viz, the problem of irresponsibility of self indulgence that is let loose on the human world Self-indulgence is a well-known agent of death and disease It is regarding mistakes in the problems like these which touch the very depth of our being, that the Biblical curse of Sodom and Gomorrah is said to have come down on the erring humanity Birth-control, not by self-restraint which is life- and health giving, but by mechanical appliances helping let loose the self-indulgent in us, brings in its wake the prostitution of not only marriage and motherhood but also virginity as well It is a spiritual danger that humanity faces this way It is 'moral bankruptcy' bringing in an inner rot of the human soul.

But some may, in their pride of scientific materialism that is the philosophy of the day, brush aside this aspect of the problem, though very vital and true, and view the problem merely from the point of view of feeding the world It is on this ground that the author of *Geography of Hunger* meets this school of thought and clinches the issue with saying '

> 'Two schools of thought about world hunger are, in my opinion, really dangerous to the future of humanity, because they falsify the social reality of the problem. One theory attempts to prove that famine is a natural and incurable phenomenon the other offers as our only salvation a forced reduction in the world's birth rate These disparaging and pessimistic theories can be described as products of a world transition, speculations of minds formed in a certain structure which has since been over-thrown The authors refuse to recognise the social revolution as a *fait accompli*, and spin their thoughts out of data that are nothing more than hangovers and phantoms. One characteristic of historical crises, Ortega Y Gasset says, is the way old social convictions tend to lose their value before new values, which will give directions to the thought and conduct of the future, are put in order. Many people are left with no way of knowing what to think, and withdraw into the past to overcome their inner emptiness" (P 21)

Having stated his main position in the above manner De Castro gives his reply to the two schools To those who believe that famine is natural, he says it is not, he shows that it is a man-made social disease

> 'The contention that famine results from a kind of natural law has no basis in scientific knowledge Analysis of certain fundamental statistics will show how artificial that notion is. The ocean covers 71 per cent of the surface of the Earth and the remaining 29 per cent is the solid part of our planet This land covers an area of about 56 million square miles of which 30 per cent is forested, grassy plains are 20 per cent, 18 per cent is mountains and 32 per cent desert either torrid or polar According to Robert Salter and Homer Shantz, specialists of the U S. Department of Agriculture, only 25 million sq miles — half of the land surface of the planet — can be agriculturally exploited by present methods of soil utilization. Desert and mountainous regions are not considered arable, although lately there have been notable triumphs of agricultural technique in such areas. Yet this conservative calculation gives mankind some 18 billion acres to cultivate or 3 acres per individual of our present world population. Authorities on agriculture and nutrition, studying the correlation of area cultivated and food supply in the light of modern knowledge of nutrition, have estimated that about 2 acres per person will supply the indispensable elements of a rational diet. Cultivation according to that ratio would use one-fourth of the world's arable land. As yet, the area cultivated has not reached 2 billion acres, an eighth of the earth's natural possibilities. Clearly, hunger and famine do not result from any natural law' (P 21-2)

And therefrom he concludes that,

> "Essentially it is not a problem of production at all, but rather one of distribution."

And he puts down his short thesis that

> "War and hunger are man made . . it can be concluded that hunger and war arrived when man had reached a stage in culture when he began to accumulate reserves and to defend his collected wealth, they began that is, with the difficulties man created in the distribution of natural riches '

I am reminded here of Tawney's thesis that we are suffering from the ills of "Acquisitive Society", which, in our phase of human history today, has brought about the evils of imperialism and capitalism helped and buttressed by modern mechanical and economic sciences

Having disposed of the first school of thought — viz those that hold that "famine is a natural and incurable phenomenon", De Castro turns to the other, viz the neo-Malthusians who hold that "our only salvation is a forced reduction in world's birth-rate"

. This we shall take up in the next issue.

20-4-'52 M P DESAI

HARIJAN

June 7 1952

REGRETTABLE NEGLIGENCE

About eight or nine months ago a public-spirited merchant of the West Khandesh District (Bombay) brought to my notice that so far back as November 1950 orders had been passed to establish a Civil Court at Taloda (West Khandesh), a building had been occupied and excepting the Judge all the clerical and other staff had been appointed and maintained at a cost of about Rs 1,000/- per month I was told that since then all the litigation falling within the jurisdiction of the new Court was being nominally transferred to that Court and all new litigation had to be filed in that Court But, curiously, although more than half a year had then already elapsed no Judge had taken charge of that Court, and all cases triable by that Court remained suspended He desired me to take public notice of this delay, waste of public money and inconvenience to the public.

I regret that for a long time I did not believe his story and neglected him I thought that this was hardly possible, and that he was either exaggerating or misinformed As he would not rest or allow me to do so I demanded more substantial evidence He thereupon sent me copies of a resolution of the Bhil Seva Mandal, West Khandesh pertaining to that subject, and of some correspondence between that body and the Government of Bombay, and asked me to publish his complaint on his personal responsibility From the correspondence I found that the Government of Bombay had referred the Bhil Seva Mandal to the High Court of Bombay, as that Department was responsible for the appointment of Judges. But the Mandal did not seem to have pursued the matter with the High Court, and the matter had stopped there I decided that before taking notice in *Harijan*, I should personally enquire into the matter This correspondence between the merchant and myself was responsible for the lapse of some months It was on 26th February, 1952, that I sent my first letter to the Registrar A. S of the High Court of Bombay After narrating what information I had I wrote

> "I feel, however, that there must be some serious misunderstanding in the matter and the public is not aware of the true facts I shall therefore thank you to enlighten me on the subject at an early date"

As I did not receive any reply from the Registrar A. S on 10th March, I wrote to the Chief Justice himself

This was followed by a prompt reply (14th March, 1952) from the Registrar A. S replying on behalf of the Chief Justice and Judges of the High Court. It revealed a distressing state of affairs. It admitted that the information given to me was not incorrect, but explained that the reason for not appointing the Civil Judge was that their District Judge had reported that :

> "The ordinary suit work of the Taloda Taluka and Mehwasi Estates was too meagre to keep a Civil Judge fully occupied and that therefore no Civil Judge should be appointed till the Government issued the notifications for vesting that Court with the jurisdiction to hear B A.D R Act (Bombay Agricultural Debt Relief Act ?) work of these areas."

The letter proceeded to say that

> "Government were, from time to time, expedited to issue the necessary notifications but they had not taken their decision"

"It was under these circumstances that no Civil Judge was appointed at Taloda so far" Even then, "the District Judge had to make arrangement in connection with fresh institutions of suits etc, and he has therefore maintained a skeleton staff for the Court in anticipation of further orders of Government"

However, (the letter continued)

> "Since the public of Taloda have been agitating for the appointment of a Civil Judge at Taloda their Lordships have now posted a Civil Judge there with effect from the 17th March, 1952 for doing such suit work as may be pending"

This means that but for my having taken up this matter, this appointment might not still have been made, and a skeleton staff costing Rs 1,000/- per month to the public would have continued to be maintained for an indefinite period

And even now it will be some time before the new Judge and his staff will have sufficient work to do, until the Government of Bombay are able to vest him with some additional powers

As the High Court laid the blame on the Government of Bombay for this waste and delay, I asked that Government (18th March) to let me know how they regarded the matter from their side The first letter did not elicit a reply I sent a reminder on the 6th April This brought me a reply dated 16th April. It says, *inter alia*,

> " Government was not aware that a Civil Judge had not been appointed at Taloda, nor did it know why the appointment was not made It is now found that the District Judge had reported to it that no Judge should be posted to it till certain notifications were issued One of these notifications was for making a (particular) Regulation Examination of the question of this Regulation is a complicated legal matter and it has taken time This could also have been expedited If Government had been aware that for want of this notification the Court at Taloda as was left without a Judge"

Moreover, the letter says, certain steps which had been taken previously became ineffective

under the new Constitution, and so, a new draft had to be prepared "It will be necessary to refer it to the President and this will take time"

The net result is that there was a wasteful expenditure of Rs 1,000 per month for 15 or 16 months, and even now there is not sufficient work for the Judge, and necessarily, therefore, for the staff For the same period, the public was left without any judicial authority to attend to their even urgent grievances The absence of State-established judiciary is not in itself an undesirable thing, but it would have been welcome if it had been brought about by the people. In this case it has been due to gross negligence on the part of the Judicial and/or Executive authorities of the State

The High Court and the Government shift the blame on each other In what manner shall I apportion the blame?

The Government have been frank enough to write to me expressing regret "for the waste of public money involved in this," and "for the state of things in which such a thing happened" They also add, "We are trying our utmost to minimise such incidents"

I did not pursue the matter further with the High Court as there was no more occasion left for it But I believe that if I had the Chief Justice and the Judges would also have expressed their regret for what had happened and promised to try to improve the administration from their side

If a case of such negligence of trust funds had come to the notice of the High Court in the course of a legal proceeding before it, I can imagine what strictures the High Court would have passed against the Trustees Perhaps they would have been held unworthy of holding positions of responsibility

But who am I to pass strictures on either the Government or the High Court when I feel myself guilty of contributory negligence on my part also? If I had believed my correspondent and written to the High Court, when the matter was first brought to my notice eight or nine months ago, perhaps the matters would have been set right much earlier than they have been. But it did not strike me

The tragedy of the situation is that there is none either in the Judiciary or in the Executive who attends to these matters The Bar Room of the District concerned should have pursued this matter It too did not. And there is no public institution — not even the Congress Committee — keenly watchful of public interest It was left to a poor village shopkeeper who is also a public worker to pursue it When he failed to interest the officers legislators and public bodies of the district he turned to me Unfortunately I too turned a deaf ear to him for long But for his perseverance, the waste might have still gone on

A sense of fear that my correspondent to whom all honour and gratitude is due for this act of public service might incur the displeasure of influential people in the locality and be harassed by them prevents me from publishing his name I hope a time will come when his service will be publicly recognized He has pursued single-handed a matter which local public bodies ought to have pursued

Wardha, 6-5-'52 K. G. MASHRUWALA

METHOD OF LAND-DISTRIBUTION

On 17th May, 1952, in order to demonstrate the method of land-distribution, Vinobaji gave a demonstration of it at Pukhraya in Kanpur District. The distribution of land received in the course of the *Yajna* has already been going on in Hyderabad and Madhya Pradesh through their respective provincial committees. But it had not begun in U P until now Baba Raghavdasji suggested to Vinobaji that he should himself give the workers a demonstration lesson before they undertook to do it, and Vinobaji agreed.

Vinobaji started from his last halting-place Dingh as usual at 4 in the morning and reached Pukhraya a distance of 8 miles by 5-45 a m. After taking the breakfast Vinoba set out for the inspection of the land to be distributed there It lay partly near Pukhraya and partly near Sunripur (named Sundarpur by Vinobaji) — a village 2 miles from Pukhraya. When we reached the spot Vinoba insisted on pacing up and down across the fields to have a good look at them Vinoba was in a state of deep emotion.

Vinobaji had a look at other fields also by the time we reached Sunripur The first thing Vinoba did as we reached there was to have the distribution programme pronounced to the village, by beat of drum. The villagers were invited to attend the meeting The workers went to every house personally so that the information might reach every landless resident. Then came the meeting The people were asked to give the names of the landless It was discovered that there were in the village 4 shepherd families which had neither land nor any other occupation. There was no other landless person there nor Harijans Naturally it was decided to gift the land to these shepherds. They were asked to come to the public meeting at Pukhraya to receive it The land at Sunripur had come from Shri Ramswarup Gupta. It was 21 *bighas*. On inspection Vinoba had found that it was a little short of the required piece Vinobaji asked Shri Gupta to make it up which he readily did

The land-distribution meeting at Pukhraya began at 9 a.m. Besides the members of the 4 families of Sunripur ten from Pukhraya were also present as per invitation

The meeting opened with a short speech from Vinobaji. He said, 'We have met here to execute a very happy and noble programme. We are going to distribute the land received in *Bhoodan* to the landless and unemployed. It should be done with the utmost love and justice, and I hope that more gifts will come forth in case there is need for them."

The place of the meeting was tastefully decorated with the *kalash* (water-jar) and rows of auspicious lights After the preliminaries of the meeting had been gone through, the landless were called to place their cases before the village gathering We had only 10 *bighas* of land at our disposal, and there were 10 families, consisting of about 40 members asking for it. After some discussion three withdrew their claim. There were now seven but we had land enough only for two. We needed 30 *bighas* more to satisfy all the seven At first Vinoba asked them to choose two from among themselves. They conducted themselves as *Panchs* with the utmost dignity and chose the poorest two, one of whom was a Harijan. But then Vinoba also appealed to the people to rise equal to the occasion, to

shake themselves free of the subjection of money and property. The appeal had instantaneous effect. It touched to the quick the inner being of *Bharat* latent in every Indian heart and there was spontaneous response. Those who had given raised their figures higher while those who had not, announced their donations. Sardar Harjitsinh a refugee from Punjab who had given 5 acres already announced his will to gift his all *i.e.* more than 15 acres. The audience was moved to its depths. There was an upsurge in every heart of the feeling of all-embracing fraternity and every one shed tears of joy. It demonstrated once again that given love and compassion, the land can be had for the asking not in little drops but amply enough to satisfy every thirsty man. There was absolutely no pressure nor inducement, only the will to stand up for the landless poor and to work for the cause in obedience to the call of the Lord seated in the heart with faith in the power of Love. It was a most ennobling sight. the Lord seemed to have awakened in every heart, a catharsis and a transformation was in operation and every trace of the common human pettiness was swept off clean before its rising waves. Eventually there were 36 *bighas*. The last *bigha* came from a Socialist friend and the village patwari. Thus 36 *bighas* were distributed among 12 families consisting of 40 members. There was in the audience one more landless brother from a nearby village. And a zamindar friend stood up and gave him 7 *bighas*. This was the crowning success of the day's proceedings. It may not look very grand in terms of *bighas* but for those who could see behind the appearance it signified the birth of a new world. Mahadevbhai, one of our companions urged the donees to appreciate the responsibility which was thus cast on them. She said, "This is no mere land, this means your initiation into a new way of life. It now rests on you to improve your life and that of the society." Usha Raghavadas expressed his heartfelt thanks to the people of the Kanpur District and when he recited Guru Nanaka's prayer-song: "विसर गई सब मात परमानी" (*i.e.* I have forgotten the selfishness of mine and thine), he was just giving vent to the collective feeling of the audience.

Winding up the proceedings, Vinoba said, his voice quivering with emotion: "Blessed are they who have received land, but twice blessed are they who gave it. The landless in any case are bound to get land through other means. If not through Bhoodan. But then this revelation of Rama the immanent Lord who dwells in the heart of every being is unique. And that is the great glory of the method we follow. I will ask the givers to regard the poor as members of a common village-family and serve them. There are many who doubt the possibility of getting merely by asking for it. They ask how do you hope to solve this question of land in this way? I say to them there is no solution more effective than this. It fosters love and goodwill between the giver and the recipient. They feel the kinship of spirit. People say that this is *kaliyuga* i.e. the age of sin and degradation, but I say that an age is what we make it to be. The spirit is the same equal and indivisible everywhere. This is the great truth which has been evident to us today. I undertook this work with great faith but without attachment. If I had attachment, I would have despaired long ago. Maybe I too would have transferred my allegiance from faith in the cause and in oneself to that in legislation and government machinery. Thank God that this did not happen and I remain free and independent. I ask for land, I get it and I give it."

Thus amidst scenes of great joy and the elation of spirit, the function came to a happy close. The landless of the three villages were vested with land and all were bound to one another with ties of unbreakable love.

The names of the donors are as follows: Ram Swarup Gupta, Ishwarchandra Tripathi, Sardar Harjitsinh, Krishna Datta Pande, Kallumal Patwari and Regali Raman Sachan.

(Translated from Hindi) D. M.

SHRI VINOBA'S UTTAR PRADESH TOUR — III

[It had not been possible to give a continuous account of Vinoba's tour through U. P. for some period before he reached Sevapuri. It would be too late now to give D. M. a detailed narrative of it interesting as it is. A few extracts of permanent interest from his letter may however, be shared with the reader. — *Ed.*]

Land-Gifts

In my last letter I added with our tour through Sitapur District. This one will cover seven districts. The following table gives their names along with the land-gifts received in each:

District	No. of donors	Acres
Bahraich	135	4,300
Gonda	200	5,200
Basti	167	424
Gorakhpur	197	371
Deoria	107	386
Azamgarh	377	637
Ballia	381	5,738
Total	1,784 (Sic)	17,476

This gift from seven districts only compares more favourably against gifts of 28,808 acres by 1,747 donors in the nineteen districts between Delhi and Sitapur. It means that the message was spreading and having effect.

Fragmentations

This part of U. P. is thickly populated. The price of land is high and the extent of holdings very small. The land is measured in official records in terms of 'decimals' (strictly cents) of an acre, the local nomenclature of smaller divisions of an acre being different in various districts. There is (now was) no doubt the zamindari system or permanent settlement, but the rights under the zamindari have become fragmented into tiny bits — as small as $\frac{1}{2,88,00,13,400}$th part of a rupee! If each sharer insisted on having a share in the land specifically allotted to him, some statisticians would not have a greater area than that covered under a cow's hoof they say! But the rents of Government assessment to rent is nearly 1 100 so even this fragmentation brings the sharer some income. However, the small sharers in zamindari often do not earn even as much as Rs. 150 per annum. Necessarily they do not rely on land for their living, but migrate to cities and even foreign lands in search of labour. The actual cultivated holdings are as small as 40 to 48 in many cases, that is less than half an acre.

Muslim Donors

Another feature worth mentioning in connection with our mission is the interest and part taken by the Muslim population of the districts in making gifts. In Gonda District out of 101 donors who gave lands in a village, there were 50 Muslims at Panchpadua out of 60 donors, there were 31 Muslims at Ghosi 50 out of 150. In several places we were received and housed by Muslim hosts. A Muslim Tahsildar as well as the Muslim Collector of Ballia districts took keen interest in *Bhoodan Yajna* and getting *gifts*. The Hindus and Muslims lived amicably in villages, as elsewhere the poison of communalism starts from and is inclined in towns and cities only.

Vinoba enjoy the fullest confidence of the Muslims. It will be remembered how three years ago he had been warmly received and listened to at the Ajmere pilgrimage, where Muslims came even from foreign countries. His work among the Meos of Punjab also won their affection for him. His knowledge of the *Quran* also contributes in winning for him their love respect and confidence. The Muslims of U. P. received him whole-heartedly.

Vinoba's Linguistic Studies

The reader will be interested to know that throughout the U. P. tour Vinoba regularly reads Urdu and studies

[illegible] *Ramayan* and *Periya* [illegible] has also been [illegible] Tamil *Ved* the well-known [illegible] of Tamil land as preparatory to his visit to that province Vinoba holds that if we want to mix with and work among a people and win their sympathy and love we must be well-conversant with their language literature and culture.

I can give instances of several gifts worthy of specific and detailed mention. Some day and somewhere I may compile such literature But since you insist on my being brief I have to omit these details here. But I cannot resist the temptation of giving some instances from which you will choose a few for the readers.

One of our companions is by name Harish His village lay on the way of our tour We stopped there for a few minutes After the usual salutations etc., Harish's mother approached Vinoba and bowed. She seemed desirous of saying something but wanted courage to open her lips. Ultimately with some hesitation and difficulty she said she owned 12 *bighas* of land for a family of five Vinoba having become the sixth she wanted to give him his share of 2 *bighas* It was not much, but she desired Vinoba to do her the favour of accepting it. Vinoba was overwhelmed with emotion. He accepted it very gratefully, and in the evening speech referred to the gift as being as precious as a gift of two lakh *bighas*

During our tour through Gorakhpur we were being guided one morning to the next halt by a Harijan. He told me he owned 5 *bighas* for a family of twelve The land was insufficient for their maintenance, and they had to do other labour to supplement their income from land. Nevertheless he too was anxious to have a share in the *Yajna*, but hesitated to give a petty *bigha* or two. He asked me what his duty was under these circumstances. I could not presume to offer an advice I silently bowed to his generous spirit It reflected the true and noble culture of India. For his satisfaction Vinoba accepted the gift of *few* cents of land from him Encouraged by this acceptance our earthman of the day also gave ten cents of his land.

At one place, while Vinoba was talking with some big landholders a Harijan named Mangru entered the room and entreated Vinoba to accept his gift. He owned only 21 cents of land and wanted to give it all. Vinoba looked gratefully at him and enquired about his condition. He was a factory labourer with six or seven dependents. Vinoba asked if the land did not help him. Of course it gave him rice. Vinoba asked him to keep the land to himself. He did not expect any gift from him. But he was insistent. Ultimately Vinoba took a gift deed from him, and then made an endorsement thereon that since he belonged to the class to whom land was to be distributed he gave the land back to him as a donee. He told Mangru to take the land as his *prasad* (part of an offering returned by a deity or guru) Mangru could not refuse. He reverently bowed and accepted the *prasad*.

Our tour through Gonda district was a continuous experience of faith and love When we left the last village of the district and bade goodbye to our local companions they were in tears. Vinoba and many of us also were deeply moved Though we had been together only for a week it seemed as if we had been making a goodbye to old companions. In his parting speech Vinoba asked what it was that made them confer so much affection upon him. Surely it was not his personal friendship, but the mission on which he was engaged They (the people of Gonda) had realized, as every thoughtful person would realise, that his mission was important not only for the people of Gonda, or for the people of only India but for the whole world. If it was not carried to success, life was in peril and would remain in peril. If on the other hand, the mission was successfully carried out it would bring not only economic prosperity to India, but also spiritual advancement. The centuries old teaching of India is, Vinoba said, that a *dharma* (ethical activity) was no *dharma* if it did not control *artha* (economic activity) of the people, and *artha* (economic activity) was not *artha* (economic), if it was inconsistent with and imperilled *dharma* (ethics) Hence economic activity opposed to ethics was not good economics and ethics which made economic activity impossible was not ethics Vinoba said that what he had undertaken was a *sarvato bhadra* (good-on-all-sides) work. It did us good economically as well as spiritually, it spread love, it purified the mind, it led us towards God It employed us in the service of the poor

(To be continued)

(From Hindi) D M.

NOTES

Direct Land-Gift

A few days ago a correspondent informed me that a landholder of Vadodar, a village in Saurashtra, being inspired by the *Bhoodan-Yajna* movement donated 2 acres out of his 24 acres of land to a landless Harijan peasant of his village through the village *panchayat* As he did not desire publicity of his gift the transaction had remained unnoticed a

Such voluntary gifts directly to the landless without the intervention of a Committee are ultimately a welcome feature, and the act of the donor of Vadodar deserves appreciation On being informed of this gift, however Vinoba has desired to give the following caution

> "Though I would like it, the time for decentralized direct gifts is not yet ripe The atmosphere is not ready for it On the contrary, it might even impede the movement The object of the *Yajna* might not be attained, and the sacrifice might take the form of charity The land-gift-sacrifice implies renunciation of ownership in land non-expectation of any return or gratitude from the recipient, absence of conferment of favour on any particular individual and various other principles On this consideration so long as the atmosphere is not ready it is better that all gifts should be made through the *Bhoodan* Committees However, if such direct individual gifts are made we shall not prevent them Nor shall we encourage them for the present.
>
> "Moreover, it is necessary to legalise such gifts. It is difficult in modern age to give or take lands, without legal formalities. For the present it will be possible to get only such gifts to be legalized as are made through the Committees"

Wardha, 26-5-'52

(From Hindi)

Socialist Support to Bhoodan

In the course of a long resolution captioned "Redistribution of Land", the Socialist Convention, which met at Panchmarhi (M P) last week says:

> '14. This Convention notes with joy the noble effort of Acharya Vinoba Bhave to draw the attention of the nation to the urgency and justice of this problem by his unique method of *Bhoodan* The Socialist Party further welcomes the move of the Sarvodaya Samaj in this direction and reciprocates its invitation for co-operation."

I welcome the Socialist appreciation of the *Bhoodan* movement and their desire to co-operate I hope they will work for it with the same love and fraternal spirit as Vinoba expects of the workers There is no room in it for any class-war propaganda or slogans of that nature, even as there is no room in it for the spirit of giving or begging alms It is a preliminary step towards the reunion of something like families separated in estate food and worship While doing this work there should not also be indulgence in political propaganda in favour of Socialism or against Congress and other political parties If we are serious in our service to the poor, let us realize that political labels are even worse than communal, regional or linguistic labels.

Wardha 29-5-'52

Manure From Gas Plant

In answer to the doubt raised by me about the wholesomeness of the manure obtained from the gas plant on account of its repugnance to flies, rats etc., I have received two explanatory replies. They give a satisfactory explanation, which may be briefly stated as follows:

> 'The final result of digestion of cow-dung and plant-debris in a gas plant is something not very different from humus. Animal and insect pests do not care for humus which does not mean that humus is, therefore of no use or of danger'

Humus is the real substance needed for plant growth It is the substance which remains when the dung and plant-debris have undergone complete change in course of time in the manure pit; that is, has become ripe for being used as manure It is food for plants, but not for animal life, because it cannot be digested by the animal creation Rats etc. get food from manure pits only before the debris is transformed into ripe manure, and they thrive only in the upper layer of the pit. In the lower layers the heat of decomposition is too strong and oxygen is deficient. Hence, even in pits the lower part is free from insect life.

In the process of decomposition combustible odorous gases are produced. The gas plant makes good use of these gases Instead of allowing them to escape into the air and be wasted, the gas plant collects them and provides a way for their use, either for light or fuel.

> 'When the process of decomposition is carried out with a limited supply of oxygen, as it happens in a gas plant the bacteria break off the oxygen from the carbon and hydrogen compounds and what remains is hungry for oxygen — which means is combustible. Some of it is also volatile and when collected can be used as a fuel."

Hence there is no such danger as suspected by me about the manure obtained from the gas plant

(Quotations taken from the explanations given by Shri Maurice Frydman)

Wardha, 19-4-'52 K. G. M.

Bhoodan Latest Figures

'Four days ago the people of Mangroth (District Hamirpur) gifted away all the land of the village, nearly 700 acres to Vinoba There are 54 landholders in Mangroth, and 50 landless families Vinobaji will now redistribute the land among these and a plan for the village will be prepared under his guidance

"During the month and a half since the Sevapuri Conference, we have obtained fifty thousand acres of land. The average receipts should come to a lakh acres per month for the attainment of the target. So we should have by now 150 thousand acres Vinoba has obtained a third, the remaining two-thirds must be completed by other workers."

Camp Mahoba 27-5-'52 D M

(From a letter in Hindi)

"Peace News"

I wish to thank the Editor of *Harijan* for his note about *Peace News* in the March 29th *Harijan* and to those persons who responded I much desire to increase subscriptions among people who are not interested in *Harijan* as well as those who are, and have to rely upon you who read both papers to help in this For benefits new readers of *Peace News* who are not sure enough of its usefulness to wish to order for the half or whole year, there is a special trial subscription of Rs 2/ for 10 weeks

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SHRI PATIL'S APPREHENSIONS — III

Extent of Holding

Let us now examine the subject of 'economic holding' It is a complicated subject, since what makes a holding economic depends upon various factors If agriculture is to be pursued as an all year and full-time employment, sufficient unto itself without the assistance of any other income, it will mean one thing If it is expected ordinarily to be supplemented by a subsidiary occupation it will mean another. Whether the subsidiary occupation is meant to give some income or to make for self-sufficiency will also make some difference Then the nature of the soil, irrigation facilities, regional climate, the kind of seeds sown, manure applied etc must also be considered to determine what constitutes economic holding It will be more appropriate, therefore, to consider the question not in the form of 'economic holding', but in that of 'unit area necessary for convenient and advantageous management by an individual agriculturist family' Let me call it 'minimum family managed holding' A genius like Dr George Washington Carver might be able to earn a comfortable income from a plot of 30 feet by 30 feet i e 100 sq yards It would be 'economic holding' for him, but even for him it may not be a sufficient area for convenient cultivation. On the other hand, for a cultivator in the sandy desert of Rajasthan or the mountainous regions of the Himalayas even 50 acres of land might not be economically sufficient, and the owner would need the assistance of a secondary occupotion to make his both ends meet Yet it may be more than a conveniently manageable unit Hence, the search of a fixed formula for 'economic holding' is rather vague We might be able to succeed better in arriving at a reasonably agreed figure if we seek to determine the minimum area for a family managed holding — the family being taken as consisting of five members of whom one is an able-bodied whole-time worker, and the rest contribute in the aggregate at least an equal share of labour in other words the total labour of two workers If in addition to their own full-time labour their efforts are supplemented now and then with the labour of a pair of bullocks and of co-operating neighbours or (circumstances allowing) paid labourers, it might make the cultivation more efficient or economically profitable, but even if they had to work without any such assistance, and only with a pick-axe and a shovel, the family should be able to manage that area Every facility that the family might be able to get whether in the shape of fencing manure, good seed, sufficient and timely rain or irrigation improved implements rotation of crops, security from pests and crop-destroying wandering animals, technical advice in agricultural operations, cure of crop diseases etc would make the same area a better producer and economically more profitable, whether the family wants to sell its produce or consume it at home Economic advantage depends upon these facilities and factors and not merely upon the extent of the land. The law of diminishing returns will probably apply more quickly with multiplication in the units of area, than with provision of other facilities

If the approach suggested above is sound, I do not think that under our present circumstances — that is, having regard to the life, customs, traditions and actual socio-economic state of our agriculturists, — five acres of dry or one acre of wet land can be regarded by any one as too small a unit for convenient management by a family. As a matter of fact in the major part of India, a majority of holdings are so much smaller than that sought to be given by Vinoba that Vinoba's distribution may well be regarded extravagant As has been pointed out in one of D M's letters, there are in U.P individual holdings as small as 40 acre, and regarded by the cultivators as sufficient units. In a specially prepared note Shri Bandhudas Sen of Gandhi Vichar Parishat, Wardha quotes the following statistics of Indian holdings, from the *Agricultural Journal of India*, (1926)

Less than 1 acre	23%
1 — 5 acres	33%
5 — 10 acres	20%
Over 10 acres	24%

In Orissa, he points out 'nearly 26 7 per cent peasant families have less than one acre of land"

"In comparison with the average size of holdings", Shri Sen says, "it must be admitted that the principle of distribution of 5 acres of dry land or 1 acre of wet land per family is an improvement over the existing situation."

As said above the economic advantageousness of holding depends on various factors, the area being comparatively a minor one among

them It has been repeatedly pointed out and admitted by Sri Patil himself somewhere, that there are countries in the world and cultivators even in India who take far more yield from holdings smaller than 7 acres of dry and 1 acre of wet land than large-scale agriculturists China and Japan are particularly mentioned as examples of small holdings. Hence the proposition that the small holdings are less economic than large ones requires, to put it mildly, to be thoroughly investigated There are eminent agricultural experts who hold the opposite view

So far as our country is concerned, I put it very softly when I say that there is no satisfactory data to assert that given equal advantages and aids small-scale holdings are definitely 'uneconomical' that is to say, yield proportionately less than large areas No one will deny that there has to be some limit beyond which a holding cannot be advantageously reduced. At the same time there is a limit beyond which holdings should not expand in the interest of both the soil and the people If proper cultivation methods are followed, there is a greater likelihood of its turning out that the limit of profitable holding is reached at a much lower area than is supposed

The fact is that though agriculture has always been the most important activity of our country and the mainstay of not only of our people but also of the State it has been the most neglected subject for centuries Although every State big or small — every zamindar, *inamdar*, feudal chief, religious institution moneylender and proprietor of large areas of land has drawn his or its income preponderantly from agriculture during the last four hundred years at least, it does not appear that any of them took any interest in the development of agriculture — whether by way of improvement of soil, seed and implements, or of instruction of the actual cultivator The cultivator has somehow derived and preserved some skill by imitating his immediate predecessors and has rather forgotten a part of the traditional knowledge than added to it The revenue policy and laws relating to transfer of land of the British Government both in the Zamindari and the Ryotwari areas have been most ruinous to agriculture Their trade and commerce policy and administrative convenience has been uniformly directed towards the suppression of small cultivators. Though moneylending existed in India for scores of centuries before the British rule, hardly, so far as I know, a moneylender could become an *owner* of land The laws of transfer of land enacted by the British enabled moneylenders to own large areas of lands without even an iota of knowledge about agriculture The moneylender converted into an owner of land did not take even that interest in the improvement of agriculture, which an *inamdar*, a *jaghirdar* or *deshpande* might take When he began to feel interested in agriculture he began to produce money-crops and city fruits There has been no atmosphere, no encouragement no opportunity to the actual producer of food-crops to make improvements in agriculture Pressure of various kinds has certainly been put upon him But it has been always in order further to impoverish him. No pressure has been exerted on him to shed his ignorance expensive social customs fashions, vices etc or to make him acquire better knowledge of his occupation and the science pertaining to it Many a clever farmer has been either drawn away from agriculture or reduced to an unskilled labourer in the course of a few generations, but very few made it more efficient than their ancestors Intensive agriculture has never been seriously tried in an appreciable measure except perhaps during this century in canal irrigated areas Where it has been so done, I do not think that it has been proved that small holdings yield less than large ones

The uneconomic nature of small holdings on the ground of area alone does not stand proved And if we go by the experience of Japan and other countries where intensive agriculture has been made successful, small-scale holding seems to have more points in its favour than the other one

(To be continued)

Wardha 3 6-'52 K. G MASHRUWALA

THE BOMBAY TENANCY ACT — II

We saw in the previous article how under the pretext of cultivating land personally the landlord is enabled under Sec 34 to dispossess a tenant of the land which he might have been cultivating for generations past and ruin his living A still greater evil that has resulted from this is that the landlord takes a higher rent than the maximum fixed under the Act by circumventing the law It has become a widespread evil It is done by the landlord nominally dispossessing his tenant under the pretext of cultivating personally and then again leasing it (in fact though not in form) to either the same or another tenant on a higher rate of rent, say one-half of the total yield in place of one-fourth or one-third The land is entered in the land records of the Government as that cultivated personally, the tenant being coerced to declare that he was only a servant of the landlord. For fear of being left without any land whatever to till, the tenant gives in writing to the landlord, "I have willingly handed over the possession of the leased land" Of course, a plausible plea can be made that no law or Government can help people who want to deliberately sleep over their rights But if this evil is widespread it also behoves law-makers to provide for its remedy With this and other objects in view I suggest the following changes in the Bombay Tenancy Act

The definition of 'Agriculturist" should be suitably amended by providing that agriculture should be the main source of his livelihood, his annual non agricultural income being not greater than one-third of his agricultural income or Rs 500/ whichever figure is higher

The Bombay Agricultural Debts Relief Act has stipulated this amount as the limit of non agricultural income for an agriculturist debtor

A clause should also be added to the definition of "to cultivate personally", to the effect that the agriculturist's permanent residence

should not be at a distance of more than 3 miles from the land which he 'cultivates personally' This amendment will prevent absentee landlords living at distant places from abusing the law The definition of "Agriculturist" and "To cultivate personally" will therefore read somewhat as follows

"Agriculturist means a person who cultivates land personally, whose main source of livelihood is agriculture and whose annual non-agricultural income does not exceed one-third of his agricultural income or Rs 500/-, whichever figure is higher

"To cultivate personally" means to cultivate on one's own account,

(a) by one's own labour or

(b) by the labour of any member of one's family or

(c) by servants on wages payable in cash or kind but not in crop share or by hired labour under one's personal supervision or the personal supervision of any member of one's family

Explanation

In order to cultivate personally it is necessary that the permanent residence of the agriculturist should be situate within three miles of his holding

It is also not fair to keep a tenant in constant fear of being dispossessed of his land. A time limit should be fixed within which an owner may claim back the land for personal cultivation say, within two years after the amendment of the law

Sec 14 (1) (a) of the Act provides, that if a tenant has failed to pay or deposit rent in any year within 15 days from the dates mentioned in the sub-clauses, his tenancy will be liable to be terminated and the landlord shall be entitled to evict the tenant This is a very harsh provision Perhaps, to mitigate this harshness a partial remedy has been provided in Section 25 But it is submitted that right to evict a tenant for failure to pay rent must not be allowed at all. The proviso to Sec 25 must also be deleted In the Kheda and the Bardoli campaigns our main contention on behalf of the agriculturists was that the Government could not confiscate the land of a *khatedar* merely on account of his failure to pay assessment At that time Gandhiji said that if for a few rupees of land-tax, even if a *bigha* of land was confiscated his struggle against the Government would continue At the end of the campaign the Government had to restore the confiscated lands to their original *khatedars* The same principle must be applied as between a tenant and his landowner The landlord can recover his rent and no more than that from the other property of the tenant.

Sec 34 provides that the landlord shall not be entitled to terminate the tenancy of a protected tenant if he (landlord) has been cultivating personally other land to the extent of 50 acres or more at the date of the notice If the land which is being cultivated personally is less than 50 acres the right of the landlord to terminate the tenancy of the protected tenant and to take possession of the land leased to him shall be limited to such area as will be sufficient to make up the area of the land which he has been cultivating personally to the extent of 50 acres. In the case of an undivided Hindu family which consists of more than one branch, the right will be limited to the extent of 50 acres per branch of the family subject to a maximum of a total area of 200 acres irrespective of the fact that the number of branches of such family are more than four I suggest that this limit should be reduced to 30 and 120 acres respectively This can be done by a notification under Sec 36

Sec 32 of the Act provides for certain information relating to land I suggest that the duty of giving full details of land possessed by a landlord as also about the branches of his family, should be cast on the landlord himself The burden of proof relating to matters mentioned in Sec 34 should also be thrown upon him A proviso should also be inserted in Sec 34 to the effect that a tenant cannot be deprived of his land, if his holding would thereby be reduced to less than five acres A landlord may claim land only to the extent of the excess over five acres that being the minimum which should be left with the tenant for his cultivation.

The facility that exists to the landlord to pay land-tax in two instalments should also be extended to the tenant for paying his rent to the landlord And it should be made obligatory on the landlord to give tenant a receipt for every payment of rent in full or part.

There is a custom of *ghurjamai* in the Surat District in which the father of a bride gives some land to his son-in-law for his maintenance In such cases sons-in-law should not be treated as sub-tenants

Sec 32 gives a right to the protected tenant to purchase land under certain limits from his landlord Its price has to be determined after taking into consideration the factors to be taken into consideration in fixing the reasonable rent under Sec 12(3) One more factor should be added to them namely the original price paid by the landlord and the returns received by him since his purchase so far Possibly, this may be regarded as covered by Sec. 12(3)(f) but its specific mention should be made to remove any doubt

In certain places the Mamlatdar has been empowered to dispose of cases arising under the Act But he is overworked and consequently there is constant delay in awarding justice to the litigants I suggest that the power to dispose of these cases should be assigned to the Agricultural Lands Tribunals referred to in Sec 67 and pleaders must not be allowed to appear on either side

If these amendments are introduced in the Act I believe considerable relief and protection will be given to true agriculturists, among whom tenants must certainly be included This does not, of course, end the rights of the owners to receive rent on their land, though in my opinion this right to share the fruits of the honest toil of the labourer deserves to be seriously re-examined But in this article I am not discussing any revolutionary change in the concept of ownership rights

(Translated from Gujarati) NARHARI PARIKH

HARIJAN

June 14 1952

PRAISE OF CHINA AND RUSSIA

Shri J C Kumarappa and other friends recently paid brief visits to China and Russia. They have returned with great admiration for Communist achievements, and have been narrating them before Indian audiences in a manner which makes young mouths (especially) water and young minds impatient to bring about a similar revolution in India.

Throughout history India had had no quarrel with either Russia or China. With China, the relations have always been positively friendly. So there can be no reason with us to be unwilling to give the Russian and the Chinese Governments credit for whatever benefits they might have conferred on the poor of their respective countries On the principle that a country gets no better government than what its people deserve, perhaps U S S.R, and the Chinese Republic are the proper forms of Government for their country in their present situation. Hence, the mere mention of the word 'Communism' need not scare one. But I confess that I have taken these recent praises with some discount. A few weeks' Government-planned tour through 15 or 20 places in countries much larger than India is too small an experience to praise or denounce a regime with confidence. We have been told that China does not follow the Russian pattern of economic order, but has devised her own in keeping with her history, traditions and environments, and based on "decentralization" and "small holdings" The last two words are almost like pet *mantras* in the Sarvodaya economics, and give an additional reason to young workers to fall in love with the Chinese Republic and to feel disaffected towards our own.

I have carried all along a feeling that the present economic policy in China is not the final picture of the Communist policy in China. It is only a preliminary stage Russia herself had followed a similar policy in the beginning. But her aim has always been to achieve centralization and State Capitalism both in agriculture and industries Who can say that China will not also do the same?

But that too need not terrify one. After all centralization, decentralization, private Capitalism, State Capitalism, large-scale industries, small-scale industries and the like are matters of secondary importance The thing of first importance is the all-round physical, intellectual, moral and spiritual development, welfare and freedom of every being, beginning from the poorest and the most down-trodden man in the country. It is conceivable that at different stages, a different economic pattern may be needed for this purpose and there is nothing morally wrong in suitably employing any of these patterns or making a mixture of them It does not matter much even if the process appears in the immediate present a 'drift', 'aimless', 'haphazard' method, devoid of logic and consistency Provided the effort gives expression to the inner yearning of the last man, it will make itself good in the end. Hence, when Sarvodaya lays emphasis on decentralization, handicrafts (village industries), self-sufficiency, and even boycott of some mechanized processes, let it be understood both by ourselves as well as its critics that these principles and items are not made a religion of They are put forth as what appears to us the most practical and eventually the swiftest method of bringing about the all-round moral, social and economic regeneration of the nation *in the present context of Indian conditions*

Thus it is not the specific economic and administrative policy of either Russia or China — centralized, mechanized, even though it is or aims ultimately to be — that need make one deprecate it. But the defect, which creates in a man like me a great aversion to Communism, is its thoroughly untruthful, violent and untrustworthy career. It is power politics in the most abject form. Attainment and consolidation of political power seems to be its only fixed principle Every thing else, every act and every move, is a part of 'tactics' for gaining and consolidating power. There is no rule of conduct which is sacred and inviolable You cannot put faith on anything the Communists might even solemnly assert And as to respect for life, it is a superstitious sentiment in their opinion. Their amoral code makes even their good men unreliable

An example of this has been recently given in a bulletin of the British Information Services of India It is reproduced below

> Writing under the heading 'The Road to Power', *The Times* comments on the rise of the Communist Party from underground to domination in Hungary
>
> After a review of the handling of events by M. Rakosi, Deputy Prime Minister, the newspaper says "As early as the land reform in the spring of 1945 M. Rakosi claims, his party used these tactics of division 'Whenever it was possible we started by putting forward modest claims, thus preventing the enemy from joining and mobilizing forces against us. Then we increased demands, and used whenever possible, temporary forms. For instance first we demanded only government control over the banks later we demanded nationalization of the three largest banks.'
>
> "The truth is that the democratic state run by a progressive coalition was itself a 'temporary form', and the process by which first the Smallholders Party and then the Social Democratic Party were first invited to collaborate, then confused, divided and brought into discredit, and in the end suppressed when they had lost the strength to resist further, is a matter of history now expounded with great lucidity by the principal engineer (in a lecture to his party now published by the Hungarian *Social Review*)'
>
> *The Times* continues "M. Rakosi describes one stage in it as 'salami tactics', by which slices of the

Smallholders' Party w[illegible] its strength worn down even while the [illegible] leader was the Prime Minister and M Rakosi his deputy The first great demagogic stroke the redistribution of land into small family holdings, was a 'temporary form', for M. Rakosi relates how in 1948, having won the working people over, his party could raise the question of collective large-scale farming

' Within four years the regime which set out on the road to power by distributing the land, had gone so far along the road that it could safely breach the subject of bringing the land back into 'collective hands By that time the rivals for power had been removed, and the 'people's democracy as a variety of the dictatorship of the proletariat' established"

The Times concludes there could be no clearer warning than this cynical confession to the countries that still keep their freedom.'

Perhaps it will be retorted that a pot may not call the kettle black This is not the point here The British like all other belligerent and ambitious nations have their lies and false propaganda and their own deeds might also be shown to be equally bad The point is whether having regard to the circumstances mentioned in this bulletin, the present Chinese policy may not be regarded just a temporary and transitional stage in the final plan, which will be the same as in Russia Shri Kumarappa and others have assumed that China would always retain its present policy, and it is that that has attracted them This is doubtful.

As to their capacity for ruthless destruction of life and suppression of those who are allowed to live what shall we compare it with? They combine both the Nazi method and perhaps our own past treatment of those whom we reduced to the state of untouchables or *adivasis* through centuries As to ourselves, our conscience has been awakened against our misdeeds, and we aim to make amends for our sins The Communist countries are pursuing this career with all its modern and up-to-date technique. How can we say that the objectives of Communism and Gandhism are similar, or that Communism should be established in India by non-violent methods? Gandhiji so far as my information goes, would have preferred absence of State altogether If a State had to be suffered, it could be only a well-regulated perfect democracy With a totalitarian and dictatorial regime, whether of the Fascist or the Communist type, he had no love whatever And Communism is inseparable from totalitarian and dictatorial regime

After the above was written I noticed an article "Revolution and National Genius" by Acharya Kripalani in the *Vigil* of 31st May To such readers as have an access to *Vigil* I commend his article

Wardha, 1-6-'52 K. G. MASHRUWALA

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ARTICLE WITHDRAWN

I regret owing to inadvertence and misunderstanding a draft prepared by D M was published by me as Leader in *Harijan* on 31st May under the title Shri Vinoba's Reply to Shri Patil" It transpires that Vinoba had not authorized its publication Though D M did write to me in a covering letter that it was merely his own draft, I understood thereby only that I could make suitable changes in its language As it had the appearance of having recapitulated Vinoba's ideas in his own words, I did not suspect Vinoba had disapproved of it

But Vinoba writes that he did not approve of it for two reasons one Shri Patil's statement was only a correction of his misreported speech at Sevapuri, having nothing new in it But the way the reply was drafted showed as if Shri Patil was opposed to *Bhoodan* movement which is not a fact He is an active supporter of the movement, having actually donated his own lands The object of his criticism was to make *Bhoodan-Yajna* more successful and advantageous.

Secondly, the question of economic holding was an academic one There was no hurry to reply to it Vinoba believes that Shri Patil did well in initiating this discussion. People ask Vinoba questions thereon and he prefers to answer them whenever raised. That helps clarification of ideas and propagation of the mission.

The result is that the article is withdrawn, for the simple reason that it is not what it purports to be, namely "Shri Vinoba's Reply to Shri Patil"

I notice that this article has been reproduced or commented upon by some papers Both D M and I regret that they and the readers have been inadvertently misled by us

Wardha, 7-6-'52 K. G. MASHRUWALA

Bharatan Kumarappa on Prohibition

I wonder if the attention of the readers of *Harijan* has been drawn to the excellent series of articles which Dr Bharatan Kumarappa has been lately contributing to a number of English newspapers He makes a dispassionate study of the problem of drink and the duty of the State therein from various angles They ought to be studied by all Governments, legislators and social workers I hope when the series is over they will be published along with translations. In his latest article he has shown how Prohibition had succeeded even in U S, but had been abandoned under the pressure of vested interests, which virtually control the political machine there

Wardha, 2-6-'52 K G M.

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NOTES

Drink Unnecessary in Austria Too

Mrs Frances Standenath (Savitribehn), a loyal follower of Gandhiji in Austria in the course of a letter (7th May '52) writes

"Very much surprised but I am, when I read of divergences of opinions in India, whether there should be prohibition or abolition of prohibition In India there should be no question about it. Even in our country, though very cold during almost 8 months, there are also people—though not even (i e too) many—which don't drink Unnecessary to say that also I myself, though I had since the last (many) years no money for heating and though I put not a single time a fire in my room during the long cold winter with only 3 or 4 degrees Celsius (i.e below 40°F) in my room—but to take a drop of alcoholic drinks does not come in my mind

"Yesterday, I read "Health Minister" in *Harijan* And I shook my head and must say to myself It is really no joke! In every country the same! The letter and your answer could be written in every country and in every profession and business or vocation"

21-5-'52 K G M

Bhoodan Receipts of the Year

From the Shivarampalli Sarvodaya Conference (April 1951) to the Sevapuri Conference (19th April 1952) in the areas toured by Shri Vinoba namely parts of Hyderabad (Telangana) Madhya Pradesh, Madhya Bharat, Rajasthan Vindhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh, 4,836 owners donated 1,02 363 acres of land

Since Sevapuri, till the end of May about 2,500 persons from various parts of India have donated more than 70,000 acres Thus the total figure of donations comes to 1 75 000 acres at least the quota of U P. alone being 1,32,416 acres upto 28th May. They include besides the States enumerated above some other States or provinces also. Their exact details are not as yet available and reports from some like Maharashtra, Saurashtra, Bihar etc. are still awaited In round numbers (for all except U.P.) the province-wise figures from which reports have been received are as under

	Acres	
Telangana (Hyderabad)	15,000	
Madhya Pradesh	7,000	
Vindhya Pradesh	1,000	
Rajasthan	1 000	
Madhya Bharat	2,000	
Delhi	1,000	
Gujarat	2,500	
Orissa	1,000	
Madras	7,000	
	37,500	
Uttar Pradesh	1,32,416	upto 28th May
Extra	5,100	before 31st May
Total	1,75,016	

Some of the U P districts have nearly completed or exceeded the quota fixed for them Originally, a quota of 10 000 acres had been fixed for each district. But since the size of the districts is very much irregular, a change had to be made in their quotas Thus the quota for Bundelkhand div[illegible] 00 acres, per district, its Hamirpur [illegible] nated 18 000 and promised 8,000 [illegible] a lakh acres from the Banda dis[illegible] 12 500 and Kanpur 13 000 their [illegible] each Kanpur has also promised [illegible]

It is also [illegible] Land-Gifts Mission to request donors to donate [illegible] an, agricultural implements, seeds etc. The people are responding to these appeals

LAXMINARAYAN BHARTIYA

Camp Sevapuri ([illegible]rakut)

(From Hindi)

U P. Government Note in Aid of Bhoodan

[The Uttar Pradesh Government has issued the following instructions to its Land Reforms Commissioner as preliminary to the enactment of a law for regularizing *Bhoodan* The Governments of Hyderabad, Madhya Pradesh, and some other States also have issued helpful instructions to their officers It is hoped the remaining States will also render similar help—K G M]

Dated Lucknow, May 29, 1952

No 737R/1-A—217/52

Sir

I am directed to address you on the questions relating to the *Bhumidan* Movement started by Acharya Vinoba Bhave in connection with which he is touring the countryside in this State The question of bringing out an enactment for the purposes of regularizing the gifts in favour of Acharyaji and the letting of land by him is under active consideration of Government It will however take some time For the present it is considered necessary that the District Officers may be requested to depute *patwaris* and/or *kanungos* of the circle to the villages which are visited by Acheryaji and his party They should remain present at the time when *Dans* are made and the land is let out by Acharyaji and his co-workers. It is recognized that the *patwaris* or *kanungos* would not be able to make any entries about the transactions in the record of rights so long as the present law is in existence But they could unobjectionably make entries about the *dan* and the lettings in their diaries They should note the name of the donor, the area and situation and if possible the khasra (khalsa?) nos of the land donated, the date on which donation has been made, and any special conditions or terms agreed upon between the donors and the donees about the land. In case of letting too, they should note the date of letting the name of lessee, the area let out and the terms or condition of the leases. They should also try to obtain the signatures of the donors, the lessees and of any member of Acharyaji's party whom Acharyaji may nominate for this purpose This record, if maintained properly, will be of considerable help if and when it is possible to regularize these proceedings. I am to request you to issue necessary orders to all the District Officers.

Yours faithfully,
(Sd.) Zahurul Hasan,
Secretary

HARIJAN DISABILITIES IN TAMILNAD

Swami Anand Tirth Regional Officer in charge of the Harijan Sevak Sangh's intensive scheme for the removal of the civil disabilities of Harijans in the Southern Range gives from Melur (Tamilnad) an account which is abridged below.

It is now nine months* since the Harijan Sevak Sangh started its intensive work for the removal of the social disabilities of the Harijans in the Melur Taluk of Madhurai District. Several disabilities affecting the use of tea-shops, haircutting saloons, wells, tanks, *chavadis* etc have been brought to light during this period. The few instances cited below show how deep-rooted the prejudice against Harijans still is in our society in spite of the strenuous work that has gone on for over twenty-five years and in spite of legislative enactments like the Civil Disabilities Removal Act which came into force five years ago.

"In Parli near Natham a Harijan youth who refused to take tea in a coconut shell and insisted on being served in a glass tumbler was kicked and shoed on the head by a caste-Hindu who was subsequently convicted and fined Rs 10/- by the Sub-Magistrate of Melur.

"At Kelavalvao I went with two Harijan boys to a tea-shop. A group of people drove away the boys who were with me and threatened to assault me. I had to take shelter in a near by school till the President of the Panchayat Board intervened and persuaded the angry crowd to leave.

In Kottagudi a village barber who refused haircut to a Harijan boy was charged by the Police and convicted by the Sub-Magistrate. But later, the Harijans were summoned by the caste-Hindus in the *chavadi* and warned against using the service of this barber, on pain of a collective fine being imposed on them.

"In Kidaripatti the Harijans are not allowed to take the corpses of their dead through the public footpath, nor to ride through the village streets on bicycles.

The Use of Ooranis (Public Wells)

"At Kelavalvoo the Harijans take water from a dirty pond in which men bathe and cattle are washed. When we encouraged the Harijans to go to the *ooranis* (protected water tank) they were abused and chased away by the caste-Hindus. There is a police station in this village but the police here are indifferent towards the disabilities of the Harijans. In Attukulam the caste-Hindus drilled a public well with night-soil and in Tiruvadu a caste-Hindu assaulted a Harijan woman who was pregnant and broke her utensils in an attempt to prevent her from using the public well. In the latter case the culprit was convicted by the Sub-Magistrate to pay a fine of Rs 15/- and thereafter the Harijans of the village have been freely making use of the *ooranis*. In Nundikovilpatti only three furlongs from the Taluk office Melur Harijans were not being allowed to use the public well till very recently when police intervention had to be sought.

In Thekkitheru Harijans who entered the Manthai *chavadi* during a public meeting were stoned and chased away. In Ellimangalam, to show their displeasure against the Harijans entering the village *chavadi* the caste-Hindus destroyed the poddy seedlings that the Harijans had raised in Government *porambokke* lands.

Attitude of Village Officials

In Navinipatti about two miles from Melur the Village Munsif himself is alleged to have objected to the Harijans wearing decent dress on the day of the Pongal festival and made two Harijan youths remove their shirts and upper cloth, prostrate on the ground and go away in their loin cloth.

The most painful oppression has been in Mattukulam, about ten miles from Mathurai City where the Village Munsif himself took a hostile attitude. Two Harijan youths went to a tea-shop, and as they were denied admission they complained to the Police. For this, one of them was tied to a pillar and mercilessly beaten up by a caste-Hindu boy under instructions from the elders. Another Harijan was assaulted with a knife by a servant of the Village Munsif. The Harijans were denied employment and subjected to a social boycott for taking water from the public *ooranis*. Shopkeepers refused to sell provisions to them and they were forced to starve for two days. The situation improved only after the intervention of the Revenue Divisional Officer. Recently two Harijans and I were brutally attacked by a band of caste-Hindus and beaten with firewood cudgels for having bathed in the tank and gone into a coffee club in front of the *chavadi*. We were admitted and treated in the Government Hospital in Madhurai. I sustained a fracture in the right foot due to which I cannot use the right leg and walk. Sixteen persons including the Village Munsif have been charged by the Police for rioting. But it is said that some Congressmen are trying for a compromise because some of their relatives are involved in this. These friends are also known to have approached the authorities in this connection.

"One feels very dejected and disheartened at the attitude of the caste-Hindus towards the Harijans, especially when one remembers that this sad state of affairs is persisting even after 25 years of the work initiated by Mahatma Gandhi. Gandhiji, who won Swaraj for us desired the end of all inequality in our society. He wanted us to identify ourselves with the downtrodden and to regard the Harijans as our blood-brothers. The Revenue and Police authorities can do a lot to remove the disabilities of the Harijans. But it is sad to have to say that in some places, the Police are apathetic and even Village Munsifs who are expected to give wide publicity to the Civil Disabilities Removal Act and enforce it have become the reactionary forces standing in the way of the Harijans exercising their elementary rights. Let the caste-Hindus, Congressmen and the Government realize that the mission of Gandhiji will not be fulfilled till the curse of untouchability is not wiped out from every nook and corner of our country." (Melur 22-2-53)

The above is a harrowing tale. That such persecution and intolerance of social equality can go on even after the adoption of a democratic Constitution, and almost side by side with a General Election based on political equality and adult suffrage is very significant. It proves again, if proof was necessary, that a clause in the Constitution can become effective only if it is accompanied with an intensive effort to bring about a revolution in the outlook and the lives of the people, and if the officers who are charged with the task of ensuring conformity to the Constitution are awakened enough not to tolerate or connive at breaches of the law. If social workers, upholders of law and the people are all unenlightened inactive, and even perverse, what can a mere clause in the Constitution or a law in accordance with it do? If the salt loseth its flavour, wherewith shall it be salted? The instances quoted by the correspondent should make us intensify our effort to end this blot on humanity.

R. V.

* Over a year now — Ed

A SOCIETY OF BROTHERS

[I am glad to share with the readers of *Harijan* the following letter received by me from a Seeker of Truth in far off South America It shows how earnest men all over the world are moved by similar ideals and objects It also shows how Vinoba's mission has attracted the world, and with what expectations the world looks to India for a right lead Is there any *ashram* or other brotherhood in India which answers fully to the type of Brotherhood described by M Art Rosenblum ? — J D]

Dear Jivanji Desai

I am very grateful for your letter of August 2, (in reply to mine of June 30), and I am sorry that I have not answered it sooner Along with my work in the community, I do not have very much time for reading and writing, and much of the time I have is spent in reading the *Harijan* I have found many interesting and worthwhile articles therein and the work of Vinoba is of special interest That so many people in India are alive to the need of the poor of their own country and the world is something that I had not previously realized It is a thing which could be of importance to many people throughout the world

* * *

The Soevdad Fraternal Hutteriana (or the Society of Brothers as we are usually called) is not a charity and it is not an organization for social work or for the service of the society as your *ashrams* appear to be

We do not believe that there is any value or purpose in trying to help or improve the existing order of the society in the world.

We believe that Capitalist (and also Bolshevist) society is based on the self interest of the individual (or the State) and not on a real seeking after the will of God

The aim and purpose of the Society of Brothers is a radical one It is our wish to make a new beginning and to form a totally new society which is based not on our will, but on the will of God

We believe that here in Primoneve (and in the Wheathill Bruderhof in England and some other places) the Sermon on the Mount is being *expressed* in actual life and that to the best of our ability we are showing a better way to the erring society

We believe that the teachings of Jesus require men to live together in true brotherhood and love for one another For this reason we have all surrendered our private property so that it may be shared with all who wish to come and live with us Our door is open to all men regardless of rich or poor, white or black German English, or Indian

In addition to giving up our money and property we are giving *ourselves* that is our life and our strength and our bodies and our minds , all must be surrendered to God that a new order may be established on this earth Each of us works, not for himself, but for the society, and the society as a whole, cares for the need of its members. Each serves according to his ability and receives according to his need, *so that no money is used between us*

In this way we seek to live and work together, with all who come to us, in the true spirit of brotherhood and love, and we give a clear witness for peace and non-violence A member of the society will not go to the war and each of us would rather go to the prison or even die than take part in evil such as war

These times are times of growing unrest throughout the world, and many people are seeking for a new way of life A terrible catastrophe is approaching our whole civilization — atomic warfare. All over the world there are people who see this catastrophe approaching and many have come to realize that it is being brought about by their own selfishness and greed for money.

For this reason and in fulfilment of Jesus' command we desire to send brothers out on mission to all parts of the world in which people are seeking the will of God At present we have brothers on mission tasks in the United States, Europe, and South America, and our greatest need is for more people to come to us so that we may enlarge our mission task and call more men and women to this life of brotherhood It is even my hope that some will come to us from India

As for China, I will write to Prof Alexander as soon as possible and I hope that he will help us to contact the Chinese brothers

I thank you once again for your help and interest and I remain,

Jan 27, 1952 Yours sincerely,
Society of Brothers, ART ROSENBLUM
Primanera alto
Paraguay, S America

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HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor: K. G. MASHRUWALA

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VOL XVI No 17 AHMEDABAD — SATURDAY, JUNE 21, 1952 TWO ANNAS

NOTES

Food Decontrol in Madras

At long last by abolishing food-rationing and controls Madras has given a lead to the rest of the States where strict controls and rationing are still in vogue There will now be free movement of food and open markets in Madras I hope other States will follow suit No doubt, States will have to keep food stocks in reserve partly to meet the exigencies of famines and partly to control profiteering Rajaji has taken care to see to it so far as Madras is concerned He has also divided Madras into six zones so that surplus districts are suitably linked with deficit ones

Now, cultivators and merchants should also play their part honestly Not only should they individually be unselfish and avoid trying to make money when people are in distress, but their associations should exert sufficient pressure upon the members of their class for this purpose That this is possible has been shown by the Kisan Mandal of Bhal-Nalkantha (Ahmedabad), whose activity I hope to report in another issue It is not sufficient if associations work for safeguarding the rights and interests only of their members, and neglect their duties to the people I hope they will whole-heartedly respond to the following wise counsel and appeal of Rajaji

> "There was enough food in the land to go round if people were careful and avoided waste He appealed to the people to exercise restraint and avoid greediness and to demonstrate that 'we can be honest and patriotic and god-fearing and prove ourselves worthy of the trust imposed on us. I am confident that my hopes will not be belied'" (P T.I.)

Wardha, 9-6-'52

Protest against Hindi

The action and attitude of those members of the House of People, who insisted on Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri's addressing them in English only or in English first and in Hindi afterwards in the House of People cannot be justified. It is a preposterous insistence on the part of the representatives of the Indian people that a minister of the State should use a foreign language instead of the official language of the people in the discharge of his duties. The demand and the subsequent walk-out become particularly irritating in face of the offer to give a gist of the speech in English to meet the difficulties of those who cannot understand Hindi during a transitional period

I hope Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri will continue the practice initiated by him, and he will be supported therein and followed by as many of his colleagues and members of Parliament as possible A day must come, and as soon as possible, when all statements, reports, bills etc will be drawn and initiated in Hindi I would not mind even if that Hindi were in the beginning mixed in a ridiculous manner with English words and phrases as in the instances pointed out from the proceedings of the U P Legislative Assembly, in a leaderette of the *Hindustan Times* (May 10, 1952), of which the following is an example

> 'Ab sawal yah rah jata hai vah *point* ap *refer* karen *through Bombay Government*, ki pahile daryaft kiya jae vah *news* kisne di aur us-ka khilaf *directly proceed* karen"

Wardha, 11-6-'52

Sarvodaya

The English monthly *Khadi World* published by the A.I S A, Tamil Nad Branch, will appear under the altered name of *Sarvodaya* from 1st July '52, under the auspices of the Sarva Seva Sangh Though the two names are essentially synonymous, perhaps the new name will be more acceptable and suggestive to the public I hope it will receive a good welcome, and establish itself as one of the important magazines of India

Everything depends upon the practical achievements of constructive workers, and the demonstration of truth, non-violence, mutual love, the spirit of sacrifice and other qualities of the head and the heart in their work and conduct.

Now that the close associates of Gandhiji are passing through a critical stage and there is an apprehension that they might speak in more voices than one, the Editor's task will be a difficult one He will have to take utmost care to see that *Sarvodaya* creates clarity and not chaos in the realm of thought.

The magazine will continue to be edited by Shri N Ramaswami from Sarvodaya Prachuralayam, Veerapandy, Tirupur, S I, the annual subscription being Rs 3/- only

Wardha, 10-6-'52

Civilization of Noises

'I would prefer any day to be a sadhu in the hills than be a member of the stock exchanges or be made to sit there and listen to those frightfully ugly noises there', said Mr Nehru 'Is that the civilization we want the tribal people to have? I hope not. I am quite sure that ultimately the civilisation of the tribal folk, of song and dance will last when the stock exchanges have ceased to exist in this country and other countries' —P.T.I (*Hitavada* June 8, 1952)

I would add to this the following from a letter of a satirical correspondent from Masulipatam

Perhaps you are fortunate enough (if is not so, if that would consoles him), to live in a quiet corner in the midst of calm surroundings, free from the din and dust incessantly raised by loud speakers, cinema advertisements radios etc. —features of progressive modern civilization! Every staff and every hotel and every nook and corner is equipped with a radio or a loud speaker in this municipal town in addition to the municipal loud speakers at every two furlongs. I wish I could run away to some remote village But the thought that our provincial governments want to go ahead with their rural development programmes, with installation of radio-sets in villages and on roadside to 'modernize' the villager and refresh the weary traveller prevents me from seeking solitude in rural areas Shall I go to the forests? But there again one fine morning I may meet with the noisy devils our ministers may install in every Forest Ranger's district loud speakers for the benefit of the souls and bodies of forest-dwellers! To go and live in an Ashram I am unfit. And, I don't know if even these Ashrams are free from radio-sets!

'I don't understand how our educated and cultured gentlemen tolerate the din and dust. The late G.B.S. has said somewhere 'the cinema-going mind is the most catastrophic mind' Cannot the UNESCO or our Prime Minister, the inheritor of a great heritage, do something to prevent the modern devils from enlarging into catastrophic proportions?"

I fully endorse my correspondent's irritation There should be some regulations which will enable citizens to have a reasonable amount of quietude for sleep, study and meditation. In the meanwhile, so far as the correspondent himself is concerned, he should not hesitate to take up abode in some small village out of the roadside, or in a forest in the Godavari district It will take some years for the noisy civilization to invade him there Why should he not enjoy peace for at least that long?

Wardha, 8-6-'52 K. G. M.

Sites of Towns

In the leading article of *Harijan*, May 31, 1952, Shri Vinoba is reported as saying that "a day may come when every man, whatever his station or office will work for an hour or two on agriculture and help to raise production of the country I hold that such loyal dedication to labour will contribute to the welfare of the country and the removal of inequality Maybe, that for this purpose, our present cities may have to be destroyed and rebuilt on a new plan"

We live in an age of planning, and in enlarging towns and villages, or building new ones, I suggest that care is needed to avoid using cultivable land for housing This may not always be possible when there is pressure of population and no non-cultivable land within reach, but where this is available, it should be preferred Extra distances and interests of investors in housing being of less importance than the fundamental fact that already we have not the land required for growing our food, there should be no regrets if cities are built to plans giving first priority to protection of agricultural land

Porbandar 5-6-'52 A. P. PATTANI

[The suggestion of the ex-Divan of Bhavnagar is timely and sound —K G M]

Hindi, Marathi and Gujerati Shorthand Classes

Shorthand classes in Hindi Marathi and Gujerati will be conducted under the auspices of Govindram Seksaria College of Commerce, Wardha from the 10th July 1952. Correspondence course will be finished within six months and Reporting course within ten months Besides students will be trained in Nagri Typewriting All the students completing their course will be examined and Diplomas will be awarded by the College to the successful candidates All those who are interested in the Courses should apply to the Principal, stating their age and qualifications before the 30th June, 1952. Printed application forms can be had from the College Office on sending stamps worth 2 pies

The fees for Correspondence course will be Rs 60/ and for Reporting will be Rs 120/

Accommodation for a few students is available in the College hostels Seats will have to be reserved by paying Rs 25/ in advance

As the Government offices, private institutions and newspapers are badly in need of Hindi, Marathi and Gujerati stenotypists, it is hoped that students will take full advantage of these classes.

The system taught in the College is recognised by the Committee appointed by the Constituent Assembly of India During the past four years students from various parts of India, like Assam, Bihar, U.P., Vindhya Pradesh and Saurashtra were admitted to these classes and have obtained the diploma *Shighrataipi Pravin*.

THE NEO-MALTHUSIAN MYTH

In the issue of the *Harijan* dated 7-6-1952, in the article 'Food and Population' we saw how the theory of hunger that famine is a natural and incurable phenomenon is based on wrong data and hence has no validity in fact." Another theory of hunger accuses nature of provoking this calamity by an indirect mechanism endowing man with excessive powers of reproduction and thus inviting over-population of the earth The so-called neo-Malthusians subscribe to this idea They would like to revive the doctrines brought forth by the English economist, Thomas Robert Malthus, at the end of the 18th century"

De Castro, in his book *Geography of Hunger* examines this theory and puts down his conclusion as follows:

> Malthus's theory lacked a scientific basis His first error was to consider the growth of population as an independent variable, isolated from other social phenomena whereas in fact such increase is strictly dependent on political and economic factors His notion of a natural law governing the growth of population was challenged by Marx, who pointed out that what really occur are historical tendencies or cycles which change from one period to another in accordance with changing social organizations. Further, history itself has completely disproved the predictions of Malthus. For a time after the publication of his

theories the growth of world population seemed to conform his predictions but before the end of the last century the increase had lost its impetus. Fertility began to decline in various countries and side by side with the spectre of over-population appeared that of under-population.

"The central doctrine of Malthus 'was thus completely contradicted by historical evolution' says the wellknown demographer Imre Ferenczi Dr W R. Aykroyd, Director of the Division on Nutrition of the F.A.O., wrote in 1937 that, 'now in western civilisation the spectre raised by Malthus has been laid' Yet his theory long buried in the ruins of his frightening predictions has lately been dug up and used to project new and still more terrifying forecasts, culminating in the prophesy of the end of a world depopulated by famine." (P 23)

And he explains how this revival of a wrong doctrine became possible today He says,

'The revival of Malthusian theory has been possible because our period of history generates receptiveness similar to that of Malthus's day The English economist lived in a time of revolution when people were nervous and doubtful about the future, a state of mind recurring on a large scale, in our social revolution. The present world situation involves such a radical transformation of social processes that it is quite impossible to foresee the future of the world. Julian Huxley has said that the present revolution, as among revolutions is highly revolutionary

'Our blind flight into the unknown tends to frighten prudent spirits and fear leads them now, as it did when Malthus lived to attribute social unrest to the sheer number of human beings When the neo-Malthusians say that mankind is starving and condemned to perish in universal famine because of its inadequately controlled birth rate, they are simply blaming the hungry for the fact that there is hunger It seems to them that famished populations, raising the demographic pressure of the world by their delirium of reproduction, are criminals

"These criminals are guilty of the crime of hunger, for in the final analysis the neo-Malthusian theory is one of the born starving, who starves because he is born to starve just as the criminal, in the old Lombrosian theory kills and robs because he is born to do so. Like born criminals the starving deserve an exemplary punishment, and so they are condemned to extermination either by individual starvation or by controlling reproduction until the born-to-starve disappear from the face of the earth. They are guilty of the masochistic crime of inventing hunger and suffering it." (P 24)

Having thus examined Malthus's theory, De Castro turns to its new followers and says about their position as follows

"The neo-Malthusians have invented nothing their theories rest on the same precarious base that supported Malthus To give a colour of reality to their prophecies, they based their predictions on the average annual coefficient of population increase during the last two centuries, and calculated that in three hundred years the world would have 21 billion inhabitants. This calculation has as little value as those of Malthus which have already been disproved by history The social changes of the next three hundred years may as likely bring a decrease as an increase in the present population. Since we have no information about society in the coming centuries, long range predictions of population changes are pure speculations and consequently of no practical value '

The neo-Malthusians raise another alarm as well, viz 'that food production cannot be increased because we have reached the practical limits of soil utilization as well as of human saturation' As we saw in the previous article 'Food and Population', the facts belie this 'Of the 50 per cent of the globe's soil which can be cultivated, only 10 per cent is being used; and second that production per acre in most of the world could be greatly increased by rational agricultural practices . The crop yield of wartime Britain demonstrates overwhelmingly that necessity can inspire an agricultural expansion far beyond the limits of normal expectation '

And hence De Castro further observes,

"I do not entirely agree with Marx's statement that production can be increased indefinitely, but I do believe that we are still a very great distance from its maximum limits and consequently I am not alarmed by the ghost of Malthus, or, as I always have an impulse to put it by the Malthusian scarecrow . To the neo-Malthusians the peoples of the world are a calamity worse than a flock of hungry birds or a thick cloud of locusts threatening to devour all the harvest of their neat little orchard which, as we have seen, occupies only 10 per cent of the surface of the earth. Against this threat to the nutritional security and general living standard of the richer (italics mine) populations, the neo-Malthusians hold in the four corners of the world the scarecrows of their excess population theories -- scarecrows that are both symbols and phantoms. A poet has called them "sculptures of the fear of our people and our epoch" "

Along with the contention of the neo-Malthusians, he dismisses the point of those who draw lurid pictures of the dangers of soil erosion While he admits that soil erosion is a serious factor in some parts of the world, he believes that there has been a great deal of exaggeration and sensationalism on the subject As he says,

"If erosion were the devouring and insatiable monster some people have painted, much of the world would already be barren and devoid of life The truth is that soil erosion and world overpopulation can at most be regarded as capable of causing hunger in future epochs but never in our era. It seems a contradiction, even a subterfuge to make so much noise about these latent possibilities and at the same time to pass by in silence the deleterious factors that operate before our eyes, and that are responsible for the decadence of the world at present." (P 27)

What these factors are according to De Castro, we shall see in the next issue According to him, "much more serious than erosion of the soil's riches, a process taking place in slow motion, is the violent erosion of human wealth, the deterioration of human beings through hunger and mal-nutrition." It is factors bringing about such decadence of the world that demand an immediate remedy and an urgent cure This we shall take up in the next issue.

16-5-'52 M P DESAI

SELF-RESTRAINT v. SELF-INDULGENCE

By Mahatma Gandhi

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NAPALM AND BACTERIOLOGICAL BOMBS

The napalm bomb has been described as follows

> "The bomb weighs between 100 to 500 lbs and its chief component is jellied petrol. It can scorch half an acre of land with a heat 14 times hotter than boiling water According to a report, napalm destroyed 16 square miles of Tokyo in a raid of 1945 while the atom bomb affected 4½ square miles When a bomb hits a village, according to observations made in Korea the people are caught and burned in just the postures in which they are found." (From *The Guardian*, May 22 1952)

Gruesome pictures and descriptions of the effects of this bomb have appeared in some papers Imagine all men, women, children, and animals of a big Indian town being instantly scorched with burning petrol, the whole skin getting parched, making them incapable of even changing their position, or expressing their grief, and then dying one by one That is the napalm bomb

It is now long since allegations appeared in the papers against U N forces operating in China and Korea that they had resorted to the use of napalm and bacteriological bombs in their mission for the liberation of the Koreans. For some time it did not appear clear to what extent the allegations were truthful The allegation about bacteriological bombs is still denied by U. S authorities though stoutly reaffirmed by the Chinese The charge of having used napalm bombs may be taken as almost admitted It is also not denied that U S does manufacture and possess bacteriological bombs, and even as it experiments upon atom-bombs it may be presumed to desire to experiment upon the other ones Tests on atom bombs can be made even in sandy deserts, where no human life exists I wonder if the present extra-ordinary dust storms have not something to do with these experiments. However, leaving this aside, desert experiments are not possible with bacteriological bombs The passion for scientific research has not yet become Neronian enough with U S Government and scientists to impel them to test the action of the bombs on some town or city in U S itself It cannot be confidently said that the passion for adventure will never develop to that extent some day Killing of prisoners for purposes of medical studies and research has not been unknown in history. The desire to monkey with the destructive weapons might any day lead power-blind and passion-blind authorities to destroy their own people if opportunities are not easily available to destroy distant ones.

Let it be granted that the Chinese charge of the U.N. forces having used bacteriological bombs is groundless What have they to say about napalm bombs? So long as such mode of warfare and the manufacture and experimentation of such weapons is not held an act of treason against the entire creation, there is always the possibility of these cruelties being heartlessly perpetrated.

U N's military intervention in the Korean affair was not looked upon without misgivings even when it commenced, Later events confirmed the misgivings showing that it was really a rivalry between U S (operating under the name of U N) and U S S R, or China, each trying to establish its supremacy in Korea So far as the ordinary people of Korea were concerned, they were like mere ants and plants which are mercilessly crushed when two elephants engage in a duel. Their liberation has been their virtual extinction, and a cruel and torturous one for that.

I confess I do not understand international politics, and like Gandhiji put my faith in Shri Nehru's lead in the matter But no international situation can be more important than the fundamental principles of humanity and ethics And I cannot but feel that the United Nations Organization and the nations which gave their consent to the name of the U N being used in the Korean warfare, let down humanity in general and the people of Korea in particular

Wardha, 27-5-'52 K. G MASHRUWALA

SHRI VINOBA'S UTTAR PRADESH TOUR — IV

Prasad for Land

At one place Vinoba started a new method of asking gifts The people of a village lying on our way to the next halting station had arranged for our breakfast. They had brought some fruits and other eatables Vinoba began by distributing them to the people by way of *prasad* (offering returned as grace), and asking each receiver to give him land From that day on, receiving *prasad* and donating land became a daily practice. Along with the *prasad*, we began to receive 20 acres, where about an acre or two only had been promised, and 5 to 10 acres at least where nothing had been expected. This method had its disadvantage also A good deal of time was taken up in the distribution and it got very late and hot by the time we reached the place of destination for the day. But Vinoba's hunger for land did not mind all these inconveniences Did not Bapu stretch his palm eagerly from his third class compartment and in meetings to receive pies and pice for Harijans?

Four-fold Programmes

Vinoba lays stress on four points in his speeches and talks- The eastern districts of U P have had rather dry years for some years past. Vinoba asks the people to earnestly take up the programme of boring tube-wells and bringing out the hidden Saraswati that flows underground* People have been doing so, but are seriously handicapped for want of cement and coal Vinoba has

* The place of confluence of the Ganga and the Jamna near Allahabad, is called *Triveni Sangam* i.e the meeting place of three rivers. Actually only two rivers meet there. But as the two rivers join together in the middle of the current there is a partial mixture of the two waters with a shade of colour different from the colours of either the Ganga or the Jamna This is poetically imagined as the water of a third hidden river named, Saraswati, which is thrown up by the confluence.

drawn the attention of the Government to expedite these supplies After *bhoodan*, this is the second item The third and the fourth items are respectively village industries and Khadi. Vinoba has been telling government servants also that they should be invariably clad in Khadi. In India Khadi must be accepted as the only proper material of dress when making appearance in society and the public They must feel proud to put on clothes made of cloth spun and woven by their own countrymen. Vinoba had spoken about this to the members of the Planning Commission also

Village Industries

There is hardly a village industry that has survived in these districts—the sugar factories having destroyed the only one that was in a vigorously thriving condition until recently There was a period when the district of Deoria alone exported *Khandsari* (village-made sugar) worth a crore of rupees Even the success of the *Bhoodan-Yajna* will not solve the entire problem of village uplift and prosperity Agriculture must be associated with Khadi and village industries, and Vinoba stresses that point at every place Our daily programme of congregational spinning becomes a very impressive exhibition and Vinoba takes that opportunity to explain to the people the importance of Khadi.

Pardah

I referred once to the pardah system prevailing in these parts In East U.P., we saw even more painful results of this custom Women are anxious to see Vinoba, but they are prevented from doing so during day time Hence, they come at night (late in the evening) At Muhammadabad they walked a distance of one mile at night to meet us. The same thing happened at several other places At Narehi they could not come even at night and arrived at 3 a.m. in the morning! They joined the prayers at 4 a.m. and returned. They came only to have his sight regarding that as sufficient for their salvation. Vinoba is unable to talk to them and enlighten their vision and broaden their thought More than half the human talent of U.P. is thus left inactive and dormant. In Telangana the Communist propaganda has penetrated deep even among women.

The Purificatory Influence of the Movement

Some of the experiences which we have had have shown how the movement has been exerting purificatory influence upon Government servants. We have received considerable co-operation from officers throughout the tour But it has been voluntary in many cases. We came across Tahsildars who had toiled through their *tahsil* to prepare the people for *bhoodan*. They could have charged travelling allowance for this but some of them did not do so. A *kanungo* (village officer) in the Ganjpur district gave away his six acres of land, saying that unless he began with his own contribution, how could he make an appeal to others? In Ballia District, a *patwari* (another village officer) observed a fast on the day on which we reached his village, so that his village might give as much land as possible He gave an acre himself It was followed by gifts of sixty acres by others

Objection to Government Co-operation

Some Communist friends objected to Vinoba accepting co-operation of Government officers in *Bhoodan-Yajna*. It was possible they said, that the officers exerted the pressure of their official position in obtaining the gifts. Vinoba's answer was that his mission required the co-operation of every one in the country and he could not reject that of any But he had given his assurance to every one that if it was brought to his notice that a gift had been made under pressure, he would tear up his gift-deed even though legalised But he had not till then come across any such instance He asked the questioners to remember that they were no longer living under a foreign government. It was a national government even if it might not be one which subscribed to the ideology of the questioners or was not composed of the party to which they belonged. A foreign government might probably not give him any co-operation. But no Swaraj government, that was not *satanic* could view non-co-operate with him in this mission.

Communist Propaganda

We found that the Communist propaganda has gone deep into the villages of East U.P. Several causes natural as well as man-made have contributed to it. Parts of Ajamgarh and Ballia districts have been considerably influenced by Communist thought. Villagers have heard the names of Moscow, Stalingrad etc. There have been also many cases of arson, loot and murder As the party is not banned in U.P. as it was in Telangana, we witnessed the red flag in almost all our meetings. We also met Communist workers. They put questions to which Vinoba gave convincing replies The result was that they began to look upon the movement with sympathy and to offer co-operation At Ballia, they even presented an address to Vinoba

When Vinoba noticed in many of his meetings in the Ballia district that they were attended by many respectable people who made handsome donations also, but constructive workers were rarely to be seen he remarked that he was not surprised to see Communism thriving there They were the only workers, who cared to work among the people. If constructive workers would befriend and work among the poor, Communism would find no ground to thrive there.

In his discussions with and replies to Communists Vinoba constantly explained the difference between *Samyavada* (Communism) and *Samyayoga* (practice of equality) it helped to make clear their thinking and that of the people present at the meeting

Questions and Answers

Before I close let me report some important and interesting questions and answers between various questioners and Vinoba

Q There is wide-spread and deep discontent among the people against the present administration. What is the Congress plan for removing it?

A It is true that there is some discontent among the people against the present administration. Nevertheless the people have voted the Congress, and have done so after an examination of its career of the last 4 or 5 years. It is possible that they have done so on the consideration that no other party might have achieved or was likely to achieve even what the Congress had done, with the result that it would lead to greater discontent. All the same, let us hope that the Congress will attempt to remove the present discontent

Q Do you feel the need for *Samyavad* (Communism)?

A I do not believe in *Samyavad*, I believe in *Samyayoga* (the practice of equality) and feel its need.

Q If nobody can have as you say ownership over land, how can you ask for gift of land?

A This is mere quibbling The fact is that people have in their possession thousands of acres of land. They are now parting with their possessions for the poor and I am accepting these gifts I have thus received over one *lakh* acres which means provision of the means of life for a very great number of persons. That should be a matter of delight to all If this ethical virtue of sharing what one has with those who have it not grows and spreads it will do good to the community As for the right of ownership I do not recognise it even in the case of my body However since the people possess land (as I possess the body) it can and should be given Shankaracharya said that the world was an illusion. All the same, we have to live and act in it. Therefore we should all do our bit to help the movement grow

Q Do you think that this programme of collection of land through gifts will solve the problem of just distribution of land?

A If land-gift becomes a normal feature of our social

life it will. The legislation (about abolition of zamindaris) will not solve the problem of distribution. *Bhoodan* is the only way of conferring land on the landless.

Asked about the question of compensation Vinoba said that it bristled with numerous difficulties. The principle of compensation has been accepted by the Constitution. Apart from that compensation would not bring land to the poor. At the most it will give relief to the land occupying tillers. *Bhoodan* alone solves the problem of land to the landless. But the zamindars may give up their right to compensation if I have succeed in this way charities of about a lakh of rupees.

Q Will *Bhoodan Yojna* solve the land problem?

A Yes. And in a much better manner than by any other method.

Q Do you feel the need of the Congress continuing as a political party?

A I do not feel the need even of the body still. I do not commit suicide. You know that Congress exists and people have voted it to power. How can you then raise the question of the need of a body which not only exists but also enjoys the confidence of the people?

Q If you were asked to choose between the Communist Government of China and the Congress Government which would you choose?

A Each one loves his own mother most. The Chinese Government may be good for the Chinese but the Indians will naturally like an Indian Government.

Q Do you believe in the programme of R.S.S.?

A I do not know their programme. But I know that there are some good persons in it. I do not recognise the Sangh. I recognise individuals only.

Q You are distributing very small plots of land. It will reduce the yield.

A I do not accept this. I discussed the question with the Planning Commission and they agreed with me. You may go to our Pavnar Ashram and see for yourself how they are working on a small plot of land. The report has been published in the March issue of *Sarvodaya*.

Q The Socialists say that it will take five hundred years to solve the land problem by your method. What do you say to that?

A Revolutionaries do not proceed according to the rule of three. Gandhiji promised Swaraj in the course of a year. If we had obeyed him to the full, if Government servants lawyers and students all had given up their vocations jointly on the same day we would have got Swaraj then. Even so we did get it in 25 years. It took us 25 years because we did not follow his programme fully. It will take long if my co-workers and I have to do it ourselves and you just while away your time sitting and watching. This is not a programme based on a mechanical contrivance (*yantra*) or an orderly movement (*tantra*). It is the inspiration of an incantation (*mantra*). Once a *mantra* inlects a society it works with magical speed. In the beginning it takes a long time to discover a *mantra*. It took many years before man discovered the method of creating a light. But once a lamp was lit, it dispelled instantly not only the darkness of ages, it could lit thousands of other lamps. Similarly the movement may well fulfil itself not in 500 years, but even in the course of a single year. In fact the work is done already. As Krishna said to Arjuna "Be thou merely the outward agent O Arjuna the Kauravas are slain already." So I regard this work. The land has already slipped away from the possession of landowners to the landless. The zamindars are expected only to be the outward agents for completing a settled fact.

Q Gandhiji had named his successor. Who is to be your successor for carrying out this work in future?

A God is my successor one better than even Mahatmaji. The land is going to remain where it is. So I need not worry about the land. But if it is necessary for some one to reorganise it, God will see to it.

(Abridged from Hindi) D. M.

"BAPU RAJ"

Now that my articles regarding Bapu's ideals for Free India have begun appearing in *Harijan*, I would like to share with the readers my experiences during my treks on horse-back through the villages for contacting the peasantry on the subject, and explain how the movement is developing.

But how am I to proceed with my narrative? Kisharlalbhai does not like the term "Bapu Raj". I know what Kisharlalbhai means, and appreciate it, but I would appeal to him to have a little leniency for the peasantry and for me who am by nature of the fields and forests.

The following passage from my opening speech on February 12th shows what I mean.

Mahatma Gandhi is for us Bapuji Father, most especially is he Father to the peasantry of India, for whose welfare he worked and prayed throughout his life. We know that a good father can never wish ill of his children, and that, therefore the path shown to us by Bapuji is the one path by which the villages of India which mean the real and eternal India can be brought back to happiness, strength and health.

Let us not deny the peasantry the marvellous value of being able to associate the precious name of Bapu with this form of Raj.

So, in anticipation of Kisharlalbhai's forgiveness I proceed with my narrative.

On February 12th in village Bharapur Khori (Saharanpur District) I launched the campaign before some 5,000 peasants who had gathered there for the yearly Mela. After that I set out on horse-back and travelled over 200 miles through the villages of Saharanpur, Muzaffarnagar and Bijnor districts. I avoided all towns and practically all highroads. Day after day I rode between the fields along the lanes now and then through forests, and then again through fields and fields—India the real India, and source of all our strength and greatness.

There were no pre-arrangements, the meetings being announced by beat of drums after our arrival in the village. In the day-time meetings, the attendance varied from 100 to 300 peasants and in the evening meetings (8 p.m.) 200 to 500 and sometimes more. The villagers listened with remarkable attention and appreciation. After the meetings or early the next morning, some of them would come to have a talk. In no place did they express any misgivings or disapproval. In a nutshell the meaning of their reaction was: We are with you, go ahead, and that quickly.

Their discontent is rising day by day. Like a great raincloud it has gathered on the horizon and is already mounting into the sky. Before long the deluge of rain will come. If we do not hurry up and dig a channel to carry the water in the right direction, it will flood out chaotically all over the land, causing confusion and damage. The digging of this channel does not mean the lengthy preparation of the peasants minds for accepting Bapu's kind of Raj. They are ready. It means simply showing them clearly Bapu's full programme and then helping them to units for its attainment. It is not the peasants who have not faith in Bapu but the leaders and workers who have not had the conviction and courage to show to the peasantry the whole of what Bapu told us to give them.

Precious time is being lost in political and intellectual discussions and reasonings, whereas the hour to act boldly has come.

> There is a tide in the affair of men
> Which taken at the flood, leads on to fortune;
> Omitted, all the voyage of their life
> Is bound to shallows and in misaries
> On such a full sea are we now afloat;
> And we must take the current when it serves
> Or lose our ventures.

(Shakespeare)

As a result of my riding through the villages a little monthly *Hindi Patrika* has come into existence as it were of its own accord, for I had no idea this development would take place In it I address myself directly and entirely to the peasantry, and it is the means by which I can keep in touch with a wide circle of villages

The first number which has just come from the Press gives a report of my speech on February 12th showing the line of action I am taking and the other articles are 'Tractors or Bullocks', 'Artificial Manure,' and "Distribution of Zamindari Lands"; A few copies are also being prepared in English Anyone interested in the subject can get copies (Hindi or English) from the publisher Shri Dharampal Pashulok, P O Rishikesh District Dehra Dun, U P The price is three annas a copy or rupee one for six months, post free I hope to be able to increase the size of the *Patrika* in the ensuing issue, without increasing the price. People wishing to write to me personally should address me at Gopal Ashram, P O Pilkhi, District Tehri-Garhwal, U.P where I am now going, and where I intend to stay till after the rains, when I will again go riding through the villages of the plains Meanwhile I shall devote myself to consolidation of the work through writing at that very spot where the inspiration to start the movement first came to me

Pashulok, 21-4-52 MIRA

Note.—I regret I still feel that terms like "Bapu Raj", "Gandhi Raj" etc should not be brought into use.

K G. M.

THE DRINK CURSE

(By M K Gandhi)

I ask you to accept my evidence that the country as a whole is sick of the drink curse Those unfortunate men who have become slaves to the habit, require to be helped against themselves. Some of them even ask to be helped I invite you to take advantage of the wave of feeling that has been roused against the drink traffic The agitation arose spontaneously Believe me, the deprivation to the Government of the drink revenue is of the least importance in the campaign You will not be deceived by the specious argument that India must not be made sober by compulsion and that those who wish to drink must have facilities provided for them. The State does not cater for the vices of its people We do not regulate or license houses of ill fame We do not provide facilities for thieves to indulge their propensity for thieving I hold drink to be more damnable than thieving and perhaps even prostitution. Is it not often the parent of both? I ask you to join the country in sweeping out of existence the drink revenue and abolishing the liquor-shops

Young India, 8-6-'21

The moral loss is even greater than the financial Drinks and drugs degrade those who are addicted to them and those who traffic in them The drunkard forgets the distinction between wife, mother and sister and indulges in crimes of which in his sober moments he will be ashamed. Any one who has anything to do with labour knows to what state the labourers are reduced when they are under the satanic influence of drink. Nor are the other classes better off

Young India, 4-2-'26

SHRI PATIL'S APPREHENSIONS—IV

Large Holdings

The burden of my argument last week was that 'convenient holding' and 'economic holding' should be considered apart from each other, and that whether a holding is large or small, our immediate attention should better be concentrated on intensive cultivation in order to make agriculture most advantageous

The necessity of having continuous plots of larger size than those generally existing at present is not denied But consolidation, combination and collectivization of holdings is a long-term programme It is a controversial question and not easy of decision Even after we have come to some clear decisions about the manner of doing it and enacted legislation about it, it will take long before the administrative machinery is able to implement it The work can be carried on without disturbing the efforts for making every type of cultivation intensive From every point of view it is the latter programme which requires our immediate attention and action It means providing whatever facility that can be made available to every cultivator, be he the smallest one with less than a *bigha*, or a large one with an undivided plot of 500 acres, to improve his cultivation The facilities to be provided might take a hundred forms. And in distributing these facilities, it is not the large cultivator who should be served first or preferred, but the smallest and the least resourceful one. The number of the latter is legion, and in the aggregate they cultivate a greater area and produce more crops than the large cultivators. It may be desirable that the small cultivators should be drawn together not only in their agricultural interests, but also in their agricultural operations But their inability to do so should not be the reason for not making their cultivation as much successful as possible The reason for their unwillingness to combine with others should also be studied. Even as a mother would feed the weakest child first, a Government pledged to the welfare of the people should attend first to the needs of the cultivator who is poor, backward, even unintelligent and foolishly obstinate, and then lead him to forms of co-operation, consolidation etc

India's agriculture suffers because India's administration is not carried on on the principle of the service of the most backward and poor first. Besides the delays of red-tapism, it neglects the poor cultivator, and practically compels him to go to the moneylender or the selfish, the tyrants and the influential ones of his own class Not on account of any deliberate callousness of heart or calculated policy, but instinctively our caste-conscious and class-minded officers attend to the needs of the influential classes and disregard those of the backward ones The latter are suppressed at every step. Co-operative and village management are good ideas, but when they are brought about in order to make things easy for

the *administration*, and in a way which vests power into the hands of a small clique, they become tyrannical.

Vinoba has said repeatedly that this present distribution will not stand in the way of general agrarian reforms As it is, we are a nation of small-holders, and our laws of inheritance and transfer may have to be suitably amended in order to prevent fragmentation and transfer of land on the one hand into the hands of non-cultivators and on the other into those of giant cultivators or combines Some limit to the extent of a holding must be fixed Vinoba does not ask exemption for his donees from the operation of such laws They will apply to them also along with others. Rather Vinoba has seen to it that there will be no transfer of land for ten years at least It may be assumed that that period is sufficient for every State to pass such laws as may be necessary to put into operation its permanent agrarian policy

As to what that policy should be, Vinoba has indicated that he wants the whole village to be organized as a single unit on the principle of the joint family Whether within the village, the cultivated plots should be individually large or small, and how large and small, will depend upon various matters; but, subject to correction by him I believe, he has no objection on principle to the plots being sufficiently large, if the villagers are agreeable, and if the principle of employment for every one and provision of necessities to every one is ensured Though there is not much room in India for mechanized cultivation, if without harm to the principles of self-sufficiency, ensuring the largest amount of self-dependence possible, and providing employment to every one, mechanization can be used advantageously to any extent, there is no objection to consider it At present it appears to be merely an academic question If mechanization on any large scale is out of question in India, it is clear that the plots cannot be too large

Joint large-scale cultivation can be brought about in various ways The Planning Commission has suggested two namely, that of registered farms and co-operative farming, leading to village management Communists advocate collective farming All the three reduce the actual cultivator to the position of a mere wage earner, and make agriculture a centrally directed activity, subservient to the industrial and commercial policy of the State If the State policy is non-Communist it might order production of all jute, cotton, sugar-cane, tea, coffee, tobacco etc, and feed the country on imported food on the principle of cheapness If it is Communist, it might feed the worker well, but relegate him virtually to the same position as his well-fed bullocks Against the former, some day he might be able to protest by democratic methods, if there is no war for a long period. Against the latter, he would be faced against a single-party's totalitarian dictatorship. An indentured labourer could obtain relief at the end of the term of his agreement The Communist worker would be at best a well-fed slave of the State from birth to death.

None of these can satisfy the just and reasonable aspirations of man We want a system which will give every man reasonable scope for free-will and action in the interest of himself as well as society We want a system in which work a man must but not for money but for himself and society, and not out of fear, but out of his own love and the love which society shows to him

It is difficult to say what should be the exact form of such a system I realize, and it should be realized that we cannot evolve a system which can be altogether perfect We are imperfect beings and have to evolve systems for imperfect beings Hence none of our systems can be entirely free from fault, and none can be good for all times While, therefore, we might point out where a system adds to our convenience and comfort or is harmful, we need not be too dogmatic, if the implementation is honest, done with the best of motives and in a non-violent manner I suggested some ideas in this connection in 1950-1951 (*Vide Harijan*, 16th Sept '50, 17th Feb '51 and 17th March '51) while discussing Collective Co-operation in Agriculture But the ideas have been advocated without a sense of dogmatism I have an open mind on the subject All that I can say is that the system proposed by the Planning Commission as also the one enforced in Communist countries does not satisfy me

Two things more in conclusion They have been often stressed before and may be done so again Agriculture will never stand alone It must be, as Wilfred Wellock puts it, married to handicrafts and industries Secondly, a thing which has to be purchased by every one, including the producers (labourers), at a price higher than the cost even by a pie, can never reach every one, no matter however abundantly produced

Wardha, 10-6-'52 K. G MASHRUWALA

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Dissolve Gandhism

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HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor: K. G. MASHRUWALA

VOL. XVI No 18 AHMEDABAD—SATURDAY, JUNE 28, 1952

ONCE AGAIN VANASPATI

Vanaspati has once again made its appearance in the House of the People The following Press reports have appeared

"New Delhi, June 16 Mr Nehru today turned down a demand for a ban on the production of *vanaspati* in India. Intervening at question time to reply to members in the House of the People who demanded its ban on the ground of its being injurious to health Mr Nehru said 'The Government is quite clear and convinced of the fact that the use of *vanaspati* is not harmful to health. By repeated scientific tests and research, it has been found that nobody suffered from it although *vanaspati* or its like is used by 75 per cent of the people the world over'

Mr D P Karmarkar, replying on behalf of the Food Minister said that the committee appointed by the Government to examine the extent of adulteration of *ghee* with *vanaspati* and other products had suggested that *vanaspati* be coloured orange by using carotene all concentrate as the colouring medium in addition to its latent colourisation with sesame oil

'The report was under the consideration of the Government which was now 'struggling' with the problem of colourisation Mr Karmarkar added.' (*The Times of India* June 12, 1952)

'Other recommendations were that *vanaspati* should be fortified with synthetic 'A' so that its nutritive value could be increased and that production should be so controlled that every batch that leaves the factory is certain to contain the requisite amount of sesame oil give a clear Boudouin test.

While the recommendations were still under consideration the Government had taken the following steps *vanaspati* should not have the colour or flavour of *ghee* It should be packed in the specified manner so that the purchaser is not deceived, *vanaspati* should not be stocked or sold from premises where pure *ghee* is also sold

As for colouring Mr Karmarkar said carotene oil concentrate was not produced in India. For the present it may have to be imported, but efforts would be made to produce it locally" (*The Hindustan Times* June 11 1952)

All this is unsatisfactory reading. Carotene, I understand is not the proper colouring material for distinguishing *vanaspati* from *ghee*, because it will make *vanaspati* indistinguishable from cow's *ghee* or butter *Vanaspati* has hitherto done its best to ruin the buffalo-*ghee* industry Is it now sought to destroy the cow-*ghee* production as well?

What are the grounds for rejecting the red oxide of iron, which gives a good rosy colour and makes the *vanaspati* easily distinguishable from both cow and buffalo *ghee*? The colour is not destroyed by an easy process. Phenolphthalein has also been mentioned in one of the notes of the Mysore Food Research Institute as a chemical which "makes a useful latent colour even at a very low level". What colour is that? Why has it been rejected?

How can adulteration be stopped by simply selling *ghee* and *vanaspati* from separate shops? The adulteration of *ghee* with *vanaspati* need not be done, and is not often done, in the shops The process can be carried out and, I understand, is carried out, in the cottages of the butter and *ghee* producers in villages It is mixed even before the milk is set for curds. The test methods of the *ghee* experts employed by municipalities are, to say the least, rough and ready, and not free from doubt There are instances which go to show that even Bombay experts have honestly adjudged adulterated *ghee* as genuine and *vice versa*

The Prime Minister's attitude is very regrettable. It is obstinate, and that itself is enough to render it inconsistent with a scientific approach His answer cannot be supported by facts It is difficult to understand how he says that 75 % people of the world use *vanaspati* or the like (margarine?) If his words mean what he says do 75 % of the people of Africa, and India China and other countries of the Far East who together comprise more than half the population of the world, use any of these normally? How can the *vanaspati* consumers in India be compared with the consumers of *vanaspati* or margarine of other countries? It should be remembered that *vanaspati* has to be consumed in India to a large extent by people who cannot supplement its deficiencies by other things like eggs, meat, or fatty foods. It should also be remembered that the economic life of India is based on agriculture and the cow As the Prime Minister himself frequently reminds all who are likely to forget it, the purchasing power of the people of India is very low How does he then support an industry, which (i) jeopardizes agriculture by making the bullock too costly (ii) indirectly, but without doubt, ruins the village dairy industry, (iii) directly strikes at the

root of the village *ghani* industry, (iv) removes in the first place the healthy ingredients of the fresh oil by 'refinement', (v) makes it more expensive by hydrogenation without adding anything whatever to its nutritive value, and (vi) as if this expensiveness were not sufficient, seeks to remove the deficiencies of *vanaspati* by fortifying it with synthetic vitamin 'A' and other artificial products? Is this the way of helping a people whose purchasing power is low?

The Prime Minister refers to "repeated scientific tests and research" The statement is an exaggeration Will the Government give a list and details of the tests and researches carried out in India by their experts and the exact reports of each? How many allopaths who practise medicine understand or even care to know what their patients eat or drink, and how a particular food affects their health? Let a patient ask a doctor, "What shall I eat?", and in more than 80 % of cases, the answer will be "Oh, anything you like" or "you must find it out yourself" The doctor has to say so, because he does not know much about the effects of food He has a superstitious belief in his medicine and will prescribe "miraculously effective drugs" to cure ailments however produced He will prescribe all sorts of vitamins to be taken from one end of the year to the other, but he does not know what exact food he should prescribe to his patient Since he does not know it, he regards questions about food selection as mere superstition. I doubt whether there are even a hundred doctors in the whole of India who have made a scientific study of their patients' food and food problems or possess data regarding them Dietetics and dietopathy are neglected subjects in modern medicine, at any rate in India A school of Ayurveda declares "If your diet is proper you need not take medicine if your diet is improper medicine is useless" This might be an extreme statement, but it shows that the subject of diet used to be very carefully studied in India at one time It has been given a very much secondary and unimportant place in modern medicine

Even if the doctors had the will they have not, at any rate in India, adequate means of testing how particular food stuffs affect health It is, therefore the evidence of the patients and the public that is more relevant even though it may not be very perfect

I doubt whether the Government have sufficient evidence even for rebutting the allegations that *vanaspati* tends to increase bronchial and skin troubles. Let the Health Ministers of the various States and the Centre direct a close inquiry into these allegations

Vanaspati is purely a mercantile venture thriving on its capacity to practise fraud This is the real reason for insistence on hydrogenation and resistance to colourization by industrialists, experts and Government, who all earn a good income from it How otherwise could eminent scientists and statesmen employ their talents to argue that the demand for colourization of *vanaspati* was comparable to one for colouring water which is used to adulterate milk? Such arguments convince none deceive none. They indicate that both the scientist and the statesman act in collusion with the industrialist and simply create estrangement between the Government and the people People cannot feel enthusiastic for giving co-operation to Government and industrialists suspected of wanting to build income and commerce by exploiting them.

Wardha, 15-6-'52 K G MASHRUWALA

DISSOLVE PARTIES

If the leaders of different political parties have some political sense they would dissolve their parties and form one party of all the *sevaks* of society There can be not only more than one point of view but 35 crore points of view But all that I want is the acceptance of a common programme for the betterment of the people I admire churning of thoughts (*vichar manthan*), but not conflict in action (*achar gharshan*) The latter creates fire which destroys society Nature has made India great and we have only to strive for unity to retain it

"Had I placed this *Bhoodan-Yajna* before a conference of intellectuals and leaders a year ago, I am sure all would have ridiculed me by saying that it is impracticable and impossible, for such a thing had never happened before in the whole of human history I say that God has created us — you and me, to achieve something new and unprecedented History of the past is just clay in our hands and it is for us to give any shape to it So I started my work and now I appeal to all to take up this revolutionary programme of mine The programme is like an ocean where all rivers meet If you just help in creating an atmosphere, the rest will be done by that atmosphere itself Even wingless dry leaves rise high like birds when a powerful storm comes Thus this programme will give life to the soulless and power to the powerless People are but a manifestation of God we will get this faith if we go to them

— Vinoba Bhave at Fatehpur U P

(Abridged from Hindi) D M

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CO-OPERATION · THE HAND-MAID OF DECENTRALIZATION

(By Shankarrao Deo)

In my three days' tour of Karnatak for the *Bhoodan-Yajna* I reached Belgaum on the evening of 21st May I was told that the next morning, at nine, I had to visit a Gramodyoga-Kendra (Village Industries Centre) in a village near Belgaum. As it was a visit to a Gramodyoga-Kendra I gave my consent immediately

Next morning, we motored to Angole, which though a village, is really an extension or a suburb of Belgaum We entered a house which looked quite affluent from the standards in the village and found thet sixty to seventy women, young and old, from two or three neighbouring villages were sitting in orderly rows They looked healthy and had bright and innocent faces The sight of these innocent and earnest faces produced in me a kind of religious feeling which overwhelmed me and filled my heart with joy and piety I could not help giving expression to my feelings before those simple-minded mothers and sisters and other friends who had gathered there

I was told that they were all members of a paddy-husking Co-operative Society which had been formed at Angole on the 26th of January 1951 The total capital of the Society was Rs 705/-, each share being worth Rs 5/-. No single person is allowed to buy more than five shares There are in all eighty-two shareholders, in the Co-operative Society Of these 82 members, 3 are men and 79 are women. In the months from March to December they husked 11,000 bags of paddy and earned Rs 13,062-8-0 as wages, of which they have so far received Rs 8,250-0-0 in cash.

During this period, the Society has spent Rs 2,480-0-0 for other kinds of labour, such as clerical work etc The Government had charged the Society Rs 2,475-0-0 for the price of husk The highest amount of wages earned by a woman during this period was Rs 400/- and the lowest was Rs 40/-. The old woman who had the unique honour of earning the highest wage was present in the meeting and when I asked her how she could earn such a high amount, she replied that there were four women in her household and that all of them were utilizing their leisure time for this work

The Angole Society has now opened two new branches, one in Machala and the other at Vadgaon There are 65 shareholders in the Machala Society, and each shareholder has only one share This Society was formed on the 5th February 1952; and during two months, February and March, it has husked 2935 bags of paddy and has earned Rs 2,508-7-0 as wages

The Society at Vadgaon started work in March with 96 workers and husked 840 bags of [illegible] and has earned Rs [illegible]17-8-0 as wages In [illegible] families are working for the Society and [illegible] to husk 40,000 bags of paddy this year

The society gets this paddy by arrangement with the Government. The Government has agreed to supply ½ of the paddy procured in the Taluka to the Society for husking The Society now wants the Government to extend this ratio to the whole district The Government has also agreed to take work from the Society on special concession-rates Whereas the mills receive Rs 25 to 35 per hundred Bengali maunds, the Society receives Rs 59 6 0 for the same quantity The yield of both is practically equal.

The workers complained thet it took months to get their bills cashed They said that if they were assured a regular supply of paddy and if the payments for the work were prompt, they would be in a position to reduce the rates.

Shri Marathe who was working for the Society proudly said that the Society was also conducting an adult women's education class

The Sarva Seva Sangh (by the resolution adopted at Sevapuri) has asked people to take the vow of Swadeshi i.e. as far as food and cloth are concerned, to use only products of decentralized industries or Gramodyoga and to boycott the products of centralized industries

In Gandhiji's view, the votary of true Swadeshi has to start by dedicating himself to the service of his immediate neighbours In the economic field, in the conditions that prevailed in our country today, it can only mean providing work to the crores of people in our villages

Village industries and the crafts and the workers behind them have to be protected today from the crushing competition of power-driven machinery. This can be accomplished only if the spirit of true Swadeshi is revived in this country and the boycott movement carried on vigorously.

Even the Government can join in this movement One of the most effective ways would be to adopt the policy of using only village crafts (to the exclusion of power-driven mills) for the purpose of processing the grains procured by them and to encourage and help people to do this work preferably through Co-operative Societies like the 'Angole Paddy-husking Society'

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HARIJAN

June 28 1952

DISSOLVE GANDHISM

(1) Gandhiji believed in Democracy He was the greatest democrat in practice When the Second World War broke out he wished well of the democratic powers and not of the fascist and the totalitarian ones"

(2) "Gandhiji said that non-violence was superior to violence but violence was better than cowardice"

(3) "Gandhiji said that he was one with the Communists in their aim, but his method was one of non-violence '

(4) "Gandhiji said his was not inactive non-violence, but active dynamic non-violence"

(5) "Gandhiji confessed at the closing period of his life that what the people of India had practised was not Satyagraha or the non-violence of the brave, but passive resistance or non-violence in the absence of power to use violence"

Thus say the various Gandhites and none may be contradicted

Now Gandhiji's followers are called upon to make a choice between Democracy and Communism, and between violance and non-violence They are all agreed that cowardice is out of question But some argue that Gandhiji alone could practise and give a lead in the dynamic non-violence of the brave and that after his death none may be accepted in his place Indeed, at the time of the 1942 movement Gandhiji himself had told the nation that after his arrest every one was to be his own leader

It is also felt by many that the so-called nearest co-workers of Gandhiji have become inactive votaries of non-violence and have abut themselves behind the walls of their Ashrams, plying the *charkha* and repeating parrot-like *Ramanama*, Sarvodaya and Constructive work, and purifying their souls No great and widely-embracing movement could be expected to come out of them.

And so some of them have chosen Democracy, even though supported by violence — it being better than cowardice — and they have entered the legislatures and undertaken the responsibility of running governments.

But some have not approved of this because it is a capitalist and not revolutionary Democracy And so they have left their Ashrams and other routine activities to their juniors and the small populations of their villages and tahsils to their fate, and begun to tour the country criticizing the present Government as having let down Gandhiji

And some have felt that they should not confine themselves to their small fields of activity in India, but cover the four corners of the world, and preach the message of Gandhiji's Peace and Non-violence to a war-weary world

And some have recommended the establishment of Communism (of course) by non-violent methods

Now the common people and young workers, who are also dissatisfied with the present state of affairs, argue "Since Communism is good, and promises relief and happiness to the poor and since there is not dynamism enough in the Gandhites to establish it non violently, at least not within a reasonable period, why not help the Communists, in spite of their violence? The disciples of Gandhiji might be pledged to non-violence, we are not. Let us accept their frank admission that Communism must be brought about, and straightaway work for it by the cut-the-knot method."

This is the kind of reasoning suggested and unconsciously encouraged by some Gandhites

When a great master's life and teachings are reduced to a few *sutras* like those numbered above, we end in deducting from them propositions, which the master might never have intended and would probably have been staggered to hear Unconsciously the best disciples make the worst caricature of their master

Shri Sourindra Kumar Khan a young writer of Bengal, says

> " In all cases after the prophet's death, his disciples who are all well meaning and unimpeachable fall to agree among themselves and break up to resort to preach different modes of interpretation and application of the master's teaching which taken together, later on comes to be regarded as a religion or a school of thinking.

I think he is right.

Hence, my earnest appeal to all followers of Gandhiji, or Gandhism, is Let every one of us say, "This is *my* attitude towards non violence, or Communism, or Democracy, or whatever it may be", instead of saying this is what Gandhiji desired", or ' this is Gandhism"

If there ever was anything like Gandhism, it died with Gandhiji For Gandhiji alone could have the whole of it Every one else might have something in common with him or even everything of his *plus* something else of his own, but none the whole and nothing but the whole of Gandhism So let no associate, however close, say that he is a follower, or interpreter of Gandhiji or Gandhism. It is needless to say that I include myself in this

Let us all, whom the world takes to be the followers of Gandhiji, agree to dissolve Gandhism,

if it at all survived him [illegible] any of our movements activities or [illegible]tions be named after Gandhiji, or invoked in his name

This does not mean that Gandhiji's life and writings may not be studied closely, or that he may never be quoted The study of his noble life and extensive writings will always be necessary and will always do good to the reader and when a particular idea expression or teaching appeals to a person and is regarded by him as helpful to others or as expressing his own ideas in a better way than he himself can express them, it will be natural for him to quote Gandhiji But such quotations will not be for shutting the mouth of an adversary as they do in courts of law where authorities are cited to prevent an opponent from advancing adverse arguments, or the judge from adopting an independent line of thinking It is possible that Gandhiji will be studied and even followed better by men who accept him as *one* of the great leaders and teachers of men, reserving to themselves the liberty to disagree with him when they are not convinced, than by those who accept him as their final authority, but are compelled to circumvent or dilute his teachings to justify their own actions and attitudes It is possible that Buddha, Mahavir, Jesus, Mahommad and other world teachers would have been studied more universally and reverently by religious-minded people all over the world than they are now as founders of particular religions or systems Even as Shri J Krishnamurti dissolved his Order of the Star several years ago, and Gandhiji dissolved the Gandhi Seva Sangh in 1940, let Gandhism stand dissolved

Wardha, 9-6 '52 K G MASHRUWALA

Rich Hearts of the Poor

I ask even the poor to give their donations in the *Bhoodan-Yajna* None should abstain from participating in a sacred work. I don't demand large donations from the poor I ask only small ones as a token of love But my experience has been that they have in the aggregate donated more

"A carpenter offered all his 12½ acres of land saying that he follows another occupation and earns his livelihood from it The poor have offered generously, for their hearts are large"

Today about 400 acres of land were donated in the *Yajna* A cultivator prostrated before Vinoba's feet and began to weep loudly When he became calm, Vinoba asked him, 'What do you want to say?" He replied, "Sir, I own here six *bighas* of land I desire to give them to you in this sacred wrok." Vinoba asked him if he had enough land for his livelihood He said, "I have five more *bighas* (elsewhere), and if required I shall donate them too" Vinoba acceded to his request and permitted him to sign the gift-deed for six *bighas*

Sardhua, (Dist. Banda) D. M
7-6-'52

GANDHIJI'S LETTERS

[The following is an English rendering of a part of the Publisher's Note to the Gujarati book SARDAR VALLABHSHANE (To Sardar Vallabhbhai) — being a collection of Gandhiji's letters to the Sardar]

Gandhiji's letters form a great and important part of the immortal writings that he has left us. In the innumerable letters that he wrote to persons of various stations in life, of different nationalities and age-groups, and on diverse subjects lie hidden various rare facets of that rich and manifold life These letters will undoubtedly be of great value to his biographer.

The reader is aware that Gandhiji has willed all his copy-rights and writings, published as well as unpublished, to the Navajivan Trust The Trust has to discharge the responsibility of publishing this form of his abundant literature It is also necessary to collect as many letters of Gandhiji as possible for Shri Pyarelal, who has been entrusted to write the authoritative biography of Gandhiji

Shortly after Gandhiji's demise an appeal was issued to all those who possess letters from Gandhiji to send their letters to us They were assured that the letters would be properly taken care of while they were in our custody and after being copied would be returned to the owner if required, also that if any sender desired his correspondence to be kept confidential, his wish would be unreservedly respected. The Trust realized that Bapu's letters being a prize possession the receivers have every right to possess and treasure them

In response to our request several friends sent letters to us. They were copied and returned to the senders. Some of these letters were published in *Harijan* and *Shikshan ane Sahitya*. Some have been collected and published in book-form, such as *Bapu's Letters to Mira*[1] and *Ashramna Bahenone* (Gujarati)[2] Two more collections of letters to Ashram-sisters are being edited by Kakasaheb Kalelkar.

But the present collection of letters to Sardar Vallabhbhai is a unique one, being correspondence passed between two of the greatest personages, who played a prominent part in shaping the destiny of the country. It covers more than a quarter of a century, beginning from 8-7-1921 to 29-12-1947 The collection has been edited by Shri Manibehn Patel and Shri Narhari Parikh.

The Trust proposes also to bring out shortly a collection of Bapu's letters to Shri Manibehn and Dahyabhai Patel, daughter and son respectively of the Sardar

I again take this opportunity to request those who had the privilege to have correspondence with Gandhiji to send us his letters.

(From Gujarati) JIVANJI D DESAI

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—NAVAJIVAN PRESS, AHMEDABAD

SHRI VINOBA'S UTTAR PRADESH TOUR — V

We covered Balia (in the last letter) and were in Gazipur now. Before entering Banaras, or old Varanasi, we were to halt at four places along our route through Gazipur and cross the Ganga thereafter.

The four halts in Gazipur were, Muhammadabad, Gazipur, Nandagaon and Saidpur. Muhammadabad naturally reminded us of the late Dr. Ansari. His birth place is only two miles from there. The great service, he did to the country still lives and its sweet aroma was evident in the help that we received from the local Muslims in our work at every stage. They used to attend our meetings in large numbers.

In our collective spinning programme at this place two lady-spinners gave a demonstration of spinning with their eyes blindfolded. Vinoba referred to this in his speech and commended it. It was a good practice, as it enabled one to spin not only in the day but also at night and with the same ease. Spinning had many merits. It could be done even in darkness and along with thinking, meditating or *jap*. Arjuna used to practise archery in the dark for gaining greater mastery of that art. Vinoba welcomed such experiments in spinning. He had seen blind people doing good spinning. But spinning with closed eyes gave one a sense of peace which deepened further if one also observed silence along with it. Vinoba said that he had made similar experiments but they were confined to spinning on the *takli* which is easier than blind-folded spinning on the *charkha*.

Expatiating on the place of spinning in the uplift of the villages Vinoba said: "It is not possible to liquidate poverty until the villagers take to spinning and manufacture their cloth locally in the villages. Land per capita in this district is only a third of an acre. There are no other industries. Some propose to provide work to the people by boring new wells and laying out more roads. I admit that construction of wells and roads is necessary, but these programmes can provide work only for a temporary period. They cannot solve the problem. Village industries alone can help there. *Charkha* is the, first among them but even our workers have not yet realized its vast power and potentiality."

Referring to *Bhoodan-Yajna* Vinoba said that the fact that people in their thousands came forward and willingly donated their lands was a miracle wrought by *shiwa*. There was in this passage of land from the rich to the poor the same quality of spontaneity as characterized the Ganga going to meet the sea or the child running to its mother. Vinoba said that he was wandering from village to village for bringing life and strength to the villages. No village should languish for want of life and nourishment. But strength would not come by building curtains around them. It lay in love establishing itself in village-life. If the village people loved one another, as members of the same family villages would be strong. *Bhoodan-Yajna* sought to release this love.

Continuing Vinoba said, "A regular army of workers should have come forth in the wake of independence to translate it into the actual happiness of the people. That did not happen. The opportunity was wasted and the people were left to their fate. Communism sets in where efforts are not made to fight poverty. Even if Communism is somehow checked, crimes such as dacoities, loot and murder increase out of sheer desperation. Who can say how long we ourselves would be able to keep patience if we were to be reduced to poverty? How long even the judge who pronounces long and hard sentences on the criminals would himself keep patient if he were faced with it? The judge is honest, because all his wants for comfortable living are provided for by the public. The responsibility therefore for the crimes, rests not on the poor but on us who make the criminals. It is not justice if the makers of criminals are let off untouched, while the criminals are punished."

It is [illegible] who perpetrate crimes not the poor people from the audience interrupted.

I agree, said Vinoba: "the real offenders are we, the well-clad gentry the makers of criminals. The *Bhoodan* movement will lessen this heavy load of sin. It will save us as it will save the poor. Gandhiji brought about awakening in the people through his Salt Satyagraha. That was the starting point of our fight for Independence, and through it he led us to our goal. Even so, if this *bhoodan* movement goes into full swing and there is no doubt that it will I am sure, the poor shall come into their own."

From Muhammadabad we proceeded to Gazipur. This region around these places is the sacred land of Maharshi Gadhi (father of Vishwamitra) and Jamadagni (father of Parashuram). Saidpur was our fourth halt. People still remembered the day twentythree years ago when on the no-moon day of Aswin 1986 (V.S.) (2nd October 1929) Bapu had set his foot in this city situated on the confluence of the Ganga and the Gomati. They were now equally delighted to find Vinoba in their midst and presented him with a touching address. These welcome addresses have been regular feature of our experience of the journey and reflect the love and respect with which Vinoba is received everywhere.

Coincidentally it was April 6 the first day of the National Week. Vinoba made a particular reference to it at the outset of his speech. He said that the Week had been the occasion for many years past of awakening the Indian people to the call of patriotism, to their duty by the country. It had inspired them to do bold deeds, deeds of rare courage and sacrifice. It had therefore about us a sacredness which had refreshed the founts of our faith year after year.

Explaining the importance of *Bhoodan-Yajna* he said that the movement had come at the most opportune moment. Had it not come at this stage the youth of the country would have had no opportunity to come to the fore and go ahead in the field of service. The old workers had done a great deal in their time. Some of them still continued in their old places a few had gone higher up to occupy positions of authority. That was necessary. However, if the youth looked to the elders for initiative, work would suffer. There would be nothing doing. The youth must now come forward and not expect only the Congress to do it. After Swaraj our next task was to build a social order where there would be no exploitation. We had to remove the inequalities of wealth as far as possible and bring to every one a sense of equality with all the rest. Every one had to be provided with food and clothing. And for every item of this vast work, young and new workers were needed. The President of the Congress Jawaharlalji also wanted to put new blood into the Congress. But new blood demanded new work. They must be given a new hope, a new prospect of the brave future of their country which they were called upon to serve and sacrifice their lives for. The *Bhoodan-Yajna* offered such a promise.

Continuing he said that the older workers suffered from inherent limitations. They could not attract the young because the latter wanted a new programme with the ideals redefined in a new ideology. They wanted new words and new symbols. The *Bhoodan-Yajna* offered such a new programme. It puts an end to the old differences. Old differences continue only as long as the old words stay. The streams are different and have different names but when they enter the sea they lose their names and merge into one another in the vastness of the sea. That is why the *bhoodan* movement appeals to every party. The Jana Sangh people feel that it will make for cultural regeneration. The revolutionists see in it an instrument of a social and economic revolution. The merit of a new name is that different persons can read different significances into it, and each the one he liked most.

Referring to the announcement of the U P Congress for organizing a *bhoodan* fortnight, Vinoba said that the workers should not slacken their efforts in the belief that the Congress having resolved to collect land gifts, they had nothing more to do. The Congress announcement implied that they had in their task the sympathy and blessings of the old workers That was enough, The new workers should thereafter take up the work in right earnest. He invited them to do so on the first day of the National Week He would even take some of them with him in his party for a short while 'Ours is a moving school and a week's training with us will be enough experience for the workers to undertake the task. If new workers came in, in this way we might even hope to raise a corps of 500 new workers in this province which may be an inspiration to the rest of India and may well be the beginning of a great Volunteer Service Army making for a continuous flow of service throughout the country I aim at obliterating all differences. I have been roaming about in your province for the past months in the cause of the poor and before I leave I want to provide for the continuity of the work. I should like to keep in personal touch with the workers and exact work from them in a planned manner I find that the young workers love me and respect me The love and respect they bear to me is not for my person. It is an expression of their love for the cause I espouse It is their love for the poor They therefore owe it to themselves to co-operate in this work"

The appeal evoked a good response, and many responsible persons offered to enlist themselves for this work Offers of this type have been reaching us from other provinces also.

After Saidpur we entered the Banaras District. Banaras (city) was still a few miles away We negotiated about five miles by boat. As we were being wafted on the waters hundreds of people lining the banks of the Ganga greeted Vinoba Then followed a ten mile walk on foot On the way Vinoba had to perform the opening ceremony of a Nature Cure Centre The way was thronged with crowds of spectators all along. The sun had grown scorchingly hot, Vinoba was tired and had to take water quite frequently But when anyone asked him to rest himself awhile he declined with a smile and proceeded apace Hanuman had said "There can be no rest for me, unless I have achieved Rama's work' It was the same with Vinoba

At last we reached the destination. There were about 60-70 boys awaiting our arrival at a certain point on the way They had kept standing for a long time eager to offer their youthful welcome to the distinguished guest Speaking of these devoted boys in his evening speech Vinoba said, "My eyes turned to their feet while they were looking at my face And I saw that barring one or two boy had shoes in his feet. The sun was hot. I felt ashamed that while I had about my feet the protection of the shoes they were standing bare-footed in that burning dust. Why should it be that while one has shoes, many others have them not while one has enough clothing, many others remain bare-bodied? Or while one has enough food many others go hungry"

He also provided the answer to this ringing question Gita *samya-yoga* i e the yoga of equality is the remedy to this grievous state of affairs Lord Krishna realized this *samya-yoga* in his life He has been called a thief who stole milk and curds and butter But Shukadev the poet devotee, has woven his pilferings into immortal poetry He has idealized them in ecstatic verse Because it was no thieving It was an expression of His love for the poor He wished that all should partake of the village-riches in equal measure. All that he did was aimed at the good of the people He killed Kansa, but he did not grab his kingdom. He was pledged to live as the poorest of the poor and to strive with all his energy for the equal distribution of the wealth among the members of the community

It was 6th April, the day fixed for our entry into Banaras We were to cross the Ganga twice We got into the boat early at four We were going up the river against the current When Vinoba saw that the serang had to strain himself overmuch he went up to him and by his side and helped him by himself plying the oar

Our entry into Banaras was one of the most exciting experiences I had ever had There was ebullient enthusiasm bubbling forth on every side They had walked a long way, about 5 miles off the city to receive Vinobaji He was presented with a welcome address at Rajghat. The students recited religious texts from every religion, and the whole history of culture seemed to unroll before us thousands of years of human progress. A little farther off on the way we were met by Dr Bhagwandas the octogenarian savant and *tapasvi* waiting to greet Vinobaji. It was a meeting between two Rishis who have spent their lives meditating on the good of mankind. The meeting augured well for the *bhoodan* movement.

Next we stopped for a short while at a women's institution and were very much delighted to hear *bhoodan* songs, well sung by the girls there But Vinoba seemed loal in silence, he was deep in thought. He was entering this the oldest city of the world, Kashi. Almost every Indian saint from Buddha down to our own day had spent a part of his life here or at least visited it and imbibed its holy atmosphere Kashi is mentioned in the *Upanishads* A Rishi says "our eye-brows are respectively Varuna and Asi and in between them is Kashi. It would go to show that the city dates back to a period before the *Upanishads* Vinobaji himself had come here 36 years ago. He was thinking of going to the Himalayas, but then he turned to Sabarmati to live with Bapu, the human counterpart of the Himalayas.

Banaras had done much good work in connection with *bhoodan* The workers had approached every *zamindar* and land holder Many who would not agree to their appeal at first relented later under their persuasiveness. Most of them actively co-operated with the work by giving large gifts A friend who had at first refused to give anything gave away 500 acres ultimately Shri Shriprakashji (now the Governor of Madras) offered his quota as a mark of his happiness over Vinoba's arrival in Kashi, his city He had given away his lands long ago to the peasants President Rajendraprasad in Delhi and Shri Shriprakashji in Kashi placed before the people inspiring examples by their active participation in *bhoodan* work

We had been put up in Kashi Vidyapith Kashi Vidyapith has played an important role in the cultural and political life of U-P people It was conceived and founded by the late Shri Shivaprasad Gupta and has had the benefit of the services of many other eminent workers and leaders like Dr Bhagwandas, Acharya Narendradeo, Dr Sampurnanand and others The present popular principal of the Vidyapith Shri Birbal Singh introduced the members of the staff and the students to Vinoba and assured him of the co-operation of Vidyapith in the task ahead He also presented to Vinoba the books published by the Vidyapith

In the morning when we started for Sevapuri, a friend gifted 200 acres It was a good beginning and we received many more gifts all along the way The way a distance of 16 miles was lined with swelling crowds of people at every point. At last through all this din and dust when we reached Sewapuri the *sewaks* accorded a silent welcome The high seriousness of it was most impressive Vinoba gave a short introductory speech under the shade of a big banyan tree

(Abridged from the original in Hindi) D M

BHAL-NALKANTHA KHEDUT (KISAN) MANDAL

Bhal Nalkantha Khedut (Kisan) Mandal is a special type of institution of its class It was founded under the inspiration of Muni Santbalji, the well-known Jain Sadhu and public worker of Gujarat. In the course of a letter giving a brief history of the Mandal, the Munilji writes.

'Bhal Nalkantha Khedut Mandal is established as moral foundations Originally a few *kisans formed* into a group and pledged themselves not to sell paddy at more than Rs 10/ and wheat at more than Rs 8/- to 12/ per maund. This group gradually developed into the present Mandal

'Saving of grains and resolution of disputes by arbitration are imperative moral obligations binding on the members The members of its executive body have to observe stricter rules

When in pursuance of Bapu's advice, the Government lifted the controls on food-grains, Shri Ravishankar Maharaj and I explained to the cultivators who have been rightly described by the poet as guardians of life their responsibilities This *mandal* was the outcome of those efforts

The Mandal carried on a successful propaganda among cultivators not to fall into the temptation of profiteering As a result the *kisans* of the surrounding talukas of the Ahmedabad district last year, responded to the appeals of Shri Ravishankar and myself and placed thousands of maunds of wheat at our disposal at a time when it was difficult even for Government to supply grains

After the establishment of this Mandal, two more *mandals* have been established on the same principles one in Banaskantha and the other in Saurashtra I sincerely hope that if such *mandals* are established throughout the country, village swaraj will automatically come into existence.

"Looking to the present set-up of the Congress it does not seem that such bodies can function under its direct guidance but there is no doubt that such bodies ought to work on the principles of the Congress

I trust that the Kisan Mandal and activities of this nature will play an important role in the moral reconstruction of society."

Shri Santbalji is the principal guide and spirit of every public activity in the Bhal-Nalkantha Taluka of the Ahmedabad district. This is a backward and very poor region but the people are simple and trustful. Shri Santbalji's efforts have brought about a considerable awakening among these people Being a Jain Muni he does not use vehicles and tours on foot Therefore practically every village of this taluka has been visited by him and he has a direct contact with the people Being a poet, an eloquent preacher and of strong moral character, he wields great influence on the people of the region and he has collected a fairly large group of earnest workers around him.

The above suggestion of Shri Santbalji deserves to be seriously considered by constructive workers all over the country The appeal made to producers and merchants by Shri C Rajagopalachari at the time of lifting the controls can be fulfilled when the Kisan Mandals and middlemen of this type begin to operate

Further information may be had from Muni Santbalji Gundi P O -Bhurkhi (Ahmedabad District)

Wardha 24-5-'52 K G MASHRUWALA
(From Gujarati)

NOTES

When M P s Laugh

"New Delhi Wednesday — India has a rearing export trade in monkeys In reply to a question in the House of the People today, the Deputy Minister for Commerce said India exported 23 287 monkeys in 1951 and 47 155 this year There was laughter when a member wanted to know whether there was any other country which was competing with India in this trade (*The Hindustan Times* 5-6-'52)

In the days of British Rule Indians protested vehemently against such practices Today the House of the People cracks jokes on the subject and not a single voice is raised in protest I wonder what sort of laugh would be left in these light-hearted M.P s if they were to be told that it had been decided to export them to foreign countries for scientific research!

Pilkhi 14-6-'52 MIRA

Boycott of Cinema

The Hindustan Times of 17-6-'52 published the following news-item

Allahabad June 15,—A washerwomens conference here on Thursday decided to boycott cinema shows

"The conference, which was attended by their menfolk as well, discussed the baneful effect of modern pictures on the moral life of society and urged all members of the community not to witness cinema shows

Any defiance of the no more cinema' decision would mean ostracism of the person concerned, stated a resolution adopted by the conference —P T I."

The menace of cinema has assumed such proportions that it seems there is no alternative for right thinking men but to boycott it. It is significant that the lead has been given by washerwomen to wash off this evil But will the so-called educated and cultured men and women join them?

H M V

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ENDING ENMITY

[First part of Shri Vinoba's speech at Lucknow on 9-5-52 on the occasion of the Buddha Jayanti.]

Milk is tested by the amount of fat present in it, and the vitality of a society is measured by the number of great men successively produced by it The continuous appearance of men of the highest merit has never ceased in India from the most ancient times till today They have appeared during her most prosperous periods as also during the periods of her degeneration Even during the last 150 years of foreign domination, we have had among us men like Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Swami Dayanand, Shri Ramakrishna Paramahamsa, Lokamanya Tilak, Rabindranath Tagore, Mahatma Gandhi and scores of others who could rank with the best men of any country in the world This shows that Indian society has not lost its vitality and that from time immemorial there has been in evidence in India a strong Inner Force that has maintained an unbroken line of men of genius

The life and teachings of Buddha have begun to attract the attention of the world afresh in our days The lesson which he taught was ignored in his own age and even till our own days But the teaching had not died. It had lain like a seed covered by earth and awaiting the season for germination After 2500 years, we see it sprout today

Buddha said in clear terms "Never does enmity end by enmity it can end by non-enmity alone" This is as true as the saying that fire cannot be put out with *ghee* it can be put out only with water The world has now come to realize the truth of this teaching and it is now freely admitted that war does not solve any problem, it only creates more problems, and mighty weapons like the Atom and Hydrogen bombs only augur the destruction of the world.

Gandhiji demonstrated the truth of Buddha's teaching during his lifetime And now that Dr Ambedkar and confirmed atheists too have accepted his teachings, what more do we need to show their supreme importance to humanity?

Even Buddha was not the first to impart this lesson Scores of saints, seers and philosophers had declared before him that enmity is not ended by enmity The Rishis had prayed long before him

मित्रस्य मा चक्षुषा सर्वाणि भूतानि समीक्षन्ताम् ।
मित्रस्य अहं चक्षुषा सर्वाणि भूतानि समीक्षे ॥

(May all beings look upon me with a friendly eye may I look upon all beings with a friendly eye) The first is possible only if the second is practised It is in my hands to make the world my friend or my enemy It is for me to take the initiative The world is a mirror in which I see my own reflection If there is friendliness in my eyes the reflection cannot be different The universe is wide and endless in every direction, and yet I am greater than the universe I can bend it to my will and give it any shape I like, it cannot bend me: For I am Life, the Spirit it is Matter I remarked yesterday that I can throw the Himalayas, which is to my north, to my south great and mighty as it is, it cannot put me to its north A boy asked me how it could be done I told him that if I proceed to the countries north of the Himalayas, it will lie to my south. I can go to the north of the Himalayas, because I am Life It cannot do so, because it is Matter, however huge So I can make the world friendly or inimical as I will The Vedas taught this truth ages ago For thousands of years, the truth was not tested. Buddha reiterated this truth from his own experience He did not say anything new thereby but perhaps put it more clearly than before Hence the idea that enmity cannot be ended by enmity it can end by non enmity alone has spread during the age of Buddha

From the time of Buddha up to the appearance of Gandhi, hundreds of saints have borne personal witness and demonstrated the truth of the teaching that anger is conquered by calmness, fear by fearlessness, and enmity by love But they had remained till now as examples confined to individuals. They were like laboratory experiments The wider application of these principles to society and its problems had not taken place

In the meantime physical science developed by leaps and bounds It enabled its votaries to overrun various countries of the world The

British conquered India, and performed the unprecedented feat of disarming the entire nation. If arms alone could help a people to bring about its liberation the slavery of India for all time was inevitable Thus it became imperative to forge a weapon which could break the bonds of slavery in spite of the lack of arms India then applied on the social scale the individual experience of saints and brought about her liberation It is the first grand miracle of non-violence

I do not claim that India became independent simply by her non-violence As is said in the *Gita*, five factors are needed for bringing about any result All that I claim is that India's non-violent movement was a major factor in bringing about her independence This is proved by the events that have followed Independence, events which are all attributable to non-violence and which can all be claimed as further examples of its miraculous consequences

Thus, the second miracle of non-violence was the complete and peaceful withdrawal of British Forces from India by a date fixed and announced earlier This would have been impossible but for India's non-violence.

The third great miracle was that we offered the first Governor-Generalship of Independent India to Lord Mountbatten himself This too would have been impossible if India had acquired her independence by defeating Great Britain in a violent war In a non-violent war, the victory of the one does not mean the humiliation of the other The victory is moral and puts an end to hostile feelings on both the sides Never have such friendly relations been established between two countries which went to war as exist today between Great Britain and India

(From Hindi) D M

(To be continued)

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NOTES

Adivasis of Thana District

Shri Vasantrao Nargolkar a worker among the Adivasis of Thana addressed an appeal to the landowners some months ago to voluntarily forgo their rents this year from their tenants Some of the landlords acceded to his request But a great many have not, and several applications for evictions are filed in the Mamlatdar's Court

This is heart-rending Shri Nargolkar is unable to live among them and serve them and be a mute witness to this wretchedness He has renewed his appeal to the owners of land not to press their claims for rent but to remit them unconditionally, since it is obvious that it is impossible for the tenants to pay them He has decided to reinforce his appeal with a fifteen day fast from 27th June 1952 as a token of his earnestness

I earnestly hope that his appeal will touch the hearts of the landlords, and awaken them to their sense of duty towards their tenants

Wardha, 25-6-'52

It Is So

In my article ' Praise of China and Russia ' (June 14 '52) I expressed the doubt that the present Chinese policy may be just a temporary and transitional stage in the final plan which will be the same as in Russia In order to show that it is so, Prof Pushkar Chandarvakar of Ahmedabad obliged me by calling my attention to an article by Mr Wu Cheueh-nung, Vice-Minister of Agriculture of China in *People's China* (Nov 1 '51) This is how he enunciates the agrarian policy of China

> The new development of Chinese agriculture may be divided into three stages
>
> The first, now largely completed, is the land reform which has already freed 310 millions of peasants from feudal bondage and removed the fetters that held back the development of rural production for thousands of years
>
> The second the present stage is the organization of agricultural production through co-operation and mutual help—through mutual aid teams and agricultural producers co-operatives
>
> '*This is a stepping-stone to the third stage which still lies in the future collectivization of agriculture on a nation-wide scale on the pattern of collective farming in the Soviet Union* (italics ours)
>
> The increasing numerous mutual-aid teams and agricultural producers co-operatives in China which are still based on private property but organize the peasants for labour in common, thus represent a development of the profoundest historic importance They are helping to lay the groundwork for the gradual transformation of the individual economy of millions of small cultivators into the large-scale collective profusion of *mechanized* agriculture '

Wardha, 25-6-'52

Taloda Civil Court

Shri B R Ransing B.A, LL B, Dhulia, informs me that in my article "Regrettable Negligence", I was unfair in blaming outright the local Congress Committees, Bar Council and members of the Legislative Council and others for not agitating about the non-appointment of the Civil Judge for Taloda He says that he had himself brought the fact to the notice of the authorities in a local Press Conference, and it was given out that the matter was under consideration His complaint had been published in the local newspaper *Yugsandesh* Shri B H Kazi, M.L A, also twice raised this matter by asking questions in the Bombay Legislative Assembly, but evasive replies were given He is glad, however, that at last this grievance has been redressed "It is my common experience of public life" Shri Ransing proceeds to say, "that during the British rule and also during the present rule, our district has been always neglected Ours is a backward district, a large area of which is a jungle and Bhil area. I request *Harijan* to take interest in our problems, especially Bhil problems"

I am glad to be corrected

Wardha 23-6-'52

Napalm on Viet Nam

A PTI — Reuter message says

> Saigon, June 22 French Air Force Pilots yesterday dropped explosive and napalm fire bombs on important Viet Minh troop concentrations in the Dang Hoi area north-east of Hue and on another target in Central Viet Nam, a French Army communique said today

Of what worth is that civilization and progress in science, if it degrades man to a level lower than that of the most ferocious animal? -

Wardha 26-6- 52 K. G M

Vinoba's Progress

Vinoba's soul is getting larger and larger every day One can visibly see how he feels one with all life Land-gifts also have been coming in larger quantities Vinoba used to ask in terms of the hundred before, then he began to speak in terms of the thousand Now he speaks in terms of the lakh. It is not to be wondered at that he asked the Banda District to donate a lakh acres The wonder is that the figure was accepted by the workers At a time when even a whole province — and there are several such provinces — hesitates to accept the target of 50,000 acres, if a single district donates a lakh acres, it is an example for the whole country From Banda, we went to Fatehpur and thence to Raibareilly At Raibareilly also Vinoba suggested a lakh acres, and you will be surprised to learn that the target was accepted Perhaps, it might take a little longer to reach the figure in this district than in Banda. Yesterday (14th June '52) we got 3000 acres with the co-operation of every political party; the R S S also gave 2000 acres We were pleased to find that the relations between the different parties here are not quite bitter against one another and they seem to co-operate in many activities. The [illegible] before [illegible] [illegible] tion had been [illegible] ranged by a young [illegible] Sangh

Raibareilly, 16-6- 52 D M.

(I am a personal letter in Hindi

Indian Railways as Seen by an English M.P

[The following paragraphs are taken from Mr Woodrow Wyatt *Southwards from China* (Hodder and Stoughton) pp 22 23 — V G D]

The first class carriages are comfortably arranged rooms, often air conditioned The second class carriages are also rooms with perhaps 4 bunks in them, although the standard of comfort is not as great as that for the first class passage The conditions (here) are much more tolerable than those for first class passengers in England and if there is no air conditioning, at least there are fans

The gap between the second and third class is startling The third class compartments have wooden seats with wooden backs There are no fans and each compartment becomes a furnace as the train runs through barren plains burned by the sun which sends the temperature up to 113 in the shade There are never enough third class compartments on the train to meet the demand In a compartment which in England would hold say 10 there may be 25 to 30 people Some will cling to the handles outside the carriage on the broad steps beneath the doors Some sit with their backs half out of the window All are in misery

The symbolism of the train was well understood by Gandhi. He knew that it portrayed the great and evil contrast in India's society That was why he always insisted on travelling third class himself All India knew why he travelled third class and responded to the gesture Vast crowds would wait at each station along the line to catch a glimpse of the man who tried to identify with the masses as he passed by their way

[While on the subject of our railways, will some one tell me why the Railway authorities have purchased all-steel carriages ready-made from England for the local trains in Bombay instead of old-fashioned wooden carriages which I presume were built up in India? — V G D]

Equality of Religions

[The following extracts are taken from a broadcast talk given by Mr Clifford Dyment in the B B C. series *Man Without God* (Vox Mundi) pp 10-11 — V G D]

God is absolute but He is experienced differently by each person according to his needs and capacities In this therefore God is personal, and there are as many personal Gods as there are personalities They are all aspects of God who has multitudinous aspects and they are all true if they are a true experience of God. Man have described God as transcendent and immanent, as impersonal and loving as immutable and subject to change, he has been thought of as a first cause, as pantheistic dualistic monistic I think all these things are true God is all these things and many more Long ago a man trying to describe God said, 'God is not that' meaning that God cannot be explained in terms of any thing known to man.

The dazzling darkness of God shines on all the ways by which men approach God, it shines in all directions. One we call Judaism and another Christianity, one Buddhism and another Love and another perhaps Art No man has the right to call his light the only light He has done so in the past and still does so persecuting and killing and hating and reviling in the name of truth all manifestations of man's arrogance Arrogance which theologians call the sin of pride keeps man away from the life in God Knowledge Knowledge of the human condition is according to the Buddhists the first step towards salvation.

HARIJAN

July 5 1952

THE DELHI PEACE PLEDGE OF 1948

Gandhiji's dictum "violence is better than cowardice," seems to have become an authority with some for justifying violence In fact the violence contemplated here has reference to an open fight One of the essential characteristics of a warrior (*kshatriya*) is 'not to flee from battle' It signifies bravery, fleeing would be cowardice Albeit a person who takes recourse to flight in order to save his life, is only a coward, he cannot be charged with wickedness Wickedness is worse than cowardice When wickedness seizes a person, he perpetrates violence of a far more heinous type than that inflicted by a soldier in an open battle He does not stop to distinguish between the guilty and the innocent. Blind with fury, he lets his murderous hands strike even the old and the invalid, children and women He is after everyone whom he regards as belonging in any way to his enemies And quite frequently he takes a sadistic delight in torturing his victim. This kind of violence cannot be better than cowardice It is worse than cowardice, it is diabolic depravity

A few instances of such wickedness occurred during the riot which broke out in Delhi a few days ago following an agitation which was started by a section of the people for preventing the marriage of a Hindu girl with a Muslim youth It was an inter-communal marriage Beyond the fact that the father of the girl did not approve of it, and that he successfully invoked the help of law for preventing it, I do not know all the facts of this particular case, and I shall not express my opinion thereon on its merits

However, inter-communal marriages between a Hindu on the one hand, and a Muslim, Parsi or Christian on the other are not now quite a novelty in our country. The number may not be large, but a few marriages of this type do occur every year There may be a difference of opinion among people about the desirability or otherwise of these marriages But it is sheer wickedness for the disapprovers to excite the people to become riotous and furious, with the result that innocent people who had absolutely nothing to do with the affair, should be killed or wounded, or their property looted or burnt. It is a form of violence more condemnable than cowardice

Referring to the incident, a friend from Delhi writes

"On May 26, angry crowds of Hindu refugees went about the town assaulting the Muslims, and all those they found clad in Khadi, or wearing Gandhi caps. They made a bonfire of Gandhi caps, tore off Khadi clothes beat Congressmen and Muslims some of whom were also wounded Two Muslims were seriously hurt and of them one died in the hospital."

I gather that the man who died in the hospital was a shop-keeper in the area which was the scene of the riots He was not connected with the marriage-affair in any way, nor was he among the crowds He was sitting in his shop, looking after his work when the rioters broke into his shop and inflicted injuries upon him. Now, he was a plain man a human being as any one of us, a husband to his wife and a father to his children What had these latter done to deserve this cruel deprival of their supporter?

Granting that some Congressmen had been imprudent in encouraging the proposed marriage in face of the disapproval of the girl's parents and relations, yet nothing can justify the action of these sections of the Hindus, who were opposed to the marriage, in resorting to violence towards the innocent Muslim citizens and causing loss of life

I beg to remind the Hindu leaders and refugees of Delhi of the sacred pledge which they had taken before Gandhiji on 18-1-'48 in Birla Bhavan and which succeeded in persuading him to abandon his fast. The following are the first and the last clauses of that pledge

'We wish to announce that it is our heart-felt desire that the Hindus Muslims and Sikhs and members of other communities should once again live in Delhi like brothers and in perfect amity and we take the pledge that we shall protect the life, property and faith of Muslims and that the incidents which have taken place in Delhi will not happen again

* * *

'We request Mahatmaji to believe us and to give up his fast and continue to lead us as he has done hitherto."

Shri Pyarelaliji has related in *Harijan* of 25-1-'48 what took place on the occasion

"The feverish anxiety into which the whole city of Delhi and the country at large had been plunged was terminated when Gandhiji broke his fast at Birla House New Delhi today at 12-45 p.m with due solemnity Earlier in the day representatives of all the important groups and organisations in the city, including representatives of the refugees and from the three worst affected parts of the city namely, Karol Bagh Subzi Mandi and Paharganj had assembled under the chairmanship of Dr Rajendra Prasad at the latter's residence and put their signature to a seven point declaration covering the conditions laid down by Gandhiji for breaking his fast. The document was recorded in both the Persian and Devanagari scripts at Gandhiji's special insistence At the meeting were also present Maulana Azadsahib and Major General Shah Nawazkhan Delhi Muslims were represented by Maulanas Hifzur Rahmen and Ahmad Saeed of the Jamiat-ul Ulema and Maulana Habibur-Rahman. Goswami Shri Ganesh Dutt Shri Basantlal and Shri Narain Das represented the Rashtriya Sewak Sangh and the Hindu Mahasabha. There were too the representatives of the various Sikh organisations. They then all repaired (numbering over 100) to Birla House where they assembled in Gandhiji's room, to request him to break the fast Maulanasahib and Pandit Jawaharlaiji had arrived there already and Janab Zakir Hussainsahib, the Pakistan's High Commissioner came in a little later'

[illegible] speeches and the [illegible] obstinate [illegible] pledge to which they had put their signatures, and then they appealed to Gandhiji to give up the fast The appeal was reiterated on behalf of the Hindu Mahasabha and R S S by Goswami Shri Ganesh Datt Thus the pledge was made public in an assembly of leaders, prominent citizens and associates of Gandhiji, in all more than a hundred men The Hindus Muslims and Sikhs of Delhi fraternized with one another, the murky fog of communal passions was dissipated and peace was re-established in the city

By the recent disturbance Delhi has broken this pledge None may advance the plea that the pledge is now four years old and hence inoperative or that it was entered into with Gandhiji and now that he was no more they were free to act as they liked Gandhiji was simply an instrument in bringing an essentially good act of a permanent character to success. It was a permanent pledge of good conduct and observance of brotherly relations between the different communities It can never be broken I feel that the present disturbances constitute a violation of that pledge and all those who signed, supported or witnessed the function of Gandhiji breaking the memorable fast must share the responsibility for this outrage. God be thanked that only one life was lost and only one man was seriously injured, before the situation was brought under control for it is not unusual for larger conflagrations to spread from such incidents It should not be made the ground for ignoring the violation of the pledge Those who took the pledge, those who were witness to it, and the refugees and the Hindus of Delhi should make suitable amends and atone for the sin of rioting They should seek pardon of the innocent ones whom they harassed and hurt being misled into frenzy by makers of excitable speeches. They should also make proper compensation for the losses suffered by the latter The people should provide for the maintenance of the family of the deceased victim, not from the Government money, but from their own pockets, with humility and as an atonement for the sin committed They should figure to their minds' eye the image of Gandhiji with those eyes full of love and compassion, of 18th Jan 1948, and feel penitent that these shameful events took place in Delhi

I hope that those who had a hand in persuading Gandhiji to give up the fast will not treat this as one of those incidents which are quite a frequent feature of city-life and not worthy of being worried about, since police may be trusted to look after them and control them, without the necessity of invoking this old pledge and feeling seriously troubled over it It may look small but it is full of the virus of communalism It must not be overlooked and ignored.

Wardha, 22-6-'52 K. G MASHRUWALA

THE CHARKHA JAYANTI

According to the Hindu Calendar, *Bhadrapad-vadi* 12th, the birthday of Gandhiji is observed as the Charkha Dwadashi. The *charkha* was so dear to Gandhiji that he named even his birthday after it In the course of his message on the Charkha Jayanti Bapu wrote in 1936, "I am not at all conscious of my birthday I know it only as Rentiya Baras (Charkha Dwadashi) " Let us work in the same spirit for the propagation of the *charkha* and try to bring out its potential powers

In 1947 Bapu wrote

"The *charkha* is the royal road to political, economic and social freedom. If the people had adopted it as the symbol of non-violence, the tragic condition which prevails today would never have come What shall the believer in the *charkha* do in this atmosphere? Dharma teaches us that when the surrounding atmosphere is adverse, the faith of the devotee becomes brighter How many such may be there? My spinning continues I do not miss my half hour daily"

Bapu often repeated the above message and he never missed to spin regularly even in great pressure of work This is enough to inspire us.

It is our weakness that we have not been able to understand fully the powers of the *charkha*, which Bapu did If we still fail to do so we shall be swept away Let us continue the progress of the *charkha*, which Bapu has left us as his legacy propagate it and acquit ourselves as his fit heirs

This year the spinning term of 80 days will commence (has commenced) from 29th June, Sunday with congregational spinning at 7 a.m. to be followed by prayers at 7-30 a m. Everyone should resolve to spin for 80 days with full zeal, fully understanding the deep implications of the *charkha*, and intimate to the undersigned the quantity of yarn which he may have resolved to spin

As is done every year subscribers to the Charkha Dwadashi Daridranarayana Fund are requested to pay eighty coins It is well known that the Saurashtra Khadi Mandal owes its existence to this fund and the development of Khadi work is due to it. This fund has been utilized for the last four years in the work of the Saurashtra Constructive Committee, which co-ordinates all the constructive institutions and activities in Saurashtra The work under the Committee has made good progress during the above period.

The Saurashtra Constructive Committee has an annual budget of three lakhs of rupees The understanding is that the Saurashtra Government will contribute a third of the sum, the Gandhi Memorial Trust will give a grant of another third and the remaining third will be realized through the collections during the period of the Charkha Jayanti celebrations It is hoped

who are interested in and sympathize with the work of Saurashtra Constructive Committee will send their contributions in the form of coins to fill the bowl of the *Daridranarayana*

We hope to secure as usual some prominent leader to preside over the celebration of the closing day of the programme

Rashtriya Shala,
Rajkot, 18 6-'52

NARANDAS K. GANDHI

(Translated from Gujarati)

HUNGER AND POLITICS

The problem of world's hunger, as described by Joshua de Castro, in his book, *The Geography of Hunger* is really speaking the fundamental problem of world's food, of assuring to every citizen of the world a balanced diet. It is a question of feeding the whole world equitably and well Balanced diet is a basic human need, and unless it is squarely met by the total effort of man on our planet, it is bound to create the problem of hunger, which is a hot bed for most of our ills to which also we are born, if we do not fulfil this our first need in a natural i e human and scientific way It must be remembered that the word hunger includes not only under-nourishment but mal nutrition also And "perhaps — the most widespread and serious disease affecting mankind — with the possible exception of some of the less spectacular psychoses — is mal-nutrition It predisposes to an impressive array of diseases and ill-health " Therefore it is no wonder that De Castro says that "the history of men from the beginning has been the history of his struggle for daily bread" And he maintains that provided this struggle is rightly carried on, it is bound to insure health and happiness to mankind As he says,

> It is a demonstrable fact that food is the most potent of all the antibiotics, since it protects the organism in a general way against all kinds of germ attacks. If the world had a well-balanced diet we would have little need for specific antibiotics or other drugs' (P 250) (The reader might well be reminded here that in Sanskrit श्रीवृद्धि means food as well as medicine)

And he asserts that, given full production and right distribution of world's food, the problem of overpopulation will vanish Rather he makes a startling statement that it is not overpopulation that causes "starvation in various parts of the world, but that *starvation is the cause of overpopulation* This idea sounds paradoxical, since hunger an agent of deterioration and death seems unlikely to provide an excessive increase in population But in reality that is just what happens" And he cites the example of China India and Japan and says that

> the more these places are assailed by starvation the more the number of their inhabitants grows." And he gives evidence to show "how hunger increases the fertility of the depressed groups suffering its permanent action," and asserts therefrom that "although it is impossible to eradicate hunger by controlling the growth of population it is perfectly possible to reverse the process and control the growth of population by doing away with starvation" (P 31)

And he shows that it is humanly possible to do away with hunger or starvation i e to produce, with the resources given to us by nature, sufficient food for our whole requirement Because, as he says, "hunger is not a phenomenon inherent in life itself, a natural and inevitable contingency like death, it is surely a social evil a plague of man's own making.'

And how has man committed the mistake of unwittingly invoking this wrath of nature in the form of hunger, starvation, overpopulation, war, death and disease? The causes are socio-political, and it is the investigation of these by the author of *Geography of Hunger* that makes his book the most outstanding statement on the world problem of food and human happiness and peace To him the problem is a "universal human problem" and therefore it needs "a world policy of struggle against hunger" "When all the world's parts are indissolubly linked into one living whole it is no longer possible to let one region rot and starve without infecting the rest and threatening the whole world with death ' (P 31)

But what do we find today? As De Castro says

> "A large part of the world is not yet entirely convinced of the necessity of doing away with hunger once for all There are people who consider it more important to maintain high standards of living for their own regions and certain social privileges for their own class than to fight the phenomenon of hunger as such on world scale

And he charges Western civilization with a "conspiracy of silence ' on this ' the most potent source of social misfortunes', viz hunger And the causes of this studied silence, he says, were "rooted in the shrouded world of economic interest Dominant and privileged minorities used their deftest sleight-of-hand to keep the question of hunger from the attention of the modern spirit It was to the advantage of economic imperialism and international commerce both controlled by profit-seeking minorities, that the production, distribution and consumption of food products be regarded as purely business matters rather than as phenomena of the highest importance to society as a whole

The world's geography expanded in the 16th century and colonial economics followed the extending horizon raising European civilization toward its zenith of splendour In the seemingly fine world of imperial Europe there was no place for ugly revelations of starvation, particularly since hunger too was a product of the colonial system Hunger has been chiefly created by the inhuman exploitation of colonial riches by the latifundia and one-crop culture which lay waste the colony so that the exploiting country can take too cheaply the raw materials its prosperous industrial economy requires For economic reasons misery was hidden from the world's eyes'

[illegible] Castro puts [illegible] in this plague-spot [illegible] body politic [illegible] that

[illegible] under which the [illegible] of low cost and [illegible] poverty is one kind of [illegible] is incompatible with world [illegible] world's great areas of endemic [illegible] colonial [illegible]

[illegible] he calls for a basic change in colo[illegible] which would permit the colonial peoples to produce on a scale sufficient to satisfy their biological needs He knows to our cost that

what with customs barriers antagonistic economic blocs policies of agricultural nationalism and economic autarchy an international balance of food consumption will be an abstract achievement. (P 263)

But he is firm in his belief that

it is quite possible to make the transition from a colonial economy to a co-operative world economy based on mutual interests without the imperialist or colonizing countries going bankrupt Two fundamental benefits will be achieved by seeing that everybody is well fed the winning of health and the winning of security — collective victories over sickness and fear These ailments, one physical and the other moral are the two most degrading characteristics of our civilization." (P 267-8)

And to achieve this De Castro invokes aid from science which is his main theme And he has no doubt

that science and technique can play a decisive part in solving the problem of hunger Production of foodstuffs can be increased to the point of satisfying fully the nutritional needs of all — the human race (But) the point is that it is not enough simply to put all this technique to work producing food the food must in addition, be acquired and consumed by the human groups that need it As effective food policy must look to distribution as much as to production and it must be planned on a world scale" (262)

And he concludes,

To wipe out hunger, then it is necessary to raise the productive levels of marginal peoples and groups, and through economic progress to integrate them into the world economic community

But it must be realized that

certain kinds of economic exploitation inevitably impose infra human levels of productivity far short of normal minimum necessities So long as these types of economic exploitation continue hunger will continue to haunt our civilisation in spite of all our efforts."

Therefore eradication of hunger which haunts the human world today requires not merely the use of science which is surely to be there but calling forth the best in the human heart As he puts it

— The road to world survival does not lie in neo-Malthusian prescriptions to eliminate surplus people nor in birth control but in the effort to make everybody on the face of the earth productive Hunger and misery are not caused by the presence of too many people in the world but rather by having few to produce and many to feed.' (Hence) The real road to survival is still within the sight of man It is marked by the confidence he must feel in his own strength Man's science is great but man himself is greater writes E P Hansen, reaffirming for his contemporaries the faith we must hold in the stature of the human species"

RUSSIA AND CHINA

(By J C Kumarappa)

The references to my impressions of Russia and China by some of my trusted friends make it clear that they have not understood my attitude towards the economy of these countries

While analysing economic groups according to the way they satisfy their needs I had stated in my books *Why the Village Movement?*,* *Economy of Permanence*† etc — that they may be classified into five main categories in order of selfishness and violence involved (1) Parasitic (2) Predatory, (3) Enterprising (4) Gregarious and (5) Service, and cited Capitalism and Imperialism, supported by the Army Navy and the Air forces as instances of the first two, Trade Commerce and Agriculture as instances of the third and Socialism as an example of the fourth and Gandhism as the highest order based on service This was twenty years ago and these books carry forewords from Gandhiji My recent visit to China and Russia has only confirmed me in these ideas Even if the Russian economy may be termed State Capitalism, that is far away from true Communism where the State is supposed to wither away, yet in so far as the State's one care is the welfare of the common man it is far in advance of Imperialisms, and nearer to Gandhian ideology

I have repeatedly stated that neither the Russian nor the Chinese economies will suit India and neither of them can ever develop into true Communism as long as the State is allowed to strengthen itself as it is being done today

As long as these countries depend on centralized industries to supply their consumer goods violence will be indispensable as also the maintenance of an "Iron Curtain" It is only under decentralized economy that we can develop an universal brotherhood working on non violence Hence world peace can never be ushered in by armaments

It has become necessary to reiterate these obvious faiths and tenets as even Gandhian scholars like Shri K. G Mashruwala and Acharya Kripalani have chosen to criticize my statements without realizing that I was not approving Russian methods or their violence All I have done is to appreciate the self-denying spirit, the zeal, devotion to the cause of the masses the steadfastness and earnestness of purpose and the doggedness with which they set about solving their problems These great qualities are largely lacking in our country About violence we are in full co-operation with the users of Atom and Napalm bombs and bacterial warfare Do we raise up our holy hands and non co-operate with them? Are the

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Russians untouchables Are they not also God's creations There is no more Communism in Russia or China than there is Gandhism in India or non-violence in America Why then this 'Holier than thou attitude' We need humility and open-minded generosity

(Note I welcome this article as making ideas clearer and reassuring I have not, however, understood to whom the criticism in the last lines of the article beginning with the reference to co-operation with the users of Atom bombs is addressed Obviously it cannot refer to me as I personally have no predilection or prejudice in favour of any violence whatever If it is a criticism of the Government of India, though I hold no brief for it in fairness to it, it must be admitted that the political relations of India with Russia and China are not less friendly than with the Anglo-American bloc and there is no attitude of non-co-operation with them or of regarding them as untouchables, and I believe there is none in India who has not denounced the use of Atom and other bombs But it is unnecessary to prolong this controversy —K G M)

TO THE OFFICIALS

[The following is from a directive that the Prime Minister of India—Pandit Jawaharlal has issued to officers of Government.]

The governance of any country in the world today is no easy matter and the governance of a great and varied country like India is perhaps as hard a task as any in the world today

Any person who is associated with this governance must approach this great task with humility as well as with a measure of faith Whether we are small men or big we are engaged in great undertakings affecting the life and future of vast numbers of human beings No man can say with certainty that success will come to him but every man can determine to do his utmost to achieve success

The governance of a country does not merely consist in issuing orders from some high office but rather in reaching the minds and hearts of the masses of the people to bring about satisfactory human relations Ultimately almost every problem can be resolved into one of human relations

We have to deal with human beings and humanity and we can only deal with them if we always keep in view the human aspect of every problem We are apt to forget this living in our ivory towers of Government offices and dealing impersonally with files and papers But behind those files and papers and the problems discussed in them lie human beings

(From *The Hindu* Thursday June 19 1952)

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SULTANPUR SETS A MODEL

Of all the places which contributed in the *Bhoodan-Yajna*, Sultanpur deserves special mention as it has set a model for others

1 *All Land Belongs to the Almighty* People of West Jamna dedicated all their 656 *bighas* of land land compensation and a pond etc in the *Bhoodan-Yajna* This is the second instance of a village offering all its lands in the *Bhoodan-Yajna*, the first being the village of Mangroth in the Hamirpur district

2 *Total Land-Gifts of the District* 17,364 acres

3 *Promises* (a) 30,000 acres by 30-6-'52, (b) 1,00,000 acres during the next year

4 *Shrama-dan* (gift of body-labour), (a) to break 5,000 acres of land, (b) to dig 200 new ponds or to improve old ponds

5 *Gift of Manure* Green manure of worth Rs 9,000/-

6 *Gita Pravachan* 1 700 copies sold

7 *Sarvodaya* (Hindi) 230 subscribers

The *bhoodan* received in Sultanpur surpassed the expectation of the workers who hoped only to get a thousand or two But Vinobaji placed before them on the first day a target of one lakh acres and cited the instance of Raibareli Encouraged by this, the workers engaged themselves energetically in the work of collecting land They saw that the people's minds were already prepared, for in five days, they secured more than 17 000 acres In our last camp at Trisundi Vinobaji expressing his faith in the people observed

God resides in the hearts of the people, and He is the *kalpa-vriksha* (desire-yielding). He gives to everyone according to his desire Ask little and you will get little, ask much, and you will get much The condition is that we should approach the people in humility and tell them the truth without any selfishness or egotism If it is tainted at all with either, selfishness or egotism the Deity will not be pleased God is pleased only when a devotee surrenders his all to Him"

The total land-gifts till 21st June comes to 2 44,424 acres.

(From Hindi) D M.

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Drink and Probibition

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HARIJAN

गांधी संग्रह
अहमदाबाद

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor K. G. MASHRUWALA

VOL XVI No 20 AHMEDABAD—SATURDAY, JULY 12, 1952 TWO ANNAS

HANDLOOM AND KHADI

The reader will find elsewhere Shri C Rajagopalachari's appeal asking the people to patronize handloom cloth in preference to mill-cloth It is clear that his appeal is not addressed to Khadi wearers, since all Khadi is handloom cloth. It is an appeal to those who use mill-cloth and cannot be persuaded to adopt Khadi

In order to plead for handloom cloth it was unnecessary to insinuate that the Khadi movement has deteriorated' into "an obscurant denominational doctrine or metaphysics" If at all, Government and the weavers should be thankful to the Khadi movement that unaided and even obstructed by Government it has maintained for more than 25 years now a few thousand weavers Given the proper encouragement it could have supported several times more It was the crores of spinners, who, till the advent of the spinning mill, were the only support of "every thirteenth man of the nation" The mills in spite of their gigantic capacity have failed to protect them They have done everything to ruin them The *charkha* cannot but protect them It was not an obscurant or a metaphysician, but a hard *bania* who foresaw that the expansion of the mill industry must sooner or later destroy the handlooms, as it has destroyed the *charkha* The majority of the founders of the Charkha Sangh were shrewd businessmen,—good and able cousins of mill-owners. They did not put their shoulders to their task out of unintelligent sentimentalism. It was envisaged as a clear economical, social and political struggle for preventing the exploitation and ruin of the masses by a few State-projected industries True, they were not defeatists to take the struggle as foredoomed to failure in a machine-age The struggle is hard, but it represents the cause of the millions That is a guarantee of its eventual success Meanwhile it has to be carried on like a Hundred Years' War

This unfortunate and unnecessary sling at the Khadi movement will unavoidably have an adverse psychological effect on Khadi Men of weak faith will take it as a permit to drop Khadi All the same my faith in Khadi does not prevent me from endorsing Shri Rajaji's appeal to all those who cannot appreciate Khadi to prefer the handloom cloth to the wholly mill-cloth

I understand that the Madras Government has on its files an order that Khadi should be used in the various departments of the State The Press reports that Shri Rajaji has decided that handloom cloth should be patronized by the State and has made similar recommendations to the Government of India Does this mean rescission of the previous order? The Madras State will do well to state its policy clearly in regard to Khadi, as it will affect the Khadi work in that State

Shri Rajaji says, "The State provided no workshops, no training centres and no educational facilities" to handloom weavers. Why is there a research department for the mills, and not for the *charkha* and the handloom? With the appeal to the public, the Government itself must also see the obvious and frame its textile policy so that the mills cannot kill handloom cloth or Khadi But this will require separate discussion.

Wardha, 2-7 '52 K G MASHRUWALA

Easy Conscience for Public Money

Shri N V Gadgil former minister of Works, Supply and Production in the Central Government said that big schemes and 'petty accounting' went ill together and that when schemes for bringing millions of acres under irrigation and generation of millions of kilowatts of electricity were being executed, the House should not be unduly perturbed if there was a little wastage here or there or some petty official was corrupt.—P T I.

Though Shri Gadgil is no longer in office, I am afraid he represents an attitude, which is common among a large body of office-holders in public institutions If this is the way in which ministers look at waste and corruption, it is impossible to expect that corruption can ever be put down or waste prevented

Wardha, 29-6-'52 K. G. M.

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By Mahatma Gandhi
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SHRI JAYAPRAKASH'S FAST

The method of fasting has more often been abused than rightly used since Gandhiji To a certain extent, it was so even during his lifetime, Shri Jayaprakash's fast is an instance of its right use in its purest form It is directed against nobody. It is essentially for self-correction

During his negotiations with Shri Kidwai, connected with the postal employees' strike in 1946 he passed on to the postal employees an assurance which Shri Jayaprakash thought Shri Kidwai had given Shri Kidwai later denied that he had given any such assurance As a gentleman, Shri Jayaprakash felt that he had no alternative but to accept on its face value Shri Kidwai's repudiation

But the matter could not be left there. It had to have a sequal If Shri Kidwai had not given the promise under question, it was all a mistake on Jayaprakash's part A cashier who accepts and passes on a defective cheque without a proper scrutiny makes himself liable for the penalty of his negligence As a representative and custodian of the interests of the postal employees, who had put implicit trust in him — his integrity and intelligence — he owed it to them to make an atonement for his mistake to prove himself worthy of their trust That is what he has done by his present fast.

At a time when chaos and confusion is overtaking the thinking of even those who claim to follow Gandhiji it is good to see a person like Jayaprakash setting an example in the practice in its purest form of a method that is essentially identified with Gandhiji's philosophy of Satyagraha We seem to be heading for a time when the only thing that might prove our salvation will be the realization of the power of Satyagraha and the capacity to wield it, which a few determined, disciplined, pure spirits might be able to show Fasting is the key to the release of the power that is non-violence It acts through self-purification and therethrough the purification of others If it is applied scientifically it must affect even the sceptics in spite of their scepticism. Its action depends on nobody's sufferance. At times it may seem to produce no direct, tangible effect upon the opponent Even then it acts in an unseen manner And in any case it brings us added strength, the strength of sincerity, humility and capacity for serene and detached thinking which are essential to the right understanding of others and therefore their transformation

Shri Jayaprakash's fast bears the hall-mark of uttermost sincerity As such it should command the sympathy and respect of even those who do not see eye to eye with him and it should help to remove any surviving trace of acrimony or misunderstanding that might have been generated among the parties in the past and make a rapprochement between them possible.

New Delhi, 1-7-'52 PYARELAL

A special [illegible] lives on friends and [illegible]thizers of Shri [illegible]rakash They can help [illegible] this can hinder They should particularly [illegible] the following from Shri Jayaprakash's statement on his fast

> "The fast being an entirely personal affair I do not want any publicity, agitation or any sympathetic public manifestation in connection with it
>
> "The postmen particularly, should not feel that they have any responsibility in the matter, and should not indulge in any agitation on my account"

Any attempt to raise a public agitation or revive old issues would be in contravention of Jayaprakash's wishes His statement must be taken on its face value by his friends and opponents alike To do otherwise would be an aspersion on his sincerity and an act of disloyalty towards him it will certainly sabotage the good effect which his fast should otherwise produce. This also means that they must accept Shri Kidwai's repudiation on its face value without any mental reservation just as Shri Jayaprakash has done

The efficacy of fasting as a method of Satyagraha depends upon its inwardness Let those who are interested in it bear in mind the following from one who was an expert in its technique.

> "He who fasts in the expectation of fruit generally fails. And even if he does not seemingly fail, he loses all the inner joy which a true fast holds"

New Delhi, 8-7-'52 PYARELAL

ARTHIK SAMATA MANDAL

(Economic Equality Association)

Readers might be aware that towards the end of May, about 200 Constructive Workers met at Patamata (Vijayawada District, Madras), under the presidentship of Shri J C Kumarappa The Conference passed three resolutions (summarised below), and set up a Committee consisting of Shri J C Kumarappa (Chairman), Shri G Ramachandra Rao, alias, Gora (Secretary — he should be distinguished from Shri G Ramachandran of Maganwadi, Wardha), and three other members to work among the people for the programme formulated in the resolutions

This Committee met last week at Maganwadi, Wardha, and decided to found a new association called Arthik Samata Mandal (Economic Equality Association), with its head office at Patamata (Vijayawada Madras). The Object and Programme of the Mandal are set forth as follows

> *The Object* The object of the Mandal shall be to strive through truthful and non-violent means for the establishment of economic equality among the people of India.

Programme To achieve the object, the Mandal will undertake the following programme

(a) Educate the people to understand how economic inequality in society results inevitably to social tensions, conflicts and lose all-round in terms of the general welfare of the people and how a proper and lasting solution can be worked out only through truthful and non-violent methods.

(b) Carry conviction to all those who are in any way responsible for the exploitation of others in society that they must make atonement by giving their voluntary co-operation in the task of establishing an equalitarian and classless social order

(c) Help organise these suffering under exploitation to stand up for justice and be ready when necessary for non-violent direct action.

(d) Carry out the various items of the Constructive Programme to make clear in practice how economic equality depends on the organization of the economic life of the people on the basis of decentralisation, and to generate the non-violent strength inherent in the people.

(e) Fight for social equality as part of the struggle for economic equality and thereby removing such evils as caste purdah etc

(f) Take all other necessary steps from time to time for the fulfilment of the object of the Mandal

In the course of his Introduction to the Constitution of the Mandal, Shri J C Kumarappa says

' As na non violent society can be created or exist where there is a wide disparity of economic well-being the Conference chose as their main plank a programme to bring about economic equality To this end three resolutions were passed one for the agrarian sector, one for the equalisation of urban incomes and the third for building up the business of the country These are set out in the following pages, and are now being placed before the country to gather public opinion, collect together patriots from all schools of thought to steadfastly work for the emancipation of the people from economic thraldom. The Arthik Samata Mandal has been formed to give effect to these resolutions

" Those who feel one with the delegates to the Patamata Conference are warmly invited to join this newly formed Arthik Samata Mandal without caste, creed, sect, or party alignments and plunge into this movement which aims at laying a sound foundation for a free nation I am sure many will want to partake in this enviable task of placing our nation back on a path worthy of its ancient culture tradition and history, thus help to establish a non violent society which may be the harbinger of world peace on a non-violent basis. '

The following is a summary of the resolutions

1 Abolition of Landlordism and Redistribution of Land

Economic Equality has today become the demand of the age everywhere in the world. But economic equality is possible only when the means of production are owned directly by the actual producers of wealth who are primarily the peasants, labourers, and artisans India is predominantly an agricultural country and hence land is the greatest single means of production India today, however, is not self-sufficient in food. We are up against a food crisis for the last four years and yet Government has failed to enthuse the cultivators to grow more food to meet the growing menace of starvation

One of the main reasons for this state of affairs is the lack of incentive for greater production among those who actually work on the land. Land is often and largely owned by those who do not themselves till it. Hence it has become most urgent that all proprietary rights in land, which are of a feudal nature be abolished forthwith without compensation and land be equitably distributed among those who personally cultivate it. Redistribution of land should be the first major step towards the establishment of Economic Equality and would go a long way in creating a psychological atmosphere in the country whereby people would voluntarily come forward to increase the production of national wealth in every field of economic activity

2 Ceiling on Incomes

"The minimum income should assure to an average family adequate food clothing and housing accommodation, which may be expressed as the basis of the present price level by a monthly income of Rs 100/ Every effort should be made to reach up to the minimum standard as early as possible Disparity in incomes in every sector of economic life should be levelled down Under such a social order the gap between the minimum and the maximum incomes should not be such as would jar upon the public conscience

"Ceiling on incomes should be in force on all income groups none being allowed to hold any property which will yield an income greater than the maximum laid down Ceiling on all incomes be at present imposed at twenty times the minimum income to be brought down within a reasonable period of time to ten times the minimum income"

3. Swadeshi Movement

This conference looks with growing dismay upon the indiscriminate influx of imported consumer goods into the country, since the attainment of independence. The situation is worsening every day and all industries, including the large scale and the small scale are affected The people who once fought hard for Swadeshi since 1905 are also fast losing the Swadeshi spirit. The economic development in India has become lop-sided, as during her long period of slavery and very little is being done to restore its proper balance When all other nations in the world are giving protection against foreign imports to their national industries engaged in producing consumer goods and fostering the Swadeshi Dharma, our Government is not doing anything seriously in this direction. Much of our foreign exchange gathered at great sacrifice, has already been frittered away in purchasing consumer goods such as are being produced or could have easily been produced in this country and which often are not indispensable.

Gandhiji gave a new definition to Swadeshi that Swadeshi should mean primarily village-made articles and only then Indian made articles This conference earnestly appeals to the people to purchase village-made articles and only whenever village-made articles are not available, India-made articles, but never to purchase foreign articles unless they are absolutely indispensable and no Indian counter-part is available The conference further urges upon the Government of India to control foreign trade and ban all import of consumer goods, to the extent it is necessary, to give full protection to indigenous products

Resolutions 1 & 2 have been addressed to the Sarva Seva Sangh It has been asked, in the first resolution, to call upon the Government to take steps before 31st March, 1953 to make such necessary changes in the Constitution as would enable the programme of land distribution to be implemented, and in the second resolution,

to call upon the people of India, to adopt suitable non-violent means and launch on a programme of action not later than the same date, to see that the demand for a ceiling on incomes is accepted and given effect to The resolutions have not yet been placed for consideration before the Sarva Seva Sangh.

Further particulars and information may be had from the Secretary of the Mandal, Patamata (Vijayawada)

Wardha, 23-6-'52 M

HARIJAN

July 12 1952

DRINK AND PROHIBITION

A large body of legislators, including Congressmen, seems to have entered the legislatures with a determination of sabotaging prohibition The propaganda carried on against it and the policies which are being unfolded in some of the States cannot have any other meaning

The Madhya Pradesh Government, indeed, began its retreat before the new elections It appointed a Committee with terms of reference which clearly indicated that it wanted recommendations which would enable it to facilitate drinking Now, it "has decided to lift the ban on the publication of advertisements relating to liquor and also to exclude medicinal and toilet preparations containing alcohol from the definition of liquor as defined in the State Prohibition Act," reports *The Times of India* (29-6-'52)

In defence of the lifting of the ban it is said that the Supreme Court has held that the provision "relating to punishment in regard to advertisement relating to liquor was invalid as it contravened the fundamental right of freedom of speech and expression" (*Hitavada* 28-6-'52) It will be necessary to study the Supreme Court's ruling It seems strange to common sense that when the Constitution lays down a particular duty upon the States, the States should not have at the same time the power to take proper measures for preventing acts which would hinder the performance of that duty. If a person, for instance, writes a book on 'The Art of Committing Forgery' and advertises the book, can not the book and the advertisement be banned and if the ban is disobeyed, the act punished?

The majority report of the M P Prohibition Committee seems to have recommended a system of rationing in liquor In articles of food, which are subject to rationing and controls, Madhya Pradesh has followed the happy policy of allowing a free market in conjunction with rationing It has saved the inhabitants of Madhya Pradesh many difficulties and harassments of the rationing system It could do it, because it is a surplus province in the production of food A province with sufficient food can also easily be a surplus province in liquor. So, if the same policy of rationing with freemarket is adopted in liquor also, there will be no need for any law relating to liquor whatever No policy will be needed to seek out underground distilleries and arrest clandestine drinkers A pretty good amount of bribery and corruption will also automatically come to an end

The clear directive in the Constitution is, of course, a hurdle. From the mentality of a large body of legislators it would seem that they believe that that article was passed rather absent mindedly perhaps, under the opiating influence of the newly erected Samadhi of Gandhiji or of some leading prohibitionist like Dr H C Mookerji in the Constituent Assembly Any way, in whatever other matters the opposition groups in the legislatures might try to oppose the Congress Government at every step, it seems it will not be difficult for the Congress parties to divide the Opposition for obtaining a two-third majority for deleting the directive

Day after day we are told that prohibition has failed I should rather say that in view of the amazing weakness which the Congress Organization and the Congress Governments have shown in taking all those steps which were needed for implementing the prohibition policy, the amount of success it has achieved is greater than the Governments deserve the credit for The other day I received a complaint that a certain District Magistrate "drank all the twenty-four hours of the day", I communicated the complaint to the Government of the State I was informed that it was not true that the District Magistrate "drank all the 24 hours of the day" but it was regretted that it could not be said that the officer totally abstained from drink. Of course, no one can be literally drinking "all the twenty-four hours of the day" The point is how long he is not sober during the waking hours of the day

It is not now a few years since the Congress Government with its well-known and hitherto unopposed policy of the total prohibition has come to power It is more than four years since we attained independence, and the right to make whatever changes the nation needed in the manner of its governance We have duly enacted a Constitution in which a clear directive of enforcing prohibition has been laid down The Constitution is not a party programme, but a national document, binding upon every party that might come to power So long as the present directive stands on the Constitution, no party can scrap the prohibition policy In face of all this can it be imagined that an Indian Government and any statutory body of India can retain on their staff any officer — big or small who can not do without drink? It should look strange, in any other prohibitionist country, if this clear duty of removing from the services every

drinker were neglected by its government And yet we have among our ministers, legislators, High Court Judges, Commissioners, Collectors, Doctors, Heads of Army and Police, and hundreds among the rank and file of public servants, people who are good drinkers How can a police officer or a magistrate, whose own mouth smells of alcohol, conscientiously arrest or punish a person found in the same state?

It should be clear that a person who wants to drink regularly, even on so-called medical grounds, cannot, must not, be a holder of public office Permits for drink on medical grounds should not be meant for public officers. If they cannot work without a regular intoxicant, they are unfit for any office in Government or semi-Government institutions whatever other job they might be fit for in the country There is no look down upon a person addicted to drink in saying this There are in this world, many noble-minded and talented people, who are addicted to drink But this country is opposed to drink. Hence, they might practise any profession or serve the society in a manner, which does not make them public officers

One of the pleas frequently advanced is loss of revenue It should be clear to every legislator that under our Constitution, every Government is debarred from thinking of making a revenue out of drink even if it be literally true that "there is a distillery in every house" Can Government be allowed to contemplate issuing permits for committing robbery, adultery, breach of trust, accepting bribes, or making revenue out of such crimes, even if there was no family in the country, in which one or another of these offences was not committed? Until recently we had, and perhaps there are still, in some of the States groups of people designated, Criminal Tribes The assumption was that every one of them was an actual or prospective thief There are also some castes, whose members honestly held that thieving was their hereditary *dharma*! What was the way Governments thought of dealing with them? Did they think of issuing permits to them and making a revenue out of what was believed to be their firmly established vocation? Such drastic steps were taken to suppress them that eventually the very laws became more oppressive than their crimes When a practice or habit is regarded as deserving eradication, no legislator or government worthy of respect can contemplate or suggest exploiting the habit for earning revenue. *Shruti* (Spiritual and Moral Teaching), *Smriti* (Law) and *Rudhi* (Customs) should all be directed and amended for eradicating evils and not for pampering them

The propaganda for sabotaging prohibition incessantly carried on by some of the papers should in all decency stop It is even more objectionable than what a propaganda against war effort during the years of World War II was in the eyes of Mr Churchill or Lord Linlithgow. Even in the midst of a war peace might be propagated, but not war during peace, because peace is good, war is an evil, even if it is at the time an unavoidable one War effort is, at best, a short time programme Peace effort is a permanent one So, too, drink in relation to prohibition. Drinking cannot become even a short time national emergency. The utmost emergency it can claim is when an individual is in a state of collapse Propaganda which tends to encourage drinking must be considered an anti-social act in India.

If prohibition is not successful let all those steps be suggested, discussed and put into operation, which will make it a success If a family is brought up teetotaller, it is not going to be ruined, not so if it is brought up in drinking Hence, if it be true that there are private distilleries in many a house, organize measures to put an end to them

Wardha, 30 6-'52 K. G. MASHRUWALA

SUPPORT HANDLOOMS

(By C Rajagopalachari)

I have taken up a few minutes of All India Radio in order to make an appeal on behalf of the lakhs of families who are still engaged in what made India famous throughout the world in the old days, viz, the noble crafts of weaving The cottage handloom industry flourishes today as well as it did in ancient times and the fingers of the weavers are as deft today as ever they were There are more looms today than there were in the old days There was no competition whatsoever in ancient days, but today there is a giant competitor in the shape of mill-manufactured cloth which has copied the handloom and like an ungrateful child seems to kill the mother The handloom weavers of our State are some of the best craftsmen in the world Is it not a great pity that they are suffering and their families are starving on account of want of purchasers of their cloth? Should men go and buy mill-cloth leaving the handloom weavers in distress? I have no hesitation in assuring everyone that the cloth produced on the handloom in our State is as good cloth as any textile of that class produced by machinery If it is a question as to whether one should buy mill-cloth or handloom cloth, I have no hesitation in making my most earnest appeal that you should prefer the handloom cloth and feed the families of the handloom weavers who follow an honest and noble occupation.

In spite of many decades of competition handlooms have survived The mill industry with plentiful capital and a strong organization for production and distribution and for propaganda, has not been able to kill the handloom, thanks to the fly-shuttle and to the traditional skill of our weaver families The handloom has maintained its own against the mill and is not

only not dead but is quite able to supply plenty of cloth, and very good cloth and cloth which is attractive enough to suit the tastes of consumers of real good taste, both men and women. I am sorry the dyers by using cheap dyes have brought the reputation of handloom cloth down. Our people are very fastidious and particular about colour and it was criminal to let cheap dyes ruin the weavers' market.

No mathematical calculations or economic doctrines can be a substitute for human happiness where numerous families are concerned, who follow a traditional occupation based on family apprenticeship The State provides no workshops, no training centres and no educational facilities Everything is provided in the little cottage of the weaver and in his family life No call is made on the State for land or capital or training institutes or supervision This national asset we should not lose or allow to be destroyed by neglect

My appeal on behalf of the handloom should not be understood to be a letting down of Khadi. A social welfare movement should not deteriorate into an obscurantist denominational doctrine or metaphysics The weaver prefers to use mill yarn Let him do it For it enables him to produce enough to maintain himself against the competition of the weaving mills Khadi is also handloom cloth The appeal on behalf of the handloom is automatically an appeal on behalf of Khadi also

Let any weaver buy any hand-spun yarn that might be offered for disposal and made available to the weaver If it is good cheap yarn, he will buy and use it up Let him mix it as he likes with such yarn as he finds it necessary to use Let us leave the matter entirely to the skilful weaver who knows his business Let him adjust his materials and his requirements Only, let us insist that he should not call his product by the name of 'Khadi', if he has used mill yarn or mixed mill yarn with hand spun If he does not tell people that his cloth is pure hand spun we need not put obstructions in the way of his normal weaving business Both hand spun yarn and mill spun yarn may be woven on the handloom and the cloth is handloom cloth, though not Khadi or called by that name

I earnestly appeal to every one to patronize handloom cloth wherever it may be available and for every purpose for which it can be used, in preference to mill cloth We should help the weak We should save the handloom weavers and their families from starvation. We can make everything we wish out of handloom cloth, provided we pay a little attention

No subsidies and other helps can come up to the help that the public can give Ultimately any subsidy can help only if the public will buy If the people decide to help the handloom weaver and buy his cloth which is both durable and decent, our handloom weavers need not be unhappy One out of every twelve families in our State is a weaving family that desires to maintain itself on honest labour and seeks to clothe the people for a very moderate wage The children are brought up in the family craft without any assistance from the general public or the State A part of the house is the workshop and family life is not broken up or endangered as in the case of factory work. A self-respecting and self-supporting section of the population of the order of six millions appeals to you and the appeal cannot be rejected Buy handloom cloth whenever you want cloth. Do not let mill-cloth printed and made up to appear like handloom cloth attract you Do not be deceived by such imitations It would be a crime — deliberately to prefer the imitation to the real hand-woven cloth

Freedom and political rights must rest on occupational balance Political freedom cannot but break down if we neglect the foundations of national life Every twelfth person in our State is a weaver Do not let him starve.

AN INEQUITABLE LAW

The Bombay Tenancy Act gives the owner of agricultural land the right to evict a tenant however old, if he fails to pay the stipulated rent or share of crops within time When an application by the landlord is made to enforce this right a period of fifteen days is allowed to make the payment Neither the right to evict nor the short period of fifteen days seem to be just and equitable The stipulation is comparable to the right to foreclose a mortgage for failure to pay interest, or principal and interest, within the stipulated period According to the old Common Law of England, this stipulation was literally enforceable But the Courts of Equity denounced this right as being against good conscience and, ever since, the maxim, 'Once a mortgage always a mortgage', has become an accepted principle of the law of Mortgage Since, in India, Courts of Law and Equity have never been separate, the principle has been incorporated in the Indian law of mortgages as if it had always existed No mortgage can be foreclosed without a decree of the Court and the Court gives pretty good time to the mortgagor to redeem his debt The limit is even extended from time to time if part payments are made, the principle being that the mortgagor should not, as far as possible, be deprived of his immovable property

The same principle should be applied with even greater tenacity in the case of agricultural tenancies The tenant being the actual cultivator and producer of food, he should not be deprived of the privilege and preferential claim to do so to the farthest limit possible His total eviction should be the last step against him, if at all. The absentee landlord's right to the land must be recognized, if at all, as only secondary to that of the actual cultivator It should be particularly

so when he has cultivated it for [illegible] number of years. The rent must be regarded as an ordinary money debt and the mere failure to pay it cannot be made an excuse for depriving him of the land outright, even if there were a stipulation for doing so in the lease-deed

Unfortunately the present Bombay Tenancy Act has not recognized this principle of equity and good conscience and old tenants are being deprived of their fields for inability to pay the rent even on account of natural causes, such as failure of rain or floods. This is very unjust

The law has been hitting hard particularly on the tenants of the Adivasi areas who are too backward and poor to make themselves effectively heard The condition of the Adivasis of the Thana District is extremely deplorable Even in good years they do not have sufficient food left to them after the payment of the owner's share, and for at least a couple of months they almost starve When the year is bad and successively so for a number of years, as during some years past, their condition is indescribable The law must be speedily amended Rent of agricultural land must not stand on a different footing from an ordinary debt.

Wardha, 25-6-'52 K. G MASHRUWALA

AHIMSA, THE ONLY WAY

[The concluding part of Shri Vinoba's speech on the Buddha Jayanti day at Lucknow]

Now that we are independent, we are free to weigh up and choose any of the many ways open to us for refashioning our society We are a big nation and our responsibilities are as big Each one has got to find an answer to the central problem of our country which is what means shall we adopt for its economic and social reconstruction? During Gandhiji's life-time, we tried Ahimsa But we cannot claim much credit for it because we adopted it as the only course open to us under the circumstances and not out of our free choice Our enemy had greater force of violence at his command than we And we could see that the only ground where we could be superior was that of Ahimsa Naturally we took to Ahimsa But now it is different, we can make a free choice We can choose either of the two violence or non violence We can expand our army and strengthen our air-force and navy And we may ask the people to make sacrifices for this purpose even though they may or may not have clothing and food

And since Gandhiji is no more with us, we can decide freely, with a mind untrammelled by his influence It seems that God took him away from us just to give us an opportunity to decide freely what we think best But let us weigh up the different alternatives If we choose *himsa*, the way of violence and physical might, whether we like it or not, we will have to accept the tutelage either of Russia or America, of course, freely The question, then, is are we going to be the camp[illegible] [illegible]tion of our free will [illegible] it will take a long time [illegible] years [illegible] even more to gather strength and even then we may not be as strong as they The ultimate result will be that we may again be slaves And, in case we become stronger than they we will prove to be a danger to the world even as they And we must think deeply as to whether in the name of independence and the free exercise of our choice we want to be slaves or a danger to the world

India is free today And yet we import cloth from outside we even send for experts from outside. The arms and even the men to train our forces come from outside We depend on outside nations even in the matter of education Do we then intend to continue to be slaves? Are we going to put our independence to this use? In our case, God seems to have decreed that either we should follow the path of Ahimsa, with faith and courage, or accept the position of a satellite to those who are masters of *himsa*, armed might This is so, because India is a composite country, very much like a continent with various religions, languages, provinces with different cultural backgrounds and customs of social and individual life Many of these provinces equal the size of the big European countries Is it possible to harmonize these differing communities into a single nation with the force of *himsa*? New problems are cropping up before us at every step

The Andhras want to be formed into a separate State of their own. It is not that they want themselves to go out of the Indian Union. Their demand is not unjust. But should they then resort to violence for its satisfaction? If we approve of violent methods, we cannot find any fault with the assassinator of Gandhiji. His ideas may have been wrong but we will have to admit that he was honest, for he had courage of conviction and that he made a big sacrifice in acting up to it at the cost of his life. If then you hold that men are free to resort to violence for upholding their honest convictions, I assure you, you will end up by breaking the country into fragments Violence may appear to solve at times a problem here or a problem there, but it will create many more for every one that it solves Instances are not wanting even today of the Harijans being denied entry into the temples. Now will it be right for the Harijans to take to violence because untouchability has not yet been fully eradicated? If you believe that it is proper to take to violence for a right cause, you must grant that there is nothing wrong in it.

Hence, bearing all these considerations in view, we have to decide which are the proper means to follow for solving the several problems with which we are faced If we take to evil means for achieving good ends, there can be no end to our problems. On the other hand if we take to non-violent means, all problems will be

not only in India but in the world This is why I want to resolve the land-problem peacefully It is no small problem f ask people to gift the land they have I do not beg it though as a *brahman* I am privileged to do so I would have begged, had I been asking for it for myself. When, however, I ask for it as a representative of the poor, I do not beg, but I claim to teach the people their duty of divesting themselves of their extra riches And I have come to believe that God is using me weak though I am, to complete the task which He had commenced through Buddha The work I am made to do is the continuation of the 'Dharma-Chakra-Pravartan', — revolving the Wheel of Dharma, — which Buddha had started. And mark what I pronounce with the same commanding voice as that of the lion which drowns all other smaller voices and rings clear across the forest *The land has already come to me it has already gone to the landless It remains for you only to choose the manner of effecting the transfer.* There is a tin of *ghee*, which is meant for burning You have to decide whether you will set fire to it or will offer it to the sacrificial flames to the accompaniment of the Vedic hymns. Remember that it is not only the monsoon winds and rains that unrestrictedly enter the country from outside Great revolutionary ideas also enter the country, and they cannot be stopped Like the monsoon winds, they sweep away all barriers No Siegefried or Maginot lines can prevent their entry The great ideas of this age shall come to our country and go from here The equal sharing of wealth is the cry of the age and it will come to be Land will have to be redivided I have no doubt that it can be done peacefully I can see it quite clearly and this is why I speak so confidently about it, and this is why I ask you to wake up, for as Tulsidas sang to Rama, I sing to you, who are but other forms of Rama "The day is dawning and the birds on the trees are chirping merrily, and it is time when gifts should be made to the poor so get awake, Oh Rama!"

I said that just as ideas from elsewhere can enter into our country, so also they can go forth from here and travel across the world The *Bhoodan-Yajna* movement is comparatively a small one but it has attracted the attention of the people from all over the world and they are praising it They say that a strange thing is happening in India, people part with their lands voluntarily! And really it is a phenomenon which deserves to be pondered over with humility and in the spirit of a seeker of Truth While all over the world outside of our country, nations are busy slandering one another and grabbing whatever they can, here in India begins the dawn of a new and happier age the age of giving and the indwelling Lord is waking up Hence I am sure that if [illegible] ment and continue to work with faith and courage, this idea and the truth it embodies will certainly go forth from here and encompass the world But for that we will have to emulate the zeal and faith and the spirit of sacrifice of the great disciples of Buddha We should apply ourselves to this fresh revolution of the Wheel of Dharma with the same devotion And if we are able to do so, we will impart a new and a better shape to the world

I have said elsewhere that at the time of deluge when the earth gets submerged in water, Rishi Markandeya keeps safely afloat, and he it is who ultimately saves the world from utter destruction The world today is hurrying headlong to the brink of abysmal ruin, its activities in every form — through their propaganda, commerce manufacture of atom-bombs etc, are helping its death-march In this mad race, the country which keeps cool and collected like the Rishi Markandeya will alone be saved, and to her will come the leadership of the world, of leading the world to light from out of the darkness I do not say this out of vanity, I am humbly expressing only the truth Humility is necessary and should be assiduously cultivated for it is the foundation on which to build progress But Manu prophesied long ago

"The great men born in this country will set the ideal and the people all over the world will learn from them" And that prophecy, I find, is very near being fulfilled, if only we will make proper use of this opportunity

I assure you that you have the capacity to set the ideal for the world to follow You were granted a leader under whose guidance, you were able to win your independence through Ahimsa. Even today there are persons of great strength of character and piety in our land. Listen to them and act on their advice with faith and courage and the glory of having saved the world will be yours

(Abridged from Hindi)

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(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

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"UNTO THIS LAST — A PARAPHRASE"

[The influence of this book of John Ruskin on Gandhiji's life is well known He had translated it into Gujarati under the title *Sarvodaya*. This word which has now become a household word in India and well known even abroad was thus coined long before Gandhiji returned finally from South Africa to India in 1915

The Gujarati rendering was not a verbatim translation of *Unto This Last* but a presentation in a manner which was Gandhiji's own and which made it almost an original writing meant for Indian readers. Moreover, as usual with his other writings his style has the peculiarity of presenting a difficult subject in a way, which is easily understood even by a non-scholar The Navajivan Publishing House published in 1951 an English translation of Sarvodaya which thus becomes a paraphrase of *Unto This Last* Inadvertently Gandhiji's Introduction to *Sarvodaya* had been omitted in the re-translation This has been now supplied and is reproduced below for general information.

It will be also meet to reproduce from the Translator's Note to the book, Gandhiji's Summary of Ruskin's book. —K. G M]

Gandhiji's Introduction

People in the West generally hold that the whole duty of man is to promote the happiness of the majority of mankind, and happiness is supposed to mean only physical happiness and economic prosperity If the laws of morality are broken in the conquest of this happiness, it does not matter very much Again, as the object sought to be attained is the happiness of the majority, Westerners do not think there is any harm if this is secured by sacrificing a minority. The consequences of this line of thinking are writ large on the face of Europe.

This exclusive search for physical and economic well-being prosecuted in disregard of morality is contrary to divine law as some wise men in the West have shown One of these was John Ruskin who contends in *Unto This Last* that men can be happy only if they obey the moral law

We in India are very much given nowadays to an imitation of the West It is necessary to imitate the virtues of the West but there is no doubt that Western standards are often bad, and every one will agree that we should shun all evil things

The Indians in South Africa are reduced to a sorry plight We go abroad in order to make money and in trying to get rich quick, we lose sight of morality and forget that God will judge all our acts. Self-interest absorbs our energies and paralyses our power of discrimination between good and evil The result is that instead of gaining anything, we lose a great deal by staying in foreign countries, or at least we fail to derive full benefit from it Morality is an essential ingredient in all the faiths of the world, but apart from religion, our commonsense indicates the necessity of observing the moral law. Only by observing it can we hope to be happy, as Ruskin shows in the following pages.

Socrates in Plato's *Apology* * gives us some idea of our duty as men And he was as good as his word I feel that Ruskin's *Unto This Last* is an expansion of Socrates' ideas, he tells us how men in various walks of life should behave if they intend to translate these ideas into action. What follows is not a translation of *Unto This Last* but a paraphrase as a translation would not be so useful to the readers of *Indian Opinion* Even the title has not been translated, but paraphrased as *Sarvodaya* (the welfare of all), as that was what Ruskin aimed at in writing this book.

From the Translator's Note

At the end of that chapter (Chapter XVIII, Part IV, *Autobiography* †) Gandhiji gives us a summary of the teachings of *Unto This Last* as he understood it

1 The good of the individual is contained in the good of all

2 A lawyer's work has the same value as the barber's, as all have the same right of earning their livelihood from their work

3 A life of labour, i e. the life of the tiller of the soil and the handicraftsman is the life worth living

* Gandhiji had published a summary of *The Apology* in *Indian Opinion* before *Sarvodaya*.

† Price Rs 7/ Postage etc Re 1-3-0 Navajivan Press.

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GOOD *vs.* GOODS

[illegible] science has brought about an age [illegible] the human world It has proved its ability [illegible] goods which in its wake has been a pervasive [illegible] out in the thought and ideology of the modern [illegible] We might say that there is growing up a view of life and affairs — a philosophy which can be named Scientism' From such a state of thought and affairs a very pertinent question has arisen Can science deliver the goods? It does deliver the material goods, but what about their just and equitable distribution and about the good to deliver which is the ultimate and only aim of man on earth? The earthly goods are goods only because and to that extent only to which they subserve this ultimate good of man This question is fast formulating itself in the mind of the thinking world in the West which has given birth to science as we know it today Robert Maynard Hutchins, President of a State University in U S A., has broached this topic in his book *Education for Freedom*. The following is an extract from this very interesting book of his —M P Desai]

I
Science and Scientism

Scientism is a cult composed of those who misconceive the nature or the role of science They say that science is modern science is tentative, science is progressive Everything which is not science is antiquated, or at best irrelevant A writer in so respectable and learned a publication as the *International Journal of Ethics* has called upon us to follow science in our quest for the good life and the fact that he is a philosopher suggests that the cult of scientism has found members in the most unlikely places For it must be clear that though we can and should use science to achieve social improvement, we cannot follow it to this destination. The reason is that science does not tell us where to go Men may employ it for good or evil purposes, but it is the men that have the purposes, and they do not learn them from their scientific studies

Scientism is a disservice to science The rise of science is the most important fact of modern life No student should be permitted to complete his education without understanding it. Universities should and must support and encourage scientific research From a scientific education we may expect an understanding of science From scientific investigation we may expect scientific knowledge We are confusing the issue and demanding what we have no right to ask if we seek to learn from science the goals of human life and of organized society

II
Roots of Trouble

At the root of the present troubles of the world we must find a pervasive materialism, a devastating desire for material goods, which sweeps everything before it, up to, and perhaps over, the verge of the abyss. Since the desire for material goods is unlimited, it cannot possibly be satisfied. Everybody cannot possibly have everything he wants. Some nations must be denied some things they want and must inevitably try to wrest them from other nations As long as [illegible] ments of things in [illegible] temporary They will [illegible] the defeated nations to recuperate [illegible] upon a new trial of strength

We know [illegible] that mechanical and technical progress is not identical with civilization We must conclude, in fact, that our faith that technology will take the place of justice has been naive Technology supplies the goods we want, for material goods are indubitably goods Technology can give us bigger, brighter, faster, and cheaper automobiles It cannot tell us who ought to have them, or how many, or where they should go The notion that a just and equitable distribution of goods will be achieved by the advance of technology or that by its aid we shall put material goods in their proper relation to all others is reduced to absurdity by the coincidence of the zenith of technology and the nadir of moral and political life

The doctrine by which we have lived is that material goods are an end in themselves. Hence all activity is judged by the profits it brings The principle is that of the largest returns at the lowest costs The criterion is purely economic All extra-economic or non-economic standards, since they impede the struggle towards the goal, must be obliterated This is the process of economic rationalization the process of looking at everything in economic terms and testing everything by economic criteria As an Italian economist has pointed out the most technically perfect economic rationalization of materialism " is the Soviet system, in which all private and public efforts have only one end The economic rationalization of the whole of life, to the point of abolishing private property and the family, and of attempting the destruction of all religious ideals that might threaten such materialistic rationalization " Communism does not reject the mechanization of life; it completes it. It does not deny that economic activity is the principal basis of civilization, it asserts that it is the sole basis It does not oppose huge concentrations of economic power, on the contrary, in order to facilitate and control the work of concentration, it accumulates all capital and concentrates all economic life in the hands of the State. Russian communism is simply the logical prolongation of capitalistic materialism Materialism has captured our culture It has captured the State It has captured education; for no one will deny that the test of education is whether the graduates succeed in life, and, even those who argue for intellectual development as the aim of education are constrained to add thet the man with a developed intellect will make more money than the man with an undeveloped one.

As materialism has taken over education, so it has taken over morals It has retained the names of the Christian virtues and changed their meaning to suit its purposes

Yet now that the triumph of materialism is complete now that we are all agreed that religion is good for the people, and relief is needed to keep them quiet, and education to teach them to consume and produce, and the family to attach them to their work, and the State to act as the guarantor of an independent autonomous economic machine — the world this spirit has made is collapsing about us and this spirit offers us nothing but gold, with which we cannot buy salvation.

III

The Revolution We Want

It would be laughable to try to build a new order with the old ideals As Maritain has put it, if we would change the face of the earth, we must first change our own hearts We are concerned not with a rearrangement of material things, but with a moral and spiritual reformation This reformation must be intellectual too for it requires the substitution of rational views of man the State, and the order of goods for irrational or sub-rational ones Man is a moral rational and spiritual being He needs material goods, unless he has them he cannot survive But he does not need them without limit. Preoccupation with material goods will hinder and not assist his progress towards his real goal, which is the fullest development of his specific powers Nature will not forgive those who fail to fulfil the law of their being The law of human beings is wisdom and goodness, not unlimited acquisition The economic rationalization of life proceeds in the face of the basic law of human nature That law would suggest to us the idea of sufficiency rather than the idea of unbounded possessions

The economic rationalization of life moreover proceeds in the face of the basic law of human society Men are banded together in society for mutual aid towards the objectives of their personal lives, which are as we have seen the development of their highest powers The State is not an end in itself, but a means to the virtue and intelligence, that is the happiness of the citizens It is held together by justice through which it cares for the common good The common good, in fact is little but justice most broadly conceived peace order, and an equitable distribution of economic goods Since the State is charged with responsibility for the common good, and since the production and distribution of material goods are one aspect of the common good the economic order must be subordinate to the political order

The economic rationalization of life makes the political order subordinate to the economic order or confuses the two We can see this in any campaign, when each candidate tells the citizens of the financial rewards they will reap by voting for him So we look upon our neighbour either as a customer or a competitor or an instrument of production

In this setting we may understand the institution of property Since man is an artist, an animal that makes things, the individual man is entitled to a sense of participation in the ownership of the instruments of production and in the goods produced But since the earth was given to man and not to individual men, since man is a social and political animal with social responsibilities one who acquires property beyond the needs of himself and his family must dedicate it to social purposes This is the rule of reason which is nothing but the idea of sufficiency It is the opposite of the idea of unlimited gain A violation of the rule of reason is one that nature will not forgive In this view every act of every man is a moral act, to be tested by moral, and not by economic, criteria Immoral means of acquiring goods are excluded The enjoyment of the goods acquired is limited The exclusion and the limitation are imposed by the nature of man and the nature of organized society Personal and political rationalization subordinates economic rationalization by relating the material well-being of the individual first to the material well-being of his neighbour, and second to the highest good of the individual and of the whole society The principle of the good of the person and the good of society is substituted for the principle of the largest returns at the lowest costs Faith in asceticism and sacrifice is substituted for faith in technology An order based on charity is substituted for an order based on avarice

The moral intellectual and spiritual reformation for which the world waits depends, then upon true and deeply held convictions about the nature of man, the ends of life the purposes of the State, and the order of goods. One cannot take part in this revolution if one believes that men are no different from the brutes, that morals are another name for the mores, that freedom is doing what you please that everything is a matter of opinion, and that the test of truth is immediate practical success Precisely these notions lie at the bottom of the materialism that afflicts us, precisely these notions are used in the attempt to justify man's inhumanity to man The revolution to which we are called must end in the destruction of these notions and their power over individual and political action.

The Root of the Matter

The root of the matter is a very simple, old-fashioned thing, so simple that I am almost ashamed to mention it, for fear of the derisive smile with which wise cynics will greet my words The thing I mean — please forgive me for mentioning it — is love, Christian love, or compassion If you feel this you have a motive for existence, a guide in action, a reason for courage, an imperative necessity for intellectual honesty If you feel this you have all that anybody should need in the way of religion.

BERTRAND RUSSEL

(From *The Impact of Science on Society*)

HARIJAN

July 19 1952

NATIONAL *vs* PROPRIETORY ECONOMICS

In my article *Handloom and Khadi* (published in the last issue) endorsing Rajaji's appeal to support handloom cloth I said that the Government must see that mill-cloth did not kill handloom cloth or Khadi Let me discuss the subject further

This is possible only if we revise our current ideas on Economics Political or National Economy and Accounting must be differentiated from Individualist or Proprietory Economy and Accounting In Individualist Economy or Accounting, the cost price of an article is calculated by merely adding up the actual out-of-pocket expenses for raw and accessory materials, wages, rent, interest, depreciation, charges of implements etc To this is added the expected earning of the proprietor The amount of earning is expected to be sufficient to enable the proprietor to maintain himself and his dependents on a scale to which he is accustomed and to make some saving If it is so, the industry is considered 'economic', i e, profitable, or paying If otherwise, it is 'uneconomic' The proprietor is not concerned with the 'economic' sufficiency of the labourer's wage It may not be sufficient even to meet the labourer's dire personal needs If it does the wage is regarded as liberal. The maintenance of the labourer's dependents is not the proprietor's concern His continuous attempt is to reduce the cost price as much as possible and to increase his own earnings as much as possible It is well known that in every institution, including an industry the salaries and wages-bill is the biggest item of out-of-pocket expenses Every economy made in salaries and wages reduces the cost of the article to a greater extent than an economy made on any other item Hence the proprietor's principal concern is to reduce the amount of the wage-bill One way of doing this is to reduce the labourer's wage Obviously, this method has a limit The other method is to reduce the number of labourers without diminishing the quantity of production, by devising means for increasing the hourly or daily output of each labourer What is known as the 'industrial revolution' or 'industrialization' is but the extensive application of the second method through power-propelled machinery Science has enabled the industrialist to devise machines which need only one man to operate them, but can turn out the work of as many as two hundred labourers The result is that if that one labourer has to be paid even five or ten times more than the former labourer, the proprietor effects a great saving in his wage-bill. The one fortunate labourer who gets the employment feels that his condition has improved, the proprietor's earning is increased and, since the saving on the wage-bill is considerable and the production not less than before, he is able to reduce the sale price of the article This makes the consumer also feel that he is getting things cheaper than before and he welcomes the machine age The only people who suffer are the great body of the independent artisans or wage-earners, who have been 'dis-employed' by this apparent economy. Even with all the advances in science, the enormous multiplication of wants the manufacture of new types of consumer goods, and the creation of new types of social and utility services It has not been possible to absorb all the persons dis-employed by the various machines' And the competition between the machine and the labourer is not yet over Every year we see new labourer-reducing devices being invented As a result all those millions of dis-employed people who were formerly able to maintain themselves and their dependents with self-respect have now become themselves dependent upon their relatives, friends and the alms-giving public But in the system of Proprietory or Individualist Economy and Accounting, this is not taken into account Ultimately the dis-employment of such large numbers becomes an intricate problem and the Government whether it likes it or not, is compelled to attend to it

But Government cannot tackle the problem unless it distinguishes between Individualist Economy and Accounting and Political or National Economy and Accounting The latter is based on the principles of Joint Family Economy A great and important item which is omitted in calculating the cost of an article in Proprietory Accounting, but which cannot be so neglected in Family Accounting, is the cost of maintaining the dependents of all the persons engaged in producing an article

Let me explain this by an example

Suppose there is a family of tailors consisting of ten members of whom four are capable of doing full day's work three do some tailoring along with other duties and three are too old, or weak or young to do any work and have to be maintained or brought up by the family Whether the family trade is thriving or dull, its monthly fare-bill is Rs 200 If it cannot earn that amount it is forced to run into debt If it earns more, it can save a little

Suppose it manages to have a sewing machine The machine is able to sew six times more than the simple needle But obviously only one of the members can sit at the machine at a time If, formerly, the family could sew six shirts a day, it can easily sew a dozen now The man who sits at the machine naturally sews more shirts than the rest But according to the system of accounting followed in an undivided joint family, neither his earnings nor the expenses incurred on his account are distinguished from the earnings and expenses of the rest. All the

shirts, whether sewn by hand or by the machine, would be charged at the same price, and the earnings of the family would be accounted together as common income; so too, all the expenses. If the trade was brisk, the family might purchase a second machine, but that would not be for throwing those who sewed with the simple needle on the street, as no longer required. Nor would they be allowed to sit idle. They would still be sewing as many shirts as they could and were in demand. If all the shirts they sew, whether on machine or with the hand, cannot be sold, all of them might relax their effort. Assuming that the family could only do tailoring work, and would have otherwise to sit idle, if it found that there was not sufficient work for two machines, it would dispose of one. But in a joint family no member would be turned out of the home. Either the whole family prospered or the whole was reduced to penury. If some members went elsewhere to earn, it would be in the interest of the whole family.

This is the principle of Joint Family Economy and Accounting, and is different from that of Individualist Economy. Political or National Economy is and ought to be an extension of the principle of Joint Family Economy and Accounting, and not of the Individualist or Proprietory system.

Accordingly, the State, as the *paterfamilias* of the nation, must regard all cloth (or any other article) of the same quality, howsoever produced, as of equal value. Let it decide how much cloth it would get produced and by what method. A member of the nation working on power-driven looms or spindles will necessarily produce far more cloth or yarn than one working on the hand-loom or the *charkha*. That does not mean that the value of the former's labour is to be assessed higher than that of the latter, or that the sale price of the machine-made fabric is to be different from that of other cloth of the same quality. If the handicraft mode of production is also needed, either because more cloth is needed than what can be produced on the machine, or because there is no other work in which all able members of the national family can be gainfully employed, that mode of production cannot be dispensed with. The State, as the *paterfamilias* of the nation is in duty bound to maintain all of them, and on an equal level. Accordingly, if say one crore of people are engaged in the different methods of producing cloth, and 20 crores on producing yarn by the different methods, the wages of all of them must be equal, and the total cost of cloth and yarn must be distributed on the entire production.

To put this in another way the introduction of a spinning or a weaving mill in the country cannot be for the purpose of competing with loom-cloth or hand-spun yarn by selling its produce at cheaper rates. If the mills make hand-weaving and spinning superfluous by over-production, it should be the mills that should be retrenched and not the weavers and spinners unless the State is able to provide alternative employment to the weavers, spinners and others dis-employed by the mills. It should be realized that the persons thrown out of employment by the mills have to be maintained by someone or other so long as they are not otherwise employed. And if the State does not find food and employment for them, it is not discharging its duty as the *paterfamilias* of the nation. The application of the Individualist method of Economics and Accounting to the State, must cause disruption, chaos and misery in the nation, as it would in a joint family.

It is the duty of the State to see that either every handloom weaver and spinner is fully employed in some occupation, which will give him the same wage as to a mill-weaver and spinner, or to put the price of mill-produced goods on a par with those produced by handicraft methods. All cloth of the same quality is similar, and must have the same price. So too, all producers of cloth must be regarded as on an equal footing and must get equal maintenance. If the implements of production in the hands of the producers are not all of the same type and if such differences cause difference in the output of each worker in spite of equal labour, this can not be made a reason for giving a less wage to or retrenching some of them.

Any other theory of 'economic efficiency' or 'economically paying' occupation is inconsistent with Political or National Economics and Accounting.

Wardha 12-7-'52 K. G. MASHRUWALA

EVOLVE AND NOT DISSOLVE

A correspondent says:

> "Your recent article 'Dissolve Gandhism' is unfortunate. Gandhiji passed away but not so Gandhism, which represents nothing but certain important human ideals. For a few decades to come we need Gandhism. His writings are so timely; they are like the pole star for Indian day to day affairs. Gandhism is ahead of us not behind us. Please say *Evolve Gandhism* and not *Dissolve*! Gandhism is the highest human thought suitable to present-day conditions."

The writer next discusses some of the problems of the day, such as working for economic equality, sanitation and distribution of land. All these cannot be brought about by mere persuasion. Gandhism should find the *via media* for these. And the *via media* suggested is legislation. The writer proceeds:

> Bapu says in *Young India* (27-5-1925) regarding sanitation: Moreover in dealing with this question of sanitation, one has to fight against old prejudices and old habits. It is a matter of sustained education and one *that cannot be dealt with without State aid*. I regret to have to confess that ingrained bad habits handed down from generation to generation do not yield to persuasion. *Legislation seems to me to be the only effective remedy*. Same with land problem. Vinobaji's work is only a token. When will legislation follow?
>
> "No question of violence and non-violence. You must hammer and din into the ears of our Government that Gandhiji and Gandhism (leave non-violence to gods if the Government likes!) stood for this and for the sake of this certain legislative measures are essential and must be passed immediately

No Gandhiite and any man with [illegible] sense can differ on fundamental issues of sanitation pardah village uplift etc

'Gandhism instead of dissolving must revolutionise itself and struggle till at least some fundamental issues are solved — where all parties can become one — such as sanitation land ban against costly luxurious cars etc'

The letter itself must convince the reader without further argument that I am justified in asking for the dissolution of Gandhism as a school The subjects mentioned by him are good essential and urgent There ought not to be difference of opinion on them, but one cannot say that there will not be any There can also be no objection to taking the aid of the legislatures and State machinery in dealing with these problems when appropriate

But these problems as also the important human ideals for which Gandhiji stood do not need to be solved or evolved in the name of Gandhism Each problem and each ideal might have been solved or evolved by Gandhiji in his own peculiar manner We can do so only in accordance with our own lights We might take the assistance of Gandhiji's writings and methods, but it would not be always correct for any one to assert that he was following Gandhiji's method completely or that Gandhiji would have followed exactly the same method It is the human ideals and the problems that have to be solved and evolved, not Gandhism

Gandhism is what Gandhiji wrote and did, and not what we might write or do in his or our name — even if it be for the same ideals and problems

Wardha 1-7-'52 K. G MASHRUWALA

"LEARN AS YOU EARN"

[The following is culled from the report (*The Times of India* 20-3-1952) of the presidential address to the annual general meeting of the Association of Principals of Technical Institutions (India) at Aligarh recently, by Dr J C Ghosh Director Indian Institute of Technology (Kharagpur)]

Dr Ghosh said that the Universities of India had been since their foundation, the middle class man's stepping-stone to a career, that middle class had often gravitated towards the lower than towards the upper classes "The Technical Colleges" he said, "have almost exclusively provided the stepping-stone to the career of the lower and the poorer middle classes"

"We, who are assembled here should always remember that we are teachers of students drawn from these classes The cost of living today is four times what it was in 1940 Government had hoped at the end of the War that the cost of living would be stabilized at 2½ times the pre-war level One of the principal causes of discontent in the land is the failure of Government to do so I state from personal experience that, because of high cost of living today, the lower middle classes send their sons to day institutions for education at the cost of hunger This state of affairs cannot continue long It may take a long time to discover and apply a remedy A palliative may, however be easier of application, I have recently visited many colleges in Calcutta teaching Arts, Science and Commerce I find that more and more students are working in evening classes to secure their I A I Sc, I Com, B.A, B Sc, and B Com degrees They no doubt take longer time to get their degrees, the percentage of passes in university examinations is much lower than that of day students But then these boys have the satisfaction that they are partly earning their livelihood while learning, that they are no longer a complete burden on their parents and guardians If this is true of Calcutta colleges in Arts Science and Commerce, how much more urgent it is that we should deliberately encourage this trend in technical colleges?"

'England is a much richer country today than we are yet in England 80 per cent of the technical personnel are drawn from the ranks of boys who work in the day-time as a paid apprentice and in the evenings as free students of technical colleges In my frequent visits to England I have not been impressed by anything more than this system of technical education which has been perfected there A boy after finishing his compulsory education, often joins a factory as a paid student apprentice. He generally works in the factory for four or 4½ days in the week He also works simultaneously in a technical school for 1½ or one day in the week as the case may be and also four evenings every week Such learn-as you-earn system enables the boy to secure the National Certificate of Proficiency at the end of the course There is not a town of any importance in England where a technical school of this type is not functioning."

"It is time that in a poor country like India, a serious attempt be made to spread wide this system of technical education The buildings and equipment of the existing technical institutions represent capital resources which should be put to the fullest use Evening classes for deserving poor boys should, therefore, be welcomed by such institutions Government should also be urged to pass an Apprenticeship Act which will make it possible for a young man to work for 1½ days in a school per week for every four days in a factory There are some enlightened employers in Calcutta who have moved further in this direction After two weeks work, they allow one week's leave to their apprentices for study as a day scholar in the Calcutta Technical School. Government may also consider the possibility of making this practice universal In any case, the expenses for maintaining these classes for apprentices in technical schools should be given the highest priority in the education budget of every State."

[A few words might well be added here to point out that Mahatma Gandhi advocated the method of learning by doing and what was to be done by students was necessarily to be productive i e it must be earning for the society This method has wider significance than the mere solution of poverty or high cost of living, which

Dr Ghosh has in view It was natural to draw out the whole man in the student Again the method suggested by Dr Ghosh well contrasts itself with the wasteful and expensive idleness which we often see on the part of students in our colleges and hostels In such context the method of learning by doing i e earning has definite and very welcome implications in the formation of character of our future citizens too There is a movement at present going on in our universities to institute external degrees It is a welcome thing and it should not be restricted to B A courses only, but ways and means must be found so as to cover all faculties — M P Desai]

SHRI VINOBA'S UTTAR PRADESH TOUR — VI

After Sevapuri

Vinoba did not resume the tour immediately after the Sammelan but stayed at Sevapuri to confer with the workers from the different provinces to chalk out an all-India programme of *Bhoodan Yajna*. He asked them not to leave the place until they had got a clear plan of the work they had to do

Accordingly Vinobaji met the prominent workers individually and entrusted to them the responsibility of work On the 16th April he was busy with them for nearly the whole day Sitting under the shade of the *pipal* tree he talked to them for about four hours answered queries and warned them against pitfalls

It is of the essence of the spirit of this work that the worker should realise and establish real kinship with all When the donor feels that the call to make the offering to the *yajna* has issued forth from his own heart and not from any outside agency he cannot but give his due contribution."

No Fear of Communism

A lady friend had raised the question Whether it was tantamount to a threat to warn the landholders of the advent of Communism if they did not participate in the *yajna*. Vinobaji drew the attention of the workers to this question and said

I had asked the members of my company to desist from holding out this threat to the people If we dwell too much on our fears, the probability that they may materialize, increases Kansa was always occupied with the thought of Krishna as were the Gopis the former out of fear and hatred the latter out of love and devotion The result was, however the same for both Both were united with Krishna

Union of All Parties

Vinobaji asked the workers to note the fact that for some days past the R S S and Jan Sangh representatives had also accompanied his party They appreciated the programme and also passed a resolution pledging their support. Vinoba said We are getting co-operation from all quarters and we should see that this non party character of our work is kept up. The various Bhoodan Committees set up for the province or the district should very carefully observe the purity of speech and of heart. Don't worry about the future. We will face it undaunted We will fight, if fight becomes necessary but our approach to the work should be that of love untouched with enmity Freedom from enmity does not mean that we shall not resist evil. But resistance to evil does not need to derive its force from enmity Vinoba repeated the illustration regarding the attitude of a person nursing a patient It must be with the faith that he will recover Any other attitude is bound to affect his help adversely

The workers took leave of Vinoba, one by one These friends, devoted to the cause of building up a non-violent society, returned full of a new inspiration, with a great message, very much as the disciples of Buddha had done [illegible] of [illegible] free [illegible] head of D[illegible] anything less th[illegible]

Th[illegible] with one another by a common aim [illegible] ling They were conscious of the g[illegible] which the acceptance of the cause entailed [illegible] that they had to change and conform their lives [illegible] they were going to preach to the world [illegible] like pearls woven into the thread of this ideal

The workers were thus fully instructed about their future work and the way they were to go about it. Then followed leave-taking from our hosts of the Sevapuri Ashram Speaking on the occasion Vinoba said ' The people expect to find here a concrete picture of the ideals we claim to uphold If they get it in the Ashrams they will feel assured and inspired These Ashrams are the fountains of our strength they are our power-houses"

Thus came to an end this *mela* of the humble but high minded men and women which met at Sevapuri for four-five days and discussed the most momentous question before the country and dispersed only after they had pledged themselves to solve it

In Jaunpur District

Vinoba along with his party now started on his tour of the Jaunpur District. This time Vinoba permitted some more workers from different provinces to accompany him on his tour There were Shri Radhakrishnan of Malabar Shri Narayan Desai and Shri Rajendra from Gujarat Maharashtra was represented by Shri Premabehn Kantak and Shri Nirmala Deshpande There was a worker from Karnatak too and from Andhra Shri Vidya Devi. There were also two French ladies

When Bapuji launched his first experiment of Satyagraha in Champaran he was accompanied by Shri Rajendra Babu and Kripalanji That Satyagraha was the laboratory in which he built the leaders of his future work Vinoba is doing the same, training workers to grow into leaders of his future work.

The *Bhoodan* pilgrimage after Sevapuri is different in character from what it had been till then Now the work has been acclaimed and accepted by the nation. Vinoba had never felt the burden of the work even before, now that it has been taken over by the country he feels lighter than ever and, as is natural with him under such circumstances more meditative

Voluntary Bhoodan at Tikardi

We had a new experience at one of the halts of the Jaunpur District About four miles away from our halt, there was village, Tikardi. Vinoba did not go there The workers however went and explained his mission to them Out of 32 families in that village twenty were those of the landholders while twelve were landless When they were apprised of the *Bhoodan Yajna* and explained how it was their duty to part with some of their lands in favour of the poor they collected among themselves 37 acres for the landless Now there is none who is landless in that village Later the people came to see Vinoba.

It is clear from this instance that Vinoba is right in saying that now he does not need speaking But just as the sea waves rise at the sight of the moon even so the emotions of Vinoba as he looks at the people He feels unlifted to an effusion of delight and as he speaks which he has to do twice a day new thoughts and new ideas issue forth from his lips to illumine the speech He is himself amazed, how he, temperamentally averse to speaking, speaks so much.

R S S Gifts

I have referred to the help received from the R. S. S. The leader of R S S of Jaunpur Shri Yadavendraji gifted 2,000 acres We had already received gifts from the Socialists and Communists Now the R. S. S. was also moved to fall in with us And it is being demonstrated to

[illegible] together all the diverse [illegible] in [illegible] directed effort. A [illegible] quite [illegible] said is the best political activity in the [illegible] stances of our country

The officials of the department of village panchayats [illegible] district have decided to distribute a thousand [illegible] worth of agricultural implements It is an example [illegible] the panchayats in other districts will do well to [illegible]

[illegible]pur is known in history as the seat of the *Sharti* [illegible] The villages have had patriotic traditions of [illegible] from the rebellion of 1857 down to our own [illegible] Revolution of 42 They had until quite recently [illegible] well known village industry of the manufacture of [illegible] which were exported to far off America and per[illegible] oils which enjoy even now a country wide market [illegible] It is fertile and is well known for some of its [illegible] vegetables But the lure for growing money [illegible] has upset the balance of agriculture here also, and [illegible] is not self-sufficient in food

Spirit of Ahimsa

[illegible] may mention here an interesting example of how [illegible] of Ahimsa has gone deep into the minds of our [illegible] The District has a flourishing fish-trade We were [illegible] Bilshahpur Not far from our lodgings there [illegible] temple with a tank in front. The Fisheries Depart[illegible] put into the tank some of their better varieties of [illegible] as part of their scheme for the expansion of the [illegible] trade But the villagers protested against the use [illegible] temple tank for this sacrilege The Department had [illegible] to the protest and the temple-tank was left off

The workers in Jaunpur district showed good enthu[illegible] At our last halt in Shahganj all the workers of [illegible] district were present A committee of twenty was [illegible] pointed to look after the work, and they promised to fulfil the district quota before June 15 The friends from Gujarat, Maharashtra and the South returned from here [illegible] their respective places

In Fyzabad District

From Jaunpur, we entered Fyzabad Raniwa, the first of a series of Gandhi Ashram centres lies in this district Most of the U P workers have had their training [illegible] this centre It was some four miles away from our route Therefore the workers of the centre came to meet Vinoba at his camp Akbarpur one of the biggest Khadi producing centres is also in this district Khadi-work goes on in every village of the *Tang tahsil* Akbarpur has the same place in Eastern U P as Meerut in the Western

May-Day Speech

At Fyzabad on May-Day Vinobaji delivered a revealing speech on *bhoodan* as a movement for the good of the workers He gave the historical background of the labour movement and explained how *Bhoodan-Yajna* was a necessary step in its development.* The society was also possessed of a mind, a collective mind, just like the individual Great man appear from time to time and influence this social mind in their efforts to bring about the reign of Dharma This leads to the unfoldment of the powers of the mind and their refinement in consonance with the age Ours is an age of freedom movements, freedom based on equality and justice *Bhoodan Yajna* is a part of this great movement. It is an attempt to meet the call of the age

Tulsi Chaura

On our way to Fyzabad, we crossed the *Tamasa* near Akbarpur It occurred to me that the residents of Ayodhya had escorted Rama in days of yore to the bank of this [illegible] In Mathura one is reminded of Krishna [illegible] place raises the memory of Rama Vinoba [illegible] at Tulsi Chaura — a place where poet [illegible] court of his Ramayana Parts of it were wr[illegible] and Chitrakut The sight of the place [illegible] Tulsi was bound to move Vinoba, himself [illegible] The place had a very neglected look [illegible] attention of the audience to this and feel [illegible] about their duty to keep these places [illegible] purified physically but also spiritually by [illegible] the message of the great man in the life

D M.

* The speech has appeared in the June issue of the Hindi *Sarvodaya*

THE LAW OF LOVE

(By Leo Tolstoy)

Finding strange the blindness of the men who believe in the necessity for violence, and convinced as I am of the contrary, it is not arguments however, that can persuade me and convince others of the truth, what determines my belief is the certainty of the spiritual nature of man, of which love is the manifestation. But real love, revealed to us by Christ excludes the possibility of all violence

I do not know, and no one can know, if the use of violence or resignation when threatened with evil is useful or useless harmful or harmless what I know and what every one knows is that love is good, it is good when men feel affection for me, it is much better if I feel affection for men in fact, the greatest good of all is my affection for all, not only for those who love me, but, as Christ said for those who hate me who injure me

Strange as it may be to any one who has not felt this, it is nevertheless true, and the more I ponder on it the more surprised I am not to have felt it sooner

The real love which denies self and identifies its "ego" with another is synonymous with the awakening in the soul of the superior, universal principle of life This love is the true, and gives all the good that it can give when it is only love — that is to say, free of any personal interest And it is this kind of love that must be felt for the enemy or the offender

It follows that the human soul suffers when one opposes evil to evil, and on the other hand feels the greatest happiness in returning good for evil

(From *The Aryan Path* July, '52)

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HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor: K. G. MASHRUWALA

VOL. XVI No 22 AHMEDABAD—SATURDAY, JULY 26, 1952 TWO ANNAS

QUESTION-BOX

Salaries, Allowances etc of M. L. A.'s

Q I am a member of the U P. Legislative Assembly Our Assembly has fixed for every member a salary of Rs 200/- per month *plus* Rs 10 daily allowance during the sittings of the Assembly (to members present) *plus* 1½ times First Class Railway Fare to and from Lucknow. (The latter is allowed to be drawn in full whether the member travels First Class or no). The Government has provided quarters for residence at Lucknow, for which the member has to pay a rent of Re 1-8 per day I have decided to take a salary of only Rs 75 per month, and have asked the Government to pay Rs 45 per month for the rent of my quarter I travel First Class, since I must draw the fare at that rate Will you please say what a member of the Legisistive Assembly should do in respect of salaries, allowances, travelling fares etc?

A In the first place, we must observe the principle that we should not raise the standard of living which we have deliberately accepted and adopted all our life That is to say, we must not spend more or live more luxuriously simply because we can get from the Government more money than we need

Secondly, when this subject is discussed in the Assembly, each member may express his opinion on each of the items and try to reduce the expenditure as much as he can. But after the matter has been decided and you find the scale of payment to be higher than you need, it must not be the reason for you to draw the higher amount You should not say, "Why should I take less, when others take the full amount?" Nor, in case you draw less, should you harbour the feeling that you are a better member of the Assembly than others

Thirdly, the amounts sanctioned by the Assembly must be regarded as the ceiling amounts, and not amounts which every one was bound to draw. I understand that the Government rules are interpreted in a mechanical manner Even if a person has not travelled First Class or does not need Rs 10 daily allowance, he is asked to make out a bill at those rates That is, he is asked to make a false bill. If this is true, such rules have got to be changed A votary of Truth must, therefore, refuse to present a false bill

Some members draw the full amount from the public treasury and pay the savings to their institutions or spend them for some public purpose But this does not alter the character of the initial untruth. The point is, if it is not necessary for you to travel First Class, and you do not do so when you travel on your own account, why should you travel by that class to attend the Assembly? And if you have not done so, how can you prepare a bill at that rate? No Government has a right to make rules, which would compel you to prepare a false bill.

From the way the question is put, I take it that the salary of Rs 200 includes the monthly rent of Rs 45/- during the stay at Lucknow. That is, each member draws a salary of Rs 200 per month outside Lucknow and Rs 200 (Salary) + Rs 300 (at Rs 10 per day, Lucknow allowance) — Rs 45 (Lucknow rent) — Rs 455 nearly, in Lucknow. There is no doubt that this is too much. The correspondent regards Rs 75 per month outside Lucknow and Rs 75 + 45 = Rs 120 in Lucknow as sufficient for him. He does not seem to be in need of any extra allowance while at Lucknow It is possible that his is an exceptional case But, taking generally, I think that an allowance of Rs 200 per month should be regarded as sufficient for all purposes That is, it should be deemed to include rent and daily allowance of Lucknow

This does not, of course, mean that Rs 200 per month is necessarily sufficient for every member of the present economic order There might be members for whom even Rs 500/- per month would not be sufficient to meet their needs But the salaries are not to be deemed to have been fixed by the Assembly with a view to provide all the needs of its members. A limit has to be fixed, and even having regard to increased cost of living and other factors, a salary of Rs 200/- per month including Lucknow allowances does not err on the side of being too meagre. Those who need less than even this should of course do so

It is too much to pay First Class fare for travelling. Even for those, to whom travelling by a higher class is quite necessary, Second Class travelling should be regarded as sufficient Those who are used to travel First Class as a rule should do so at their own expense. Indeed,

since it may be presumed that they are quite rich, why should they at all draw any salary or allowance from the public treasury ?

14-7-'52 K G MASHRUWALA

THE PROGRESS OF BHOODAN-YAJNA

It is really encouraging to note that the *Bhoodan-Yajna* is steadily catching the imagination of all sections of our people There are clear indications that the movement will transform the structure of our village community if the patriotic zeal of our workers is systematically harnessed for this cause.

For the present, the major burden of the movement is borne by Acharya Vinoba Bhave He has collected 2,77,135 acres of land till the end of 28th June The work of distributing these lands to landless tillers is also apace The State Governments have not been slow in responding to the call of the mission The Hyderabad and Vindhya-Pradesh Governments have expeditiously made rules facilitating transfers under *Bhoodan-Yajna*. The U P Government is contemplating similar action The M P Government has issued a circular to the administration to help the workers of *Bhoodan-Yajna*

All over India, the newspapers are giving full support to the *Bhoodan-Yajna*. They have been publishing extensive news connected with the *Bhoodan-Yajna*. They have supported its ideal in their editorial columns and made many constructive suggestions for the future conduct of this mission

In U P, the land of Tulsidas, Acharya Vinoba Bhave's walking tour has roused the genius of its poets Numerous songs are pouring out of the hearts of the people. Songs always play a great role in augmenting any agitation. Shri Tukadoji Maharaj, the mass-poet of Maharashtra, is carrying the message of *Bhoodan-Yajna* to the people of Maharashtra

Some of the Pradesh Congress Committees have passed resolutions of support and co-operation Other political parties such as the Socialist Party and the K M P P, have also resolved in their conventions to actively support the movement All this clearly demonstrates that the people have accepted the *Bhoodan-Yajna* as a national movement

The Sarva Seva Sangh has accepted the responsibility of carrying forward the torch lighted by Acharya Vinoba Bhave by its resolution at Sevapuri Therefore it is essential that the votaries of Sarvodaya readjust their attitudes towards constructive work in the light of this new mission undertaken by the Sarva Seva Sangh on their behalf. They must remember that Gandhiji had out-lined these various constructive activities to revitalize the spirit of our people. That can only be achieved by actively pursuing an immediate objective which vitally affects the daily life of the people. The solution of the land problem is that objective in the present conditions prevailing in our country. *Bhoodan-Yajna* is the non-violent solution of this problem offered by Vinobaji Hence it must assume supreme importance in the eyes of the constructive workers Khadi, Gramodyoga, Gosseva, Basic Education, Hindustani Prachar, Harijan Seva, Adivasi Seva, Nature Cure, Kustha Seva, etc are important in their respective fields and have to be worked in the service of the people as vigorously as before. Yet the workers engaged in these various activities must know that the success of *Bhoodan-Yajna* alone will give life and strength to their activities

As decided at Sevapuri, *Bhoodan-Yajna* Conferences have been held in Bengal, Assam and Rajasthan so far The work for preparing the ground has been initiated in these conferences Similar conferences will soon be held in Tamilnad, Kerala Maharashtra, Punjab, Delhi, Andhra and Madhya-Bharat. Shri Shrikrishnadas Jaju, Shri Shankarrao Deo, Shri Vaibhavswami, Shri Dhotre, Acharya Dada Dharmadhikari and others are attending such conferences to explain to the workers the ' why and how ' of *bhoodan*

The workers in Gujarat have distributed the work among themselves districtwise Leaders from M P, experimented with walking tour and have secured 363 acres of land in their maiden venture in one Tahsil

The province of Gopabandhu Chaudhary, the ex-Secretary of Sarva Seva Sangh, cannot lag behind Gopababu, along with his wife Ramadevi, undertook a walking tour of their province The latest news is that they have collected nearly 2000 acres in Orissa

The workers from Hyderabad are not prepared to lose the momentum which they have received from Acharya Vinoba Bhave's tour of Telangana They have collected 6,351 acres since Acharya Vinoba Bhave's departure

Anybody who wants to further the cause of *Bhoodan-Yajna* may ask for propaganda literature from the convener of his area. In the initial stage, actual acres obtained are not the vital part of our movement The progress of the mission is not to be measured merely in terms of these figures. What is of supreme importance is to carry the message of *Bhoodan-Yajna* and Sarvodaya to the smallest unit in the land, " All land belongs to God or the community and it must be equitably shared by those who are ready to work on it for the community." This is the message of *Bhoodan-Yajna*. The atmosphere of India should be surcharged with this message Every village should vibrate with the talk of *Bhoodan-Yajna* and Sarvodaya Therein lies the real success of our mission

I should like to end this circular by making a pointed reference to Mengroth, a village in Banda district of Uttar Pradesh It has patriotic traditions. It is headed by a noble soul named Diwan Shatrughna Singh All the 54 landowners from that village donated all their lands to Acharya Vinoba Bhave. This is a ripe fruit of *Bhoodan-Yajna*. The story of Mangroth reads

like a legend. It should serve as a great inspiration to all of us.

Miscellaneous

Shri Narayan Desai, the son of late Shri Mahadevbhai Desai, has pledged to devote his entire time to the cause of *Bhoodan-Yajna* for one year

* * * *

The Bhoodan Samiti of Delhi, under the guidance of Shrimati Rameshwari Nehru, is preparing a list of land-owners who possess more than 100 bighas of land

* * *

Shri Radharaman, Shrimati Sucheta Kripalani and Shri Krishnan Nayar are contacting members of Parliament in Delhi to secure land donations from them.

* * *

Shri Omprakash Trikha and Bibi Amtul Salam are contacting Punjab legislators to secure their active co-operation.

* * *

The Punjab Bhoodan Samiti has translated Vinobaji's literature in Urdu and Hindi It is being circulated throughout the length and breadth of Punjab

* * *

Bihar Samiti has received the names of 158 workers who are prepared to devote their time for *Bhoodan-Yajna*

* * *

A meeting of Bihar constructive workers was held to organize Vinobaji's tour in Bihar Shri Jayaprakash Narayan attended the meeting and promised to work for the success of *Bhoodan-Yajna*.

* * *

Shri Charuchandra Bhandari, the convenor of Bengal Bhoodan Samiti undertook a walking tour of Diamond Harbour area for 17 days. The tour roused good response.

* * *

Shri V. S. Khode of the Madhya Bharat Bhoodan Samiti had requested all the printing presses from his State to print as many copies of Vinobaji's *bhoodan* brochures as possible and to donate them to the Bhoodan Samiti. Vani Mandir Press of Khargone has responded to this appeal by promising to print 1000 copies of the brochure and 2000 copies of Vinobaji's appeal to the people.

* * *

Workers from Birbhum district of Bengal met at Ahmedpur They decided to collect 10000 acres from the district. The 17 districts of Bihar are holding separate conferences before September '52. Rajasthan workers conferred at Hatundi on the 7th June. The volunteers of *Bhoodan-Yajna* in Orissa met in a jamboree at Khandasahi village. The youths of Gujarat gathered round *bhoodan* fire at Rangpur.

The following table will give useful information to those who are working for the fulfilment of this mission in the remotest corner of the country,

Pradesh	Name of Convener of Bhoodan Committee	Address	Target for next two years	Lands donated
Assam	Shri Bhuvanchandra Das	P. O. Boko Dt.–Kamrup	25,000	—
Andhra	" * Ernani Subramaniyam.	Gandhi Ashram, Gandhipuram, P O Agaluru, Dt.–Krishna	100,000	—
Uttar-Pradesh	" Karan Bhai.	Gandhi Ashram, P O. Sevapuri, Dt.–Benaras	800 000	182,704
Orissa	" Bharatchandra Maharana	P O Ramchandrapur, Via Tajpur, Dt.–Cuttack	50 000	2,600
Karnatak	" Timmappa Naik.	Oram Seva Samiti, P, O Ankola, Dt.–N Kanara	—	..
Kerala	" R. Shrinivasan.	P. O. Palghat, Dt.–Malabar,	—	—
Gujarat	" Jugatram Dave.	Swarajya Ashram, Vedchhi, P O Valod, Dt.–Surat	—	2,500
Tamilnad	" Vedaratnam Pillai.	P O. Vedaranyam (Madras State)	100 000	—
Delhi	" Jyoti Prakash.	Gandhi Ashram, Chandni Chowk, Delhi	10,000	1,000
Punjab, Pepsu	" Lala Achint Ram.	Ambala (Cant.)	100,000	—
Bihar	" Babu Lakshminarayan.	National Hall, Kadamkua, Patna, 3	400,000	—
Bengal	" Charuchandra Bhandari.	P O Diamond-Harbour, Dt.–24 Pargana	100,000	—
Bombay	"	"	"	"
Madhya-Pradesh	" Dadabhai Naik.	Abhyankar House, Mahal, Nagpur, No. 2	100,000	7,000
Maharashtra	" * Annasahib Saharabuddha.	45, Budhawar Peth, Poona, 2	100,000	.
Madhya-Bharat	" V. S. Khode	P O. Khargone (M B)	100,000	2,000
Mysore				
Rajasthan	" Balwantsing Mehta.	Lokawani Karyalaya, Jaipur	200,000	1,000
Vindhya-Pradesh	" Chaturbhuj Pathak.	P O. Tikamgarh (V P)	40,000	1,000
Saurashtra	" Kanu Gandhi.	Rashtriya Shala, P O. Rajkot	—	..
Hyderabad	" U Keshavrao.	800, Barakatpura, Hyderabad	100,000	18,500
Himachal-Pradesh	" Dharmadeo Shastri.	Ashokashram, P. O. Kalsi, Dt.–Dehradun	..	..
Extra (including Andhra, Tamilnad and Kerala)				13,100
Total land donated by 13th June, 1952 (from report received by Sarva Seva Sangh)				210,230

* These names are provisional at present.

SHANKARRAO DEO,
Secretary,
Sarva Seva Sangh, Sevagram

HARIJAN

July 26 1952

THE BOMBAY TAXES

The new taxes in Bombay have raised a spirited agitation in that ever alert State. One of the taxes is in the nature of a surcharge on land revenue. The other is a change in the method of the levy of the sales-tax from a single-point to a multi-point system. The Government feels that thereby it will increase its revenue without increasing the tax.

The agriculturist class has protested against the former, and the middle-class merchant in particular against the latter.

Both these classes are well-organised in Bombay and have represented their cause in an able manner. The Government will not be able to ignore them altogether, and, I believe, by the time this goes into print, some compromise will have been arrived at.

The class which will suffer most and which deserved to be represented, but being diffused and unorganized, has not been able to represent its grievances is that of the consumer. It is surprising that no paper or legislator has represented his cause.

Every system of taxing the consumer *ad valorem*, (and sales-tax is one such), is inequitable to him. In such a system the rich and the poor are taxed at the same rate. But the multi point sales-tax becomes still further inequitable by taxing the poor consumer at a higher rate than a rich one. For instance, a person who can purchase, say, a bag of sugar of 80 lb, can purchase a better quality and at a cheaper rate from a whole-sale dealer, say, at the rate of 10 as per lb, i.e. for Rs 50/-. He will have to pay a tax on Rs 50/- only, and as he will purchase it from a whole-sale dealer, under the multi-point system, it will be at a lower rate. But if he is a poor person, who can purchase only 2 lb. at a time, he will perhaps get it at Re 1 per lb instead of at 10 as. He will have to pay a sales-tax on Rs 2, and not on Re 1-4-0. Thus, per lb, the poor consumer is taxed on a higher value than a rich one.

Not only does he pay more because of his retail purchase, but pays the sales-tax over and over again on the same sugar. Thus, the multi-point system taxes the poor consumer at a higher rate than it does the rich one. As the majority of consumers is poor, and purchases in retail shops, though apparently the tax on each small transaction might seem negligible, in the aggregate the major part of the revenue is collected from the poor.

Similar discrimination in favour of the better land is shown in the surcharge on land-revenue also. The poor soil is asked to pay surcharge at a higher rate than the rich one.

The system of *ad valorem* taxation levied on consumers is in the main unjust. It may not be possible in some cases to avoid it, e.g. in postal and telegraphic charges. But generally it should be avoided.

One of the reasons for the popular revolt against the Chiang Kai-shek regime in China was, in addition to its corruption, its system of taxation. Jack Belden, in his book *China Shakes the World* says:

> "Shih's (a General of Chiang Kai-shek) officials instituted a vicious system of taxation. All sedans were taxed. Vegetables drying on the roofs of the people's homes were taxed. Every time a cow was driven into town, a levy was placed on it. People were forced to contribute gifts to government celebrations. If a kidnapped draftee ran away from the army, his village was fined one hundred suits of cotton clothing to replace the uniform with which the deserter had run off." (p. 76)

One of the most popular things, according to the same authority, which the popular government did was the doing away of all taxes, except one:

> "Because of reduced taxes, they (the villagers) were better off than they had been for fifteen years. The Government they told me, collected only seventeen to eighteen pounds of grain for each mow of land (one-sixth of an acre). Before they had had to pay innumerable surtaxes, including pig-killing taxes, drying vegetables-on-the-roof taxes, funeral taxes, and besides had to furnish much free labour. They thought there was justice in the present tax system.' (p. 27)

Indian governments must take a lesson from this and evolve the art of governing well and at a cheaper rate.

Akola, 15-7-'52 K. G. MASHRUWALA

The Futility of War

But nobody believes that war really will be an effective means because of its results. And so far as I know, nobody really wants to have a war. In Russia I have told many times and in many places of the world, that personally I do not believe that there is a single millionaire in the United States of America today who would not gladly give up all his millions and starve and go as a beggar, if only he could prevent the third world war by this way. So I found that in Russia, as well as in my own country, really nobody believes in war as a means, nobody wants to have a war. But it is just the lack of confidence that the other one will not make war, and so people are afraid of each other, and that brings us into all our difficulties.

PASTOR NIEMOLLER

(From *The Aryan Path*, July '52)

NON-VIOLENCE IN PEACE AND WAR

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HANDS AND MOUTHS

In most of the States the new ministries have enlarged themselves West Bengal heads the list with a team of thirty, including deputy ministers The justification for the enlargement in this particular State is said to be the increase in public revenue Then, most of the new ministries, if not all, have also decided to increase their own receipts from the public revenue Legislators will also be expected to get their due shares

Public revenue has, of course, increased in every State But so also has the population in the legislatures and departmental staffs

A place in the legislature is coveted not only for the opportunity it might provide to serve the people, but also, by some, as a profitable job, and, by some others as a stepping-stone to still more profitable public office Legislatures to a certain extent indicate the amount of unemployment in the country in the upper middle class.

The Planning Commission lays down the condition that village industries should be 'economically efficient' in order to merit Government patronage and subsidies. In view of the serious fact that legislatures and offices are for a good number of people so many 'employments' subsidized by Government, may I request the Commission to investigate how far the employments in these occupations are 'economically efficient'? And, if not satisfied, will they lay down a plan for making the places less attractive to the people so that they may not be sought for their pecuniary value?

I request ministers, legislators and public servants to consider seriously their own economic efficiency before ridiculing the *charkha* and the village industries as economically inefficient. They visibly produce something needed in life, and capable of maintaining them. If their per capita production is small, so also is their remuneration The annual subsidy which they need will be, per capita, perhaps less than a week's *bhatta* of a member of a legislature More mouths have to be fed from the public revenue now then ever before in the legislative, judicial and executive administration of the country No doubt each mouth is accompanied with two hands But the function of the hands and the mouth in public offices is opposite to that in the villages. The hands in the public officers do no productive work (except those of copyists and typists), they only consume it is the mouths, which are supposed to perform the duty of working for the State. Hence instead of having two hands to produce for one mouth to consume, there is one mouth to produce (words) for two hands to consume (the revenue).

Wardha, 30-6-'52 K. G. MASHRUWALA

SHRI VINOBA'S UTTAR PRADESH TOUR — VII

From the Fyzabad District we entered the Barabanki District. We were expected to reach our camp at 8 a.m., but actually we were in at 7 A friend remarked to Vinoba that he was an hour earlier This supplied Vinoba with a good theme to explain an aspect of village industries which is often lost sight of He said: "The advocates of village industries must keep a good pace It is creditable to the pedestrian if he can reach the place of his destination at 7 instead of 8. The speedier vehicles, the motor cars and trains can afford to delay and tarry, but not he."

And from this he passed on to the rather philosophical question of the effect of the time-saving machines on the mind. He said, "The speedier were the instruments given to us, the more indolent became our minds The remedy lies in choosing simpler instruments and using them efficiently." A friend from Wardha who had paid Rs 40/- for his railway fare asked Vinoba at Delhi why he had not travelled by the railway train. Vinoba had explained to him "You had to pay Rs 40/ for your ticket to Delhi. A labourer usually gets as. 13 only for his day's wage. That means you spent about 50 days' wages over your ticket. I took 60 days to reach Delhi, only 10 days behind you, calculating the time in terms of the money spent. But I secured twenty thousand acres during that period in the course of the journey New tell me whether my choice has not been cheaper

People often argue that it is only Vinoba who can get land by asking for it; all cannot do so There is some truth in this. For those who are approached to make the gifts do take into consideration the quality of the life of those who ask Undoubtedly the donor is influenced by the latter's non-possession, purity of speech and love But this should not deter us, for we have resolved to do it And if we follow deggedly in the footsteps of our leader, even the ordinary workers will not be disappointed. For instance, Shri Harivallabh Parekh, a devoted worker of Gujarat, but with no advantage of either name or influence vowed on the 30th January to collect one thousand acres within a year He also decided not to make use of any conveyance He started on his walking tour had he achieved remarkable success. In the first eight days he got 500 acres, had by the end of two months he was able to collect fifteen hundred which was 500 acres in excess of his target. When he was introduced to the audience in the Sammelan, his experience heartened small workers.

Barabanki had been asked to collect twelve thousand acres. During the four days that we were there, we could know at first hand that some few workers were actively going about the task and might show fairly good results if only they had someone to inspire them. From Barabanki we were now going to Lucknow The reports from Lucknow were not encouraging It seemed to lag behind, though as the capital of the Province it should have taken a leading part. A friend from there said that they did not get enough time to prepare for the work. The statement appeared strange in view of the fact that Vinoba had been touring the province now for the past eight months

In the after-prayer speech that evening, Vinoba administered quite a sharp rebuke to the sleeping workers. He said "Some of us are so dense that seeing, they see not, and hearing, they hear not. We have been touring

your province for over seven months now, but there are workers who are still sleeping They are still as listless as they were. In fact there are hardly any workers left. The few that are, have either gone into the Government, or they have fallen into the rut of domestic life At the most, they content themselves with some literary work."

Proceeding further, he said, "They seem to have become so inert, that there is no sign of life in them. They take in the holy water of the Ganga, and utter the name of Tulsidas, they swear by *dharma*, but does any practice it? How can those who are caught up to the whirls of desires and sensual life,—how can they act boldly?"

He ended by an appeal, saying, "I shall not be here for long. I am here today, tomorrow I shall be elsewhere. I shall continue to pursue my work. 'Maa may come and even may go you may or may not help. That will not make any difference to my work Land is bound to come to the landless. As I said at Gorakhpur the land has come already That question is settled What I ask for is whether I can get here, which is my last belt of your district, even five individuals ready to devote themselves to the service of the people? If there are any such, I should like to meet them. I should like to establish a personal contact with them"

Every word of the appeal was charged with sincerity, and could not but touch the audience to its depths, and inspire the workers to bestir themselves into activity. There was another meeting after the speech, and nineteen individuals submitted their names to Vinoba some of whom were well-known workers with a record of sacrifice Vinoba usually goes into silence at eight, but it was long since eight and he was still busy meeting these friends. And he appeared very much pleased, which was natural, for like Tulsi had he not succeeded in provoking Rama into wakefulness in order that he might have His *darshan*?

When they came to see him after having pledged themselves to work, Vinoba said, "Whatever the appearances, this is a vast revolutionary movement comprehending every sphere of our life, social as well as economic. And every one must contribute his share to it. He must devote to it a part at least of what he has. It is a call to every one of us to devote ourselves to the service of the people"

It was now two weeks since we left Sevapuri. The mathematician to Vinoba was set to work. Much in the way as though he were thinking aloud, he said in the prayer speech, 'We have secured a lakh only There remain 24 lakhs to collect, and as many months to which to do it. It means that on the average we must collect one lakh every month to fulfil our resolve.

The workers are now back at their places after Sevapuri and from the reports we are receiving they seem to have plunged themselves into the work in right earnest. They are convening conferences and appointing *bhoodan* committees. The movement is spreading and taking rapid strides on its forward march. Vinoba is keeping in close touch with the workers and encouraging them with his characteristically inspiring letters Here are some choice specimens

To a worker in Gonda, who could not come to Sevapuri, he wrote, "I not much pleased to know that you could not come to Sevapuri because you are busy fulfilling your quota. It would be good if every week, on some appointed day you could inform us of the progress made I have praised your resolve as an example of devoted work at every place where I have been If you would write to us of the growing progress of your work that too would provide good encouragement to the workers elsewhere. In the Kali age, people require mutual encouragement to march forward. Few have the strength to go alone Gonda's achievement will strengthen Lucknow, and vice versa.

"I do not know what Lucknow will show up in the way of results, though they have given us high hopes.

"Kanpur seems to have organized its work quite well in a planned manner Of course, reports of growing enthusiasm among the workers are reaching us from everywhere."

To a friend at Etah he wrote the following

"Etah quota must be fulfilled in any case We have got to seek co-operation from every quarter Since the Sarvodaya Sammelan there has been enough sympathy and an appreciable increase in the extent of a suitable atmosphere for our work. Congressmen are also realizing the importance of the work We must endeavour to secure co-operation from *Gram-panchayats* also.

"I rate the workers' vow of dedication to this work higher than the quantity of the land collected. If Uttar Pradesh workers fulfil their quota of 5 lakhs, it is bound to add to their moral strength and that is bound to step up our efforts in every direction. Therefore you have got to pursue your work with the same pointed concentration as you evinced when I was touring your district. And this you must continue till the target is achieved "

'Your aim in the proposed conference should be to decide on some definite work. At the present moment, *Bhoodan Yajna* is the one basic programme of work which, pursued with zeal and devotion, may well sustain and foster all other items of our constructive effort. In case this programme is not attended to, they may I am afraid, wither away Therefore, the workers should resolve to devote themselves to this task and at once apply themselves to it with faith in God. We may well seek inspiration for ourselves from the zeal nearest the U P work are have shown in this work. One and the same Soul, the Bharat Shakti, is at work in the whole of India, from Kailas to Kanya Kumari"

To the friends in Tamilnad

"The Sarvodaya workers should now see to it that the Sarvodaya message is carried to every village and home. One can get co-operation from every party in this endeavour and this should be done. Shri Jagannathan has been with us for four months and he has seen how it is possible to carry out our mission through love and goodwill. I am sure to this task the Kaveri will not remain behind her northern sisters the Ganga and the Yamuna. I have done my best to achieve oneness with my Tamil brethren through the study of their religious literature I have continued my perusal of *Kural*, even during my walk to Uttar Pradesh. I hope that my Dravid brothers will consider me to be just one of them, and take to *bhoodan* work with their utmost energy."

Let me quote just one more message at the end, the message to Bengal which he sent to Shri Charu Chandra Bhandari

"It is good that the Bengal workers are meeting in a conference in order to discuss and plan *bhoodan* work in their area. There is no doubt that Bengal needs this work done. Bengal is also suffering from this malady. And as Bengal is more emotional these rivalries may also be more acute there. I would like the workers who volunteer themselves for this work to forget the party differences and work as lovers of Sarvodaya in the spirit of unity. We should not look at labels men are apt to affix to themselves but at the indwelling Lord. If all unitedly set out to serve the poor, forgetting their little egotisms and sectarianisms, I am sure that Bengal can generate the power and force of a most benevolent kind, capable of bringing about universal good. If the land which gave birth to the Sankhya philosophy, Buddhist thought, *Shakti tantra*, and the *Vaishnava school of bhakti* and which in modern times, has shown its constructive genius in setting up an international institution like the *Vishva Bharati*,—if that land agrees to take up this work it will certainly lay before the rest of India an example which the latter will be glad to follow after

"The word 'Daridranarayan' was revealed by the seers of Bengal. Gandhiji took it up and carried its message to every Indian home. The *Bhoodan* continues that high endeavour in that it seeks to enshrine God Daridranarayan in every Indian heart. Let all of us, brothers and sisters unite in applying our entire energy that this God-given work may be carried to a successful issue

"I expect much from the Sammelan."

(From Hindi) D M

'Squander-mania'

Vera Brittain, the author of *Search after Sunrise* (MacMillan) visited Shantiniketan, and in the fifth chapter of that book (p 67) described an incident of her sojourn there as follows

'When I left the tent for the Tata House a group of small boys planted themselves in front of me, holding out albums with coloured pages.

'"Your autograph, please?" they demanded in chorus.

'The boys varied in age from four to twelve, but even the youngest seemed to be equipped with expensive fountain pens. Describing the 'squander-mania' which seized India in the first exuberance of freedom, Dorothy Jane Ward refers in her book to a two-million dollar shipment of American fountain pens. Some of these had evidently reached Shantiniketan, bringing with them the American passion for autograph hunting. It was to prove a greater inconvenience than the anticipated snakes and mosquitoes; the hunters escapists with pens, descended like clouds of locusts upon camps, railway stations and public meetings.'

India is even now not free, from this squander-mania. For although we are compelled to buy food grains on credit, it seems we are paying cash for portable air conditioners, available in three sizes, each costing Rs 2,400 and upwards.

V G D.

I PLEAD FOR UNITED EFFORT

Kishorlalbhai (Mashruwala) has uttered a despairing and heart-broken cry in his leading article of June 28th (*Dissolve Gandhism*) which should stir us all to thought and action; but his recommendation to remove Bapu's name from our vocabulary surely does not solve the problem!

The remedy for the present situation in the Gandhian Group, as I see it, is not for each of us to have an independent programme, but for us to make a supreme effort to compromise on non-essentials, and all work together for *one programme*. I tried hard for this before starting the "Bapu Raj" movement, and am still longing for it.

The situation in India today is such that if we do not put our united strength into a clear-cut and comprehensive programme, which can give the masses a definite national objective on Bapu's lines, they are bound either to be tempted by money etc into economic dependence on America, or—which is much more likely—to turn Communist.

So again and again I plead for *united effort*. All non-essentials, which may cause petty disagreement between us, can surely be put on one side! For instance, it is not essential for the salvation of India's masses that I should insist on the expression "Bapu Raj", or that Kishorlalbhai should insist on the black-out of Bapu's name. What is essential is that we should all get together regarding Bapu's bedrock fundamentals without any further delay. If all cannot agree on a common programme in place of Americanism or Communism, then at least let us as many of us as can join hands

Bapu's personality was so vast, that there can be no question of any single person replacing him. Each one of us may, however, reflect to a small extent, some aspects of Bapu's all-embracing nature. We should therefore, band together as democratic brethren, ready to sink our individual differences for the sake of the great cause

Pilkhi, 6-7-'52 MIRA

Note: Mirabehn has, I am afraid, misunderstood my article. I shall discuss the subject again next time.—K. G. M

Hindustani Prachar Sabha, Wardha

The Ensuing Examinations of the first three courses in Hindustani scripts of the Hindustani Prachar Sabha, Wardha, will be held on 14th September, 1952. Applications along with necessary fees should reach the Wardha office before 14th of August, 1952.

Except Bombay proper, the examinations will be held all over India. A minimum number of ten candidates is necessary to open a new centre. The applicable forms for opening new centres can be had from Wardha office

For particulars, please write to

15-7-'52 AMRITLAL NANAVATI,
Secretary,
Hindustani Prachar Sabha, Wardha

INSTRUCTIONS TO BHOODAN COMMITTEES

(The following instructions were given by Shri Vinoba in the course of my talks with him some days ago concerning bhoodan They are published after confirmation by him)

1. Custody of Gift-deeds

Gift-deeds should be prepared in duplicate, each of which should be duly signed and attested by witnesses Regional Bhoodan Committees should collect and keep them in their office and when a sufficient number is collected, they should send them to the Sarva Seva Sangh, Sevagram, *under registered post* to eliminate the chance of their being lost in transit The Sarva Seva Sangh will return them to the respective regional committees after getting Shri Vinoba's signature on them

2. Form of Gift-deeds

The forms sent from the Sarva Seva Sangh office will be used in places where the regional language is Hindi written in the Devanagari script In other provinces, the form of the gift-deed should be printed in both Hindi (Devanagari script) and the regional language and script The regional language form should be printed on one side and that of Hindi in the Nagari script on the other Donors and witnesses should sign on the regional language form, and the Regional Bhoodan Committee should fill in the names and addresses of the donor, witnesses and other details on the back in the Hindi-Nagari form, so that it might be understood by others

3. Money Donations in the Bhoodan-Yajna

Several persons have indicated their desire to donate money for purchasing land and distributing it to the landless. Vinobaji declines such donations and asks intending donors to purchase land themselves and offer it in the *Bhoodan-Yajna* The Committees should follow the same practice They too will not accept money donations for *bhoodan*. The same rule will be observed in respect of donations of bullocks, wells etc That is to say, the Committees will ask the donors to donate in the form of land, wells, bullocks etc Donations of wells should be accepted judiciously For in several places it will be difficult to estimate the cost of wells Hence, donations for wells should be taken only from persons, who are prepared to see through the construction of a well whatever it might cost

4. Distribution of Gifted Land

(a) Land should be distributed only after a gift-deed is signed by Vinoba

(b) The work of distribution can be carried on even in the rainy season But land will belong to the new cultivator only after the crop is harvested

(c) In the initial stage the work of distributing land should not be entrusted to local committees. Though their help should be taken and the preparatory work should be got done from them, the responsibility of distributing land should entirely rest with the Pradesh Committees The work of distributing land plays an important role in the success of the *Bhoodan-Yajna* If it is not done properly, and deserving persons do not get land, the very object of *bhoodan* will be defeated and no new land-gifts will be available But if it is carried on properly, new land-gifts might be obtained even at the time of distribution

(d) No haste should be made in distributing land It is not proper to start distributing land immediately land gifts are obtained. It would be advisable to wait for some months before they are distributed to the landless.

(e) Our first object is to give land to the absolutely landless people Those possessing some land (though not much) will be given if surplus land is left after it is distributed among the absolutely landless

5. Acquiring Land-gifts

(a) Regional Bhoodan Committees may, if necessary, form District and local Committees and appoint even individuals for the purpose of collecting land-gifts In order to keep up the high standard of *bhoodan* work and to co-ordinate it, it is necessary that the intending volunteers first send in their names to their respective Bhoodan Committee and undertake the work only after they have received its consent Regional Committees will declare names of volunteers from time to time

Needless to say that every person is personally free to persuade his friends to make their offerings in the *Bhoodan-Yajna*

(b) Every donor should be explained at the time of accepting land-gifts that it will be his duty to look after the gifted land and even to sow crops in it if it is not distributed before the rainy season. He is expected to hand over the produce of the gifted land to the Bhoodan Committee after deducting the amount of expense incurred by him on it.

Sevagram, 4-7-'52

VALLABHSWAMI,
Joint Secretary
Sarva Seva Sangh

(From Hindi)

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Blacking out Gandhi?

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(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor: K. G. MASHRUWALA

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SALES TAX

(By M K Gandhi)

[I have been requested to reproduce the following article of Gandhiji (*Harijan*, 8-9-'46). I do so gladly But I am afraid that it helps neither the Government, nor the merchants. The issue at present between them is not whether there should or should not be a sales tax, but whether it should be on a single-point or a multi-point system

This has to be examined on the criterion suggested by Gandhiji in para three of the article. The Government must show that it does not hit the poor, and the opponents must show that the money raised thereby will not be used for the public good It must also be examined whether the people have the capacity to bear the burden of additional taxes

On the land-surcharge issue the Government has surrendered to the landowners It has revealed the strength of the landed interests in the Government For, really, having regard in the fact that the land revenue has not been revised for a very long time, and that the price-level has considerably risen since the date of the last settlement, there was some justification for the surcharge But there, too, a higher rate of surcharge was proposed to be levied on the inferior soil Such soil also generally happens to be possessed by the poorer class of farmers Hence the proposed manner of surcharge was inequitable. Here I do not go into the fundamental issues such as the collection of land revenue in kind, and exemption of certain class of holdings from tax.

Wardha, 29-7-'52 —K. G. M.]

I have received many letters in regard to the Sales Tax Act of the Bombay Presidency. Many arguments advanced against it are, in my opinion, thoughtless Nevertheless, I placed some of the complaints before the Finance Minister, Shri Vaikunthbhai Mehta is a cautious and conscientious Minister. He has sent me a full reply.

It appears that this Act was framed before the popular Government came in The present Ministry have made some essential changes in it. The letters received by me were full of criticism giving the impression that the present Government was wilful, indifferent to public opinion and the tax was already in vogue. As a matter of fact, not only has the collection of the Sales Tax not begun, but it has been postponed till October 1st and may be delayed still further if need be Moreover, many articles of necessary use have been exempted, thereby showing that the Government has paid due attention to public objections and inconvenience. I am aware that there are people who hold that there should be no Sales Tax at all. A great deal has been said in favour of this view But no government can exist if it were to listen to abstract objections In other words, it is wisdom, in such cases, not to raise basic issues.

The Sales Tax is in vogue in many provinces The main criterion in judging any tax should be that it does not hit the poor. It should also be seen that the money raised thereby, is used for the public good

A popular ministry is responsible in the legislatures and cannot do anything without their consent Every elected member in a popular legislature is responsible to his voters Therefore, the voter who represents the public should ponder well before embarking on any criticism of the government of his creation. Moreover, one bad habit of the people should be borne in mind. They do not like any tax whatsoever Where there is good government, the tax-payer gets full return for his money as, for example, the water tax in cities No tax-payer could get water on his own for the same payment But even so, and in spite of the fact that the tax is levied by the popular will, tax-payers always resent even paying such taxes It is, of course, true that one cannot prove the benefit of all taxes as easily as the one I have cited as an example But as society grows in size and complexity and the field of service also grows, it is difficult to explain in the individual tax-payer, how he gets his return for any particular tax. This much, however, is clear that taxes as a whole should stand for the general benefit of society. If this were not so, the argument that taxes were levied by popular will would not hold To the extent that we are still under foreign rule, the Government is not wholly responsible to the people But in the Provinces today the Governments are popular up to a large extent and we must judge the Sales Tax accordingly.

New Delhi, 20-8-'46 (From *Harijanbandhu*)

SHRI VINOBA'S UTTAR PRADESH TOUR — VIII

U. P. Government's Co-operation

Our two-day (8th and 9th May) halt in Lucknow the capital city of U P., was marked by visits of important persons and important discussions on *Bhoodan-Yajna*. Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant, the Chief Minister, announced in a Press Conference that his Government would lend full support to *Bhoodan-Yajna*. Among others who met Vinoba, were the President of the Provincial Congress Committee, Ministers of Food and Agriculture, Government Secretaries, University Professors, the Chairmen and about 500 secretaries of Panchayat Raj Committees, Pressmen, and some members of the R. S. S.

The Government Secretaries put before Vinoba some of their doubts and the legal difficulties that would arise in the transfer of land under *Bhoodan-Yajna*. There was a frank discussion, and they were all highly impressed by Vinoba's talks and appreciated the importance of the mission. At the end of the meeting the Chief Secretary, Shri Jha, said "Sir we shall try to remove all legal difficulties that would arise in your work; say, it will be our duty to do so. Nobody can disagree with your mission. But it is clear from what you explained to us that the basis of your work is mainly moral." Vinoba readily agreed with him and explained, "You have properly grasped it."

Patil Controversy

The statement which Shri R. K. Patil had issued after the Sevapuri Conference often became a subject of discussion at various places in our tour. It was not unexpected that Lucknow should broach this subject again. Vinoba said, "Criticism of my work does not hinder but helps me. If I could convert all people to my views, I would give up this work and take up another, which has so far been neglected. People everywhere may not be aware that Shri R. K. Patil himself has donated a large portion of his land to the *Bhoodan-Yajna* and if I desired, he would donate even more. So there is no difference of views between us. The idea of *Bhoodan-Yajna* is dear to Shri Patil. But the problem of the pair of bullocks troubles him. He feels that five acres are insufficient for a pair of bullocks. But the question is whether we desire to distribute land to men or to bullocks? If it were to bullocks, we should seek the opinion of bullocks, but if it was to *kisans*, I have consulted them at several places in different districts of U P and they have assured me that they could produce their livelihood from five acres. Hence, I am distributing five acres. 'Economic holding' is a relative term. to M P. a pair of bullocks ploughs 20 acres, which, perhaps makes Shri R. K Patil think that 20 acres are needed to constitute an economic holding. But the U P Government has fixed 6¼ acres for economic holding. I have no objection against distributing 6¼ acres to place of five. If you donate more I shall distribute more. It is for you to bring more land. And you should remember that it is not the standard of Lucknow but that of a village that will determine the adequacy of the holding." Continuing Vinoba observed:

"We should not forget the deplorable economic condition of the country when we discuss an economic holding. We have very limited land in our country. The right remedy therefore lies not in increasing the size of holdings, but in resorting to intensive cultivation of a small piece of land and in increasing crops per acre. There are small holdings in China and Japan.

"Just as a pair of bullocks requires 15 to 20 acres for an economic holding, similarly a tractor will require perhaps 500 acres. Thus economic holding varies with the technique of agriculture.

"But I ask them to give up all these standards and decide how much land will be required for an average family and distribute accordingly. Let there be co-operation wherever it is required. People are putting forth a plea for full co-operation. But I see that the country has not still reached that stage, but partial co-operation is possible in matters of ploughing, irrigation, night-watches etc. Even at present they work together for some operations. Again we do not distribute land to all the landless people. Only those who have no other means of livelihood, who live on agricultural labour and know the work of agriculture will get land.'

Referring to the suggestion that people should better be absorbed in village industries instead of increasing the pressure on land Shri Vinoba said, "It should be unnecessary to impress the importance of village industries on one who has been working for it for the last 30 years. In our work *bhoodan* and village industries are wedded together as Sita and Rama. If anyone has a Lakshman to bring into the service of the two I would certainly like to know that companion.

The Paramdham (Vinoba's Ashram in Paunar) experiment of ploughing with man power is alone sufficient to disprove the plea that small holdings produce less crops. There are several others who will cite similar experiences."

Questions and Answers

Q In what time do you think your work will achieve success?

Vinoba Success can be judged from two angles. First, how far have we advanced towards our goal? Secondly, what is our own conception of 'success'? I shall say that I am reaping more fruits than what I deserve and I are that still more fruits are to come in future. I had estimated that I would get one lakh acres of land in a year. My estimate proved correct. Now its scope has become enlarged. The workers from all over the country have pledged themselves to collect 25 lakhs to the next two years. Wherever I go, I see increasing enthusiasm in the people. My work continued unhindered even during the election period. Now the atmosphere is more favourable; so also sympathy for the cause. Expectations too have risen. I consider this as only a symbolical movement to the direction of a social revolution.

Q What do you mean by a symbolical movement in the direction of a social revolution?

Vinoba I see clearly the events that are going to happen in future. Only those who have eyes can have this vision. A blind person sees a pillar only when he strikes against it. The people do not take time to understand the idea of *bhoodan*. When once the public opinion is crystallised, so that landlords also favour this idea, it paves the way for both legislation as well as a revolution, and no citizen would then oppose it. The Leftists, Rightists and Wrongists — all support me today. They have a doubt to respect of only the distribution of land. So far the distribution is to progress in only the Hyderabad State. Until now I have received no complaint against it.

There cannot be much contradiction to the fields of Thought and Literature, and of Literature and Objective Reality. For thought emerges first and then expresses itself to word. And act follows the word. If people had adhered to the idea that land should remain with its landlords, they would not have voluntarily given their possession. Why should land have come running to me? The truth is that the land does not wish to stay with its present owners, but wants to embrace its rightful owners. It has offered itself to be handed over to the landless. Otherwise how could I have got land to so less like Telangana where people hardly understood my language? But I saw that the One who inspired me to ask for land, inspired others to donate it. And now the atmosphere

has been more favourable and *bhoodan* has gained a momentum. This is the reason why I say that land wants to run away from its present owners and embrace the landless who know how to till soil.

Q. In what duration of time do you think the problem of the landless will be solved?

Vinoba: Lord Buddha came and tried his best to end miseries of the world; but they still remained. I am not out to end any problem for all time. May be, in the meantime my own problem may end, and the Press might publish a newsitem that the Vinoba-problem is over (This evoked a loud laughter in the audience). The solution of the problem, therefore, depends upon the intensity of our efforts. The reputation of one who asks land may be compared to a bridge over a river, which joins its two banks. The people on both the sides should have an unflinching faith in the integrity of the man. When people will see that he aims to harmonize the good of both the giver and the taker, they will give unreservedly. Our most important task lies in transforming the general psychology of acquisitiveness into that of giving. This is a fundamental work, charged with revolutionary potentialities.

University Education

Vinoba had also important talks with the University professors. They sought a guidance from Vinoba about the way in which universities could further the work of Sarvodaya. Vinoba said that he would like the university education to be revolutionized. It offered at present no opportunity to the peasant, carpenter, blacksmith and other artisans. Each student should devote four hours daily in productive labour and earn his bread and should ask for no help from parents for his education.

Q. "But how can all this be possible in a city?" asked the professors.

Vinoba: Why should it not be? A city is as much a part of the universe as a village. My advice to the university students is that they should go to the universe for education. They should come into a living contact with the world. At present agriculture is being taught through English. For the last 10,000 years our people know the art of cultivation. Why should the knowledge of English be necessary to know its science? Surely it is not a subject of a modern branch of science. Had I been the head of an Agricultural College I would have entrusted the students and the staff with a fine laboratory, a good library and necessary agricultural implements and told them that they would have no salaries, stipends, or remittances from their homes but that they should produce useful crops, discover newer and newer things and gain knowledge through self help. Unless we do not undertake such a revolutionary move, the modern education will not go. I thank God that we are not in the full grip of this education. As long as the old system of education exists we must take it that we are still governed by the old order of government. Even those big powers which have no faith in non-violence have done a great deal of constructive work through education. Much more should we who believe in *ahimsa* scrap the present educational system and labour incessantly for constructive work."

National Planning Commission

There was also some discussion on the National Planning Commission. Vinoba said, "Economists of your eminence ought to have given your comments upon the National Planning Commission Report. People have a right to expect this much from you. But their desire remained unfulfilled. Hardly 4 or 5 persons from the whole nation have expressed views on the Report."

Outline of Sarvodaya

Before closing these friends desired Vinoba to give them an outline of Sarvodaya. Vinoba said: "I believe that Economics is not such an absolute science as Mathematics. It changes with changes in the society. The villages of India must become self-supporting and they must be saved from fluctuations as much as possible. They must manufacture the finished goods which they require in their own villages, if the requisite raw material for them is produced locally. Machines should belong to the society at large. There should be no intervening agency between production and ultimate distribution. A society based on *ahimsa* cannot function through intermediate agencies. To bring about such a society village industries should thrive. All should get food and all must work. The economy of the nation should be planned on the lines of a joint family. If the *charkha* can provide employment to all it should be used. Whenever I talk of *charkha*, and of ensuring food and employment to all, the National Planners say, 'Ours is a partial planning and not National Planning.' Then I say, I look at the National Planning from the Sarvodaya point of view. And if you cannot plan for the whole nation but have to discriminate, posing myself as a Communist, I say, 'In that case you should discriminate in favour of the poor in making your plan.' This is my outline of Sarvodaya in brief."

Women vs. Men

Some ladies too had come to see Vinoba. Vinoba explained to them about the evils of *purdah* system etc. One of them asked Vinoba whether, in the work of uplifting the womanhood, they should seek co-operation of men or rely on their own strength.

Vinoba: I wish that as far as possible you should help yourselves. Not only this, I even go further and say that the entire work of basic education should be entrusted to women.

A lady asked: Wherever we work, our work is being obstructed by man. What should we do?

Vinoba: Launch *Satyagraha*. There is already a fountain of love in your hearts. It has only to be coupled with insistence.

R. S. S.

Speaking to the members of the R. S. S., Vinoba said: "We must discard that service which divides humanity into pieces. Today, both Hindus and Muslims are unhappy. Both need protection from cold. If at this time anybody offers me blankets only for Hindus or only for Muslims I will throw them away. Along with the spirit of service you must strengthen in you the thought that 'I am pure Spirit (*Atma*).' My body may be born a Brahman or a Shudra, a man or a woman, but I am not any of these. I am above it. If I say that this body and I are one, I deprive myself of the limitless power which is mine as spirit and reduce myself to an individual with the limited power of the body. Although we are larger in number than Muslims we still harbour the feeling that Muslims might overcome us. We are constantly afraid of Pakistan as Pakistan is of us. History has shown to us the great strength of this nation. But today this unfounded fear is frightening us. Let us extend our hands to Muslims. Those who never do so and keep 'lathi' in their hands for protection can never dismiss fear. Befriend Muslims and you will realize that they are equally love-thirsty as you are. They too are amenable to love, and they love their children in the same way as you do. God has not endowed any particular community with cruelty. It will be a serious charge on God if we say that the Muslim community as such is cruel. India has absolutely nothing to fear from anybody and nobody has strength to destroy her. But we lack in faith and magnanimity of heart. We wish to reforms and have no courage to mix with others. Hence we are groaning under such hardships."

The 9th was the Buddha Jayanti day. Vinoba's speech of that day has been already published in *Harijan* (5-7-'52). It is needless to repeat it here.

In the Capital of Uttar Pradesh, those who had the privilege to hear Vinoba that day, felt as if the very Buddha was preaching to them.

In our three halts in the Lucknow District we got 9,012 acres from 208 donors.

(Translated from Hindi) D. M.

HARIJAN

Aug. 2 1952

BLACKING OUT GANDHI ?

I have already referred to a letter which disapproved of my article *Dissolve Gandhism*. Shrimati Mirabehn's plea has also been published. I have also received some letters which warmly approve of my article The approval and the disapproval cancel each other and leave no reason to the writer for a feeling of egoistic satisfaction of having made a very nice contribution But they leave behind a suggestion that the subject must be considered further in a dispassionate manner.

Mirabehn appears to have missed my point. It is not out of despair or a heart-broken feeling that I say 'Dissolve Gandhism', nor out of any feeling of disagreement with Mirabehn or others. There can be also no question of removing from our vocabulary or blacking-out Bapu's name. So long as humanity exists on the face of this earth, I cannot conceive of Gandhi becoming a forgotten name I believe he will be remembered and his life and teachings will be studied with no less reverence and for no less long time than the life and teachings of any great master that the world has produced Surely I have not accepted, or have not been entrusted with, the editorship of Gandhiji's own paper to remove his own name from the vocabulary Socrates has not been forgotten, aven though we do not speak of Socratesism, and in our own country we have not forgotten the great names of Janaka, Yajnavalkya, Vasishtha, and many others, although no 'isms' have been perpetuated in their names. My faith is that Gandhiji's name and the cream of his teachings will live even longer and shine with far more increasing lustre in the ages to come without the fetters of Gandhism than if they are attempted to be organized into a system or defined in exact language

Let us learn from what has happened during the short period of the last five years. Rama Raj was an old, respectable and popular term among our prople for numberless centuries. It stood for an ideal State The ideal was not laid down in definite terms or objectives. All it conveyed to the mass mind was that it would be a world in which every one would be happy and contented There would be no strife, no disease, no untimely deaths No one knew or cared to know whether it would be a democratic or an autocratic State, a republican or a monarchical government and capitalist or socialist, a centralized or a decentralized order It was open to try any system which could make people happy and contented, and abolish war, disease and premature or unnatural death. This indefiniteness prevented the term Rama Raj being made the motto of any particular party

On account of Gandhiji's partiality for old terms, he brought the term Rama Raj into more frequent use than ever The happily vague ideal began to take concrete shapes and was identified with Purna Swaraj, or Complete Independence with Gandhiji's picture of Indian Home-Rule or the Karachi resolution of the Congress

Rightly or wrongly, the Congress was regarded by the popular mind as the institution which had the responsibility of achieving that ideal. Rama Raj, Gandhi Raj, Congress Raj, became synonymous terms in the minds of the people as well as of the opponents of the Congress Before the Partition, the Muslim League jeered at it and opposed it as being a Hindu ideal. After Independence we see how the wide-spread feeling of dissatisfaction with the present state of affairs, has brought into disrepute all these terms and how they are ironically employed to suggest every form of maladministration and corruption This invariably happens when larger and wider terms are used for small, narrow, concrete systems and objectives. Christianity, Islam, Sanatanism, Buddhism, Jainism, Sikkhism, all have become narrow unprogressive creeds, when organized by their founders or followers. They become exclusive and incapable of being universally accepted I would like the teachings of Gandhiji to be saved from this fate.

The same post which brought me Mirabehn's article, brought me a letter from Mr Horace Alexander from England Along with other interesting matters, he writes

> "I have been reading Mirabehn's final article (*Bapu Raji* and your comment on it. I find myself in much unity with Mirabehn who, I think, is interpreting Gandhiji's message to the world in the way that any Westerner who has lived close to him would be likely to do. And yet I agree with your comment. No one of us has the right to use his name Let us rather learn from him that any truth we think we have apprehended must be set before the world on its own merits and even though we may think we learnt it all from him, yet still we can only say This is, I believe, the truth', not 'This is Gandhi's truth' Did he not himself say (in effect) more than once, 'When my name is forgotten, then perhaps the world will begin to accept the truth. I have tried to teach'? In fact we must all learn not to lean on him—not even on his name Of course, if any one says, 'But you learnt that from Gandhi', it is not your original idea', the reply must always be, 'Yes, of course, I did'."

Mr Horace Alexander has grasped the idea correctly and expressed it well

There are other letters also from which I could have quoted usefully, if I could devote more space.

But the use of Gandhi's name is not after all a matter on which a controversy need be raised. We cannot afford to waste time, much less fall out, on such wordy matters. The term "Gandhism" in the sense of the broad trend of his teachings is not going to be literally abandoned

by the world at my bidding Even I shall be found to use it occasionally for brevity and convenience It is sufficient if the substance of my suggestion is understood and accepted

Wardha, 21-7-'52 K. G MASHRUWALA

WORKING OF PROHIBITION IN BOMBAY STATE

Some months back the Government of Bombay had, through one of their senior officers, Shri M D Bhansali, got the working of prohibition examined, who has by now reported the results of his inquiry to Government His findings and recommendations are based not only on reports submitted to him by Collectors and various social service organizations in the State, but also on personal investigations and observations in most of the important districts. He has pointed out that —

(1) the introduction of total Prohibition has brought about a perceptible improvement in the social and economic conditions of the people in the rural areas, particularly among the backward and labouring classes, for whom Prohibition was primarily intended,

(2) in the Dangs District, where a large number of people were addicted to drink, consumption of liquor has practically ceased since the introduction of Prohibition,

(3) in the Kheda District, which has a population of over 16 lakhs, consumption of liquor has gone down considerably and there is great reduction in cases of smuggling and illicit distillation;

(4) in the Panchmahals District, a large number of Bhils and other backward classes, who prior to Prohibition were addicted to drink, have given up drinking,

(5) in almost all *rural* parts in the interior of the State, apart from coastal and rural areas, which are within easy approach of urban areas or border on neighbouring States, Prohibition is effective and that in Greater Bombay and other urban areas also, though illicit distillation may have increased, the total consumption of liquor has gone down considerably In most areas, such illicit consumption would be a very small fraction of what used to be consumed before,

(6) the use of liquor on festive and other occasions such as marriages, funerals, etc, by the aboriginals, backward classes and rural inhabitants has practically disappeared, and

(7) the drunken brawls, which used to be a feature prior to Prohibition, have practically ceased.

With a view to making the Prohibition Law more effective, Shri Bhansali has recommended that —

(a) the Bombay Prohibition Act, 1949 should be suitably amended to provide for legitimate use and to prevent misuse of medicinal and toilet-preparations containing alcohol,

(b) legislation to prevent abuse of spirituous medicinal, toilet and other preparations containing noxious articles should be undertaken,

(c) the work of collection of mhowra flowers should be entrusted to co-operative societies,

(d) licences for the manufacture of palm gur to individuals should be discontinued,

(e) punishment of imprisonment as well as of fine should be levied and fines should be recoverable instead of additional imprisonment in lieu of fine, and

(f) a specially selected task force should be appointed in special Prohibition areas.

NOTES

End of Postmen's Dispute

Both the Government of India and Shri Jaya Prakash Narayan deserve congratulations for the satisfactory settlement of the Postmen's demand. Shri Jaya Prakash Narayan's advice to his followers not to use his fast as a springing board to revive the old demand for creating a fresh fight was commendable Equally commendable was the attitude of the Government of India in agreeing to review the matter dispassionately If the fast had been used as apprehended, it would have lost its character of being a penitential fast, and would have been taken by the people generally as a political one It would have led to strained feelings on both the sides The experience of this fast has provided a good object-lesson to all those who resort, or are tempted to resort, to fasts on such occasions The fast must bring the disputing parties nearer, if it has been undertaken in the right spirit

Wardha, 21-7-'52

"Which Way Lies Hope ?"

This is the title of Richard B Gregg's small book just published by the Navajivan Press.* It is an examination of Capitalism, Communism, Socialism and Gandhiji's programme A friend who belongs to none of these schools but is an advocate of a governmentless decentralized socio-economic order writes :

> "I think it is a book for Pandit Nehru and all Congress leaders.
>
> "What I don't find in this book as well as in any other books or articles is the role of interest, rent, profits, and taxes. All have taken for granted they must be there and have passed over them in silence Yet it is exactly these which determine prices and upset distribution"

Wardha, 22-7-'52 K. G. M.

* Price Re 1-40, Postage etc As 4

EVICTION OF TENANTS

Speaking at the prayer-meeting in Banaras on 17th July '52, Shri Vinoba said

"I advise those who are being evicted from their lands by landlords that they should not suffer eviction but stick to their lands If landlords belabour them, they should peacefully bear it This too is strength, it is cold power Those who beat them will have their hands fatigued. Dusshasan's is an instance on the point. I have given this counsel even before. But I shall make it a point to refer to it at every place wherever I go"

Warning the Government, he said

"*Bhoodan-Yajna* has created an atmosphere of peace and harmony It will not be advisable to allow any adverse fores to vitiate it It will do good to none *Bhoodan* mission is going on smoothly with the goodwill of all. But if eviction of tenants from their lands is allowed to proceed, it will lead to disastrous consequences These problems should be settled with love, amity and a sense of social justice. I know that it is difficult to awaken the higher nature of men and generate love and peace in their hearts. But we should see that we do not at least add any impediments in the way I warn the Government that if it allows cases of eviction of tenants to happen, this sort of inefficiency, or better to say, chaos, will be as tragic and disastrous, as that of celebrating *van-mahotsava* on the one hand and becoming silent witnesses of the wanton destruction of foresta by the zamindars on the other."

To the evicting landlords, he said.

"I have been on a walking tour in your province for the past nine months. I have obtained land-gifts to the tune of about 2,75,000 acres It has created an atmosphere of peace and harmony. I believe that the healthy influance of *Bhoodan-Yajna* on the landlords is partly responsible for their non-obstructive attitude in the abolition of the Zamindary system Whether that may be, it is a matter of great concern that those who gave away their lands in *bhoodan* for the landless on the one side, should create a new class of landless people on the other by evicting them from their lands It is not a matter of concern for me alone, or for Government alone, or for the evicted tenants alone, but for all, including landlords. I therefore appeal to the landlords not to evict those who have been in the service of the soil for years together They are the true sons of the soil. What can be the fault of these sons of the soil? If the landlords desist from evicting their tenants, I shall regard that as making large donations to me And if I come to know of a donor that he has evicted or is evicting his tenants; I shall refuse to accept his *bhoodan*, but with all the power of love at my command, I shall give him instead *jnan-dan* (gift of knowledge) that the eviction of tenants is not in his interest. I trust that if my message reaches them, they will all agree with me I shall also tell them if they donate their land, I shall distribute it to its present tiller. I understand that they resort to evictions out of ignoranre For it brings no good to any one to bring miseries to the people If we dig the ground on which we stand, we ourselves will fall into the pit. Narrow, selfish interest should not blind us, we should be far-sighted and act. 'Don't be short-sighted but enlarge your vision,' saye a Sanskrit adage."

In the end Vinoba advised tha Sarvodaya workers to go from village to village and explain to the people that they should hold fast to their land, and should not allow themselves to be dispossessed. In the attempt of resistanre, they should not use force, but, if necessary, should resist it at the cost of their life Incidentally, he also very much regretted the dearth of social and constructive workers in U P.

(Abridged and translated from Hindi) D. M.

A TRIBUTE TO VINOBA

(*By Paul Richard*)

The second great task for India — a great example to the world

---

The example of a new way — of a new world, of brotherhood

A new experiment in communal sharing — not through violence, but through love

* * *

Thirty years ago, I was sitting in meditation with a young recluse.

In a small hut, in the compound of tha Ashram in Sabarmati.*

The young recluse is now the new saint of India — Vinobe Bhave

* * *

The lesson that the new saint gives is that of spiritual communism.

The communism of the Rishis, of the Buddhas, and of the Christ.

Of all true religious men in all times and in all nations.

* * *

Communism could remain in fact as in principle — a way of love.

Any ideal may become virulent when confronted from its birth with hatred.

---

* During a three weeks visit to Gandhi's Ashram in 1930, when after daily afternoon walks with the Mahatma, I joined the recluse for meditation in his hut

India is there to give to the new comer a new cradle

* * *

Non-violence was the seed that Gandhi sowed in the furrows of politics

---

"Bhoodan-yajna" is the harvest of Vinoba in the vine-yards of economics.

Harvest of bounty for bodies and souls, enriching both giver and receiver

* * *

This kind of land distribution could perhaps be possible only in India.

A peaceful offering of joy before the high altars of the Himalayas

---

In India, the heart of Asia, must be kept burning that torch.

* * *

The torch of Ahimsa purifying the world of all its bloody sacrifices

---

The torch flaming in the sky to shame the earthly man-made infernos.

Behold, what can be a mere individual — alone — in the world crisis

* * *

The saint will not remain alone He opens a way to all.

On Vinoba's way can tread the thinkers as well as the doers

The way of creative love is also a way of creative light

* * *

To any emotional and moral principle a rational basis must be found.

Here is the rational conclusion of all discussions on Ahimsa, at Sabarmati.

'Violence to human beings is a confusion of substances — moral and material.'

* * *

You would not expect a nail to be driven through moral persuasion.

Why should you think of a hammer to persuade an intelligent being?

Physical violence to moral beings measures with moral persuasion to material things.

* * *

(From *Vedant Kesari*, May '52)

DRINK, DRUGS & GAMBLING
By Mahatma Gandhi
Pages, xi+175 Price Rs 2-8 Postage etc, As.10
NAVAJIVAN PUBLISHING HOUSE
Post Box 105, AHMEDABAD

DESCENT FROM THE CROSS IN KOREA

Ethel Mannin, reviewing Rene Cutforth's *Korean Reporter* (Wingate) in *Peace News* of May 23, 1952, writes:

'Napalm is jellied petrol. An English colonel told Cutforth, "It reaches a temperature of more than 1,000 degrees centigrade in a few seconds. Horrible stuff"

'Its function as a bomb is to burn everything including human beings over a wide area. The flaming petrol blinds as well as burns, and people who survive the roasting alive are likely to become mentally affected from shock ..

'A woman and her children were separated from the father of the family when the refugees from Seoul were fleeing across the frozen river and the police forced the crowd back at the point of automatic guns.

'The exodus had to be stopped as the roads on the other side were already jammed with refugees and military traffic was at a standstill "the railway trucks themselves were moving rivers of refugees and the people died in hundreds" under the wheels of trains."

'The woman and children had crossed the ice, conveyed by her husband. Then he had gone back for another load but at that point the traffic across the ice was stopped. The woman screamed in her despair and frenzy No one knew what to do, because there was nothing to do

'A train arrived from Seoul. When it stopped, no one moved. They couldn't. They were frozen stiff The crowd waiting on the station climbed up on the engine and the trucks to unclasp frozen fingers and support numb bodies. Against the sooty background of that station the Koreans staged their modern descent from the Cross in a hundred grotesque positions. A rough computation put that journey's casualties at 170, mostly killed outright or left to die after being thrown from the roofs of coaches in tunnels.

'When Cutforth was leaving Chosan, the ancient name for Korea, the "Land of the Morning Calm," a Korean Catholic priest said, "Do you know if you held a plebiscite in South Korea, the Communist vote would be more than 75 per cent? We are used to masters. Your armies have not behaved well to the people and we dislike you all cordially It is impossible to keep great theories of freedom in front of the eyes of simple people They are afraid of the bombs and the burning and the raping behind the battle line. The Chinese understand us much better Your cause is good but you have lost our goodwill."

'A South Korean who was asked whether he would sooner be dominated by the Americans or the Communists replied... "Does it matter to the blade of grass whether it is eaten by a horse or by a cow?"'

The same issue of *Peace News* carries an article by Emrys Hughes, M.P in the course of which he says:

'An official communique boasted that in a raid on May 8, 12,000 gallons of napalm were dropped and 165 buildings destroyed ..

'Cutforth personally saw hundreds of villages reduced to ashes... —

'Here is a description from the *New York Times* of February 1951 "A napalm raid hit the village when the Chinese were holding up the advance, and nowhere in the village have they buried the dead because there is nobody left to do so The inhabitants throughout the village and in the fields were caught and killed and kept the exact postures they had held

* In the first 3 weeks of the war in Korea more civilian lives were destroyed by U.N. air forces than were destroyed by the Luftwaffe in England during the whole of World War II. See the Rev. Claud Coltman's article in *Peace News* of May 9, 1952, page three

when the sepsis struck — a man about to get on his bicycle fifty children playing in an orphanage a housewife strangely unmarked, holding in her hand a page torn from a Sears-Roebuck catalogue '

V G. D

COMPULSORY VACCINATION FOR TRAVELLERS

[Last month the Editors *Theosophical Free Tracts* Bombay prepared and circulated the following petition to the Health Minister Government of India, New Delhi, to seek the amendment of the rules making it compulsory for people desirous of travelling abroad to get themselves vaccinated, inoculated etc against various diseases. Apart from religious grounds there are several eminent medical authorities who denounce these measures as ineffective for the object for which they are compelled, but even positively harmful to the health of the people who have to take them, and occasionally becoming even the cause of spreading the very disease sought to be prevented. The petition has been signed by 2 000 persons belonging to 60 places in India The signatures were collected in less than three weeks time There will be many who would have endorsed the petition, had they been apprised of it.

Needless to say, I support the Petition. — K G M.]

It has come to the knowledge of the undersigned that at the present time a Sanitary Convention, the draft of the Regulations of which was discussed by the World Health Assembly in May 1951 and afterwards circulated to the Governments of the 66 nations taking part in the World Health Organization, is being discussed If the Regulations are accepted in their present form they will come into force in many areas in October, 1952

The proposed Regulations of this Convention allow any "health administration" to demand vaccination certificates from all arrivals in a country even if there has not been the remotest risk of smallpox infection, the following verifiable facts being ignored '

British, American and Australian public health doctors can bear witness that vaccination does not prevent smallpox being brought into a country The Report of the British Ministry of Health, 1950, (Appendix F) states that if vaccination as "a requirement were imposed on arriving travellers, it could not however, be guaranteed that no more importations of smallpox would occur" And it goes on to state that in 1944, 1945 and 1947 "recently vaccinated" servicemen had caused "outbreaks of the disease in this country" several deaths having resulted In the U S A "thoroughly vaccinated" servicemen caused smallpox outbreaks. Italy and Japan have had shocking smallpox epidemics lately, the majority of cases occurring in thoroughly vaccinated persons Arabia, France, Holland and Scotland have also lately had outbreaks started by recently and thoroughly vaccinated people

To endeavour to impose on every entrant into a country an operation which makes the majority of people feel poorly and many quite ill for a week or ten days, or longer, is unwise It creates resentment against and criticism of the health administration that orders it It causes delay, inconvenience, business losses and difficulties, annoyance, bad feeling and it discourages travel.

Everyone has a right to the integrity of his own body and to maintain his blood unpoisoned by vaccine and lymph The imposition of vaccination and inoculation is an infringement of natural, human rights

Vaccination undergone to visit the U S A. has already caused serious illness and death Film stars, boxers, Trade Union officials and many other people in the public eye have been made ill by vaccination or inoculation undergone as a travel requirement. There is a rising tide of resentment and fear against these measures

The negotiations which result in International Sanitary Conventions are discussed by vaccine and serum manufacturers and the public health officials of various countries in the greatest secrecy The public are kept in the dark about decisions that concern them vitally until too late for them to offer opposition and they are becoming rebellious. Moreover this latest document does not refer to Governments but to "health administrations" Health Departments are assuming more and more alarming power over the liberties of millions of people all over the world

This petition is to register indignation and protest against this shameful attempt to violate the natural rights of healthy men, women and children — and to force upon them choice between the alternatives of vaccination or giving up travel

The undersigned are opposed to vaccination and inoculation as conditions of travel.

We urge that a compulsory exemption clause be put into the Section of the new International Sanitary Convention Regulation which deals with vaccination — exempting from any vaccination or inoculation requirement all persons having a conscientious or religious objection to them and all who hold medical certificates stating that vaccination or inoculation would injure their health.

May we in closing respectfully draw your attention in the urgent need for prompt action, since any reservation made by any Government has to be sent to the World Health Organization without delay.

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United Effort

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HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor: K. G. MASHRUWALA

સ્વામી નારાયણ મંદિર
સંસ્થાન.

VOL. XVI No 24 AHMEDABAD—SATURDAY, AUGUST 9, 1952 TWO ANNAS

THAT WAS MAHADEV!

It is well known how deeply attached Mahadev Desai was to Mahatma Gandhi He had completely obliterated his own self and personality and made himself a willing and devoted instrument in his hands for getting e great deal of writing work done. Everyone who had the opportunity of coming in contact either with Mahatma or with Mahadev Desai knows this relationship. I desire to mention one out of innumerable incidents in Mahadev Desai's life just to show his complete surrender Mahatma Gandhi was a very hard task-master and he was hardest on those who were nearest and dearest to him Naturally Mahadev Desai had more than his share of the hard life After the Satyagraha movement of 1930 had subsided, Mahatma Gandhi shifted his head-quarters from Sabarmati to Wardha and stayed for some time in what is known as Maganwadi, which originally was an orange orchard of Seth Jamnalal Bajaj. When he was there, the village Segaon, which has subsequently become world-famous as Sevagram, was selected for Mahatma Gandhi's rural uplift experiment and for the establishment of his Ashram there When that place was selected, there was hardly any building which could accommodate Mahatmaji, work was started in a small hut, and subsequently a small house was built, and gradually in course of time we have now got a large number of houses belonging to the Ashram and various other constructive organisations like the Talimi Sangh, Charkha Sangh, Go Seva Sangh, etc. Mahatmaji decided to leave Wardha and go and settle down in that village But there was no accommodation for his companions, and so they were left behind at Wardha. Mahadev Desai was required to go to Sevagram every day from Wardha. There was of course no conveyance to be provided and he was required to walk every day 5 miles to go from Wardha to Sevagram and 5 miles back This he did in burning sun or even when it was raining The road from Wardha to Sevagram hardly existed then. There was only a sort of foot-peth which too was not in good condition Any conveyance therefore was out of the question. But Mahadev Desai went through it from day to day not only without a murmur but with evident pleasure This was also a part of the *sadhana* which Mahatmaji imposed upon him, and this continued for months. It was only after some more huts had been erected and accommodation became available that Mahadev Desai went and settled down there in one of the huts Mahatmaji attached very great value to time and would not waste a single minute, but he looked upon the time taken and the exertion involved in this trip of 10 miles every day, not as a waste of time and energy, but as a part of the training which every good servant of the nation required The work which Mahadev Desai used to put through even without this extra burden was heavy enough and I do not think any item of it was cut down to give time for this journey, with the result that he must have had to cut down a portion of his sleep or other necessary personal needs like bath, food etc His devotion to duty was marvellous and it is literally true that he actually killed himself by work Latterly he had developed some heart trouble, but that did not induce him to take life a little more easily He went on working and working until he actually and literally dropped dead No wonder that even Mahatmaji who had risen above personal joys and sorrows, was deeply affected by his death

Mahadev Desai has left a rich legacy of good deeds done and noble thoughts uttered, and those of us who have had the privilege of being his associates and co-workers have to strive to deserve the love which he showered upon us by carrying on the work which he left unfinished.

3-8-'52 RAJENDRA PRASAD

SINGLE-POINT *vs* MULTI-POINT

Much discussion has taken place over the Bombay Government's decision to change from single-point to multi-point system of collecting the Sales-tax. I have carefully read the very able speech of the Finance Minister at the time of the passage of the first reading of the Bill I have also read the representations of some of the Chambers of Commerce, and the correspondence with me of merchants who have all opposed the measure I have had also the benefit of a letter from the President of the Punjab Beopar Mandal,

Ludhiana This letter supports the Bombay Government's new decision, and regards it as beneficial both to the small trader and the consumer and expresses surprise that I should have opposed it in the name of the consumer. He says that the Punjab retail traders have been agitating for the adoption of the multi-point system, and the agitation against it is manoeuvred by large-scale traders in their own interest. I must own that this letter came as a surprise, and set me a-thinking over again The letter will be published in the Hindi and Gujarati editions

Let me state the broad conclusions which I have reached after all these studies.

My view is strengthened that the Sales-tax, in whatever manner it is collected, is on the whole an undesirable form of taxation. Whether it is collected at the first stage, or the last stage, or at a middle stage, or at several stages, it causes the injustice of inequitable distribution to some section or another of the poor class of people

2. It also creates a complicated system of administration full of legal technicalities and intricacies and leads to annoyance and corruption It demoralizes even children, and tends to drive away honest people from the trade The Government is never able to recover its full due

3. It is a device invented by the State Governments to get over their inability under the Constitution to impose additional income-tax, which is a central subject.

4. The straight and simple course would be for the Central Government to add a surcharge to the income-tax and distribute the proceeds among the States. The surcharge may even vary for every State according to their necessities.

.5 Alternatively, if the Sales-tax method is to be retained, the simpler way I imagine, would be, (a) with regard to essential necessaries to levy a general tax on purchases made by consumers (as distinguished from dealers) at a single transaction, or within a prescribed period in excess of a prescribed value or quantity — institutions like hostels and similar institutions being discriminated; (b) with regard to essential commodities, other than necessaries, (for instance, parts of machines, electric bulbs, plugs, carbon paper, ink ribbons etc) a special tax on purchases exceeding a particular value, (c) with regard to luxury goods and goods excluded from (a) and (b) an ad valorem higher special tax. At this stage, I need not go into the details of this system. They can be worked out if the principle is accepted

6 But I quite realize that for immediate purpose it is rather late to suggest radical changes when the only issue is whether it should be single-point or multi-point. In this connection, all that I would say is that though I am not convinced that the multi-point system is more satisfactory to the poor-classes of dealers and consumers, I must confess that the subject admits of honest differences of opinion, and I feel satisfied that the Bombay Government have taken the step after a careful consideration of the merits and demerits of the two systems, and their probable effects on the various classes of the people and upon their own revenue and have honestly come to the conclusion that the change over to the multi-point system will benefit all these three parties My Gujarati & Hindi co-editor, Shri Maganbhai Desai, is also of the same opinion, and I see that opinions are sharply divided on this point among my other co-workers also, and even among traders and consumers So I must refrain from dogmatically asserting my views.

7 I would like, however, to make two suggestions. The list of exempted articles must not be smaller than what the Central Government will prescribe in the Essential Goods Act, which is under discussion at present in the Parliament Secondly, the exempted limit of a turnover of Rs 1,000 per annum for dealers in Special Tax articles is too low It is too difficult for a trader to deal in General Tax articles only And it is quite conceivable that a trader might have a total turnover of less then Rs 30,000 and yet a greater turnover than Rs 1,000 of Special-tax articles. An annual turnover of Rs 1,000 means hardly sales of Rs 3 per day, and it is not inconceivable that the smallest street hawker dealing in toys, bangles and chinaware, and eking out Rs 2 or 3 per day would have a turnover of more than Rs 3 per day He would be expected to maintain account-books and give cash memos, which he might be quite incapable of doing I suggest for consideration whether it is not possible to distribute the imposition of the tax between the importer or manufacturer of such articles and the retail dealer with a turnover of Rs 30,000 or more, the former being taxed at the higher special class rate, and the latter at the general-tax rate This might simplify accounting, maintenance of stock-books, and inspection and scrutiny by officers Sub-clause 4 of cl. 11 appears to be very unfair and hard.

Wardha, 4-8-'52 K. G MASHRUWALA

Sterling Assets Converted into Chewing Gum

A boy of my acquaintance purchased a little bit of confectionery for two annas and six pies. I was curious to know what it was I therefore obtained from him the label which reads as follows:

MADE BY
HALIFAX
ENGLAND

(Here is a shield showing a lion rampant)
CHEWING GUM
PEPPERMINT FLAVOUR
MADE IN ENGLAND

Who is the prodigal son responsible for this criminal extravagance?

— V. G. D.

OBSERVANCE OF AUGUST 15

In his after-prayer speech on the 26th July at Banaras Shri Vinoba spoke about the *bhoodan* day to be observed throughout the Uttar Pradesh on the 1st of August, and exhorted the workers to pledge themselves to the *Bhoodan-Yajna* and work for it unremittingly until the target was achieved He said:

"August 1, the Tilak anniversary day, is observed throughout the country The U. P. workers have resolved to celebrate it as a *bhoodan* day and continue their efforts for securing land-gifts for a month or more from that date They had resolved to collect five lakh acres as a first step. It is now about nine months since the resolve was first made Meanwhile, I have toured a number of districts of the province. The efforts have borne appreciable fruit. We have collected more than 3 lakh acres, and what is of infinitely greater importance, created a suitable atmosphere of goodwill and love I hope the workers will speed up their efforts and collect the remaining two lakh acres, before long And yet it will not do to forget that five lakh acres are merely a beginning of our ultimate aim which is nothing less than the common ownership of the entire land by the people of the village"

All Land Belongs to God

"The workers must not rest content until they had reached that ideal All land belongs to God and we should try to give effect to this principle in our efforts for social reconstruction. I will have the satisfaction of fulfilment only when the entire village land will be owned by the village community jointly. All land belongs to God and from Him it has been conferred on the village community Therefore it belongs to all equally. None can own it individually But every one can work on it and have the fruit of his work. This is the instinct and faith I aim at creating among the people And the arrow which has been shot shall not return until it has achieved its purpose

"But this ideal is the ultimate one In the interval, we must ascend one after another the steps which lead to it The first step in the long sequence is to provide and rehabilitate at least one landless family in every village with 5 acres of land It is on this basis that we have demanded 5 lakh acres from U P. and 25 lakh acres from the whole of Bharat. Because U. P has one lakh villages and there are altogether 5 lakh villages in our country

"But the land we have received does not conform to this even rate of collection. If we had received five acres from every village, it could have been said that we had approached sixty thousand villages. But this has not happened. From some villages we have received more than a thousand acres. And we accepted it, for, the more the better it was. But our efforts must be not only intensive but also extensive We must take the Sarvodaya ideal to every village and every home For that it is necessary that every village should participate in this work and habilitate at least one family with land as a symbol of its participation. This family will stand for the rise of the Sarvodaya thought in that village

"To that end, I make a suggestion that on the 16th August when the villages celebrate the Independence Day, they should unitedly, through the Panchayat and the village-meeting, resolve to fulfil this task of settling one landless family and give concrete expression to their festival. There is still time If the idea is accepted it can spread all round In fact this should have been done the day the Zamindari abolition came into force. That would have transformed the whole atmosphere and touched off a great revolution. But it did not happen then. May be that there was not sufficient time, but now 15th of August is sufficiently distant, and now there can be no excuse for our failure

"It was only constructive workers — and I know they are many — who first believed in the great and lasting potential capacities of *Bhoodan-Yajna*. But our work of the last fifteen months have now brought this conviction home even to the people The poor, in particular, have been much influenced by it. For, wherever I go they know me by the name of "Bhoomivale Baba" (land-giving ascetic), I receive daily many gifts through post But the number of those who demand land is even greater. Therefore, I cannot satisfy their demand equally rapidly. But it is the design of the Divine that when a righteous demand is made — and what can be a more righteous demand than the one for land for the landless? — people are also inspired by Him to satisfy it. I have read the people's mind of U P and can say that if workers went to any village in the province and told the villagers that it was the desire of *Baba* to settle a family in their village, they would unhesitatingly do so There is such a sympathetic atmosphere in U. P. It is now up to workers to go from village to village and spread my message to villagers and fulfil the work. A simple knowledge of arithmetic will tell us how a lakh families can thus easily be rehabilitated in a lakh villages in one day. But this is the work of an organized force of workers.

"But I have seen that we greatly lack in the capacity of making united effort. One says he will go on tour in May, another postpones it to June; and still another to October after the rains are over. It is our common experience that isolated efforts go in vain. It is only concentrated united efforts that bring fruit"

Concluding his speech Vinoba said, "I trust workers all over the province will endeavour their best to fulfil the programme I have suggested for August 15."

(From Hindi *Hindustan*, 29th July '52) D. M.

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OR
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HARIJAN

Aug. 9 1952

UNITED EFFORT

Apart from my comment regarding the use of Gandhiji's name, I entirely agree with Mirabehn's main appeal, namely, that we all make a supreme effort to work together for one clear-cut and comprehensive programme Indeed, I go a step further and ask not only the so-called Gandhian group to come together, but every sincere person desirous of serving the masses of India to do so, whether he belongs to the Gandhian group, or to some other group, or to no group whatever. Amidst all differences of ideologies or opinions, there should be some matters, on which the whole nation should have a common mind and will to work.

And I plead further Let us also shed this fear of Americanism or Communism invading us. We must make a united effort not because if we do not do so, either or both of these will overwhelm us, but because we owe it to ourselves and our country to unite and make a strenuous and determined effort to raise ourselves and our people from its present miserable condition. Both Americanism and Communism are with us already So also are our own Communalism and other isms All have their strong protagonists among our own countrymen. All have something in them which cannot be ignored and something which is harmful It will not help us either to be afraid of any, or to succumb to any of them helplessly If our love and non-violence has any efficacy, we must neutralize the poison and seek the truth and the wholesome element in each of them.

In order to make a strong national effort, we must all unite; in order to unite, we must develop non-violence, we can develop non-violence, if we love. Whether we think of all types of groups, or a particular group, if we fail in developing strong effort in spite of our miseries, it must be due to lack of unity; which means lack of non-violence in the groups or the group in question, this, in turn, means lack of love and friendliness among the various members of the group or groups

It is not impossible to draw up a common comprehensive programme on which intellectually all agree But a common programme by itself will not create a strong effort, if there is lack of love and friendliness among the members of a group If we go deep enough we would see that India, or any of her ineffective public groups (in which even government may be included), does not suffer from want of talents, but from want of friendliness and love among its members. We have been blessed with abundant intelligence, but it is indigested and has made us over-conscious of it It prevents us from being humble and non-egoistic enough to feel that warmth for others, which is necessary for the development of co-operation And lack of co-operation makes all effort abortive and all expenditure a huge waste

But let not even these remarks be taken as indicating a feeling of despondency in my heart. I mention them as facts prevailing hitherto But I see already in Vinoba's movement signs of a new atmosphere growing in the country It indicates a change for the better Let us, therefore, all, whether of the 'Gandhian' group or any other party or group, unite together to carry the *Bhoodan-Yajna* to its final end

That one programme, if carried out successfully will not only pave the way for the Gandhian conception of Swaraj, but will also unite and knit us together in bonds of love. Let us all concentrate on that programme.

Akola, 15-7-'52 K G MASHRUWALA

SATYAGRAHA AND A SATYAGRAHI

To me Mahadev was more than a colleague — he was like a brother as indeed he was to so many, who had identified themselves with Gandhiji and his cause Loyalty to Gandhiji was the tap-root from which sprang and to which he made subservient all his loyalties, including his loyalty to his wife, his only son — on whom he doted — his family, and, of course, his friends.

Gandhiji was an expert fisherman — not of fish, but of men — with this difference, however, that he never went after the fish with a net, the fish came to him and stayed of their own accord. The net if any was invisible One of the biggest — if not the biggest — fish in that invisible net was Mahadev. He brought other fry to it in shoals, and his affable personality, winsome manners, never-failing sympathy and sweetness — not to mention his intellectual glamour — helped to keep them there

It was in 1920 that I first came into contact with him. I had just gone to Sabarmati Ashram after non-co-operating from college. I was introduced to him by a common friend In a few words I told him what my heart's desire was viz. to be of some use to Gandhiji as part of his entourage. It did not take him two winks to answer: "Certainly We are full up just now and tonight we set out on our tour. But next time Who knows you may even be of greater use to him than myself!" It was so characteristic of him — he always put the interest of the Master first, himself last. The memory of that spontaneous affability has always abided with me since.

His enthusiasms, however, sometimes proved a bit premature and short-lived Such was his

eagerness to collect gold nuggets for the cause that he sometimes fell a victim to the 'will to believe' and allowed himself to go into ecstacies over what afterwards proved to be not quite gold Once he met a gentleman and afterwards seriously told us that he had struck upon a very gold-reef! His new find however proved to be a very sticky customer and stuck to him like a wet stamp, driving him almost to desparation in the midst of his heavy pre-occupation. The next day when one of us passed by them sitting together, Mahadev was overheard saying to his new friend wearily "Now, don't talk rot!" Afterwards, whenever he reported to us a new 'discovery' of his, we were on the look out for what came to be known amongst us as 'D.T.R.' (Don't talk rot) stage! The word got even into Gandhiji's vocabulary Years afterwards once he surprised us by asking with loud laughter if what one of us had reported to him represented a D.T.R. phenomenon!

Once he told a lie. It must be admitted, it was not a black lie nor even a grey one but the whitest of the white lies The circumstances were as follows. During his days of nonage when he used to be butler, shoe-black, cook, coolie, son and scribe—all rolled into one to Gandhiji, he cooked *khichri* for the Master in Delhi and served it to him with red tomatoes The Master relished the dish as he had seldom relished any good thing of the earth for a long time and asked him to serve the same everyday. There was only one hitch—the high cost of tomatoes (annas eight per seer) during that season Gandhiji had the embarrassing habit of inquiring about the price of every item served in his menu He might any time turn round in the middle of a weighty discussion or at the end of the day, as Mahadev bent over his tired limbs to give him a shampoo, and ask "Mahadev, what did the tomatoes you served me today cost?" The trouncing he might get would not matter much but Bapu might order off his menu the tomatoes—his only table luxury—if he discovered it was costing the exchequer of Daridranarayan that much. Not many days after, lo and behold, he found himself confronted by the dread query. Without turning a hair the cook-disciple replied "Bapu, only annas four a seer," taking advantage of the fact that in Gujarat a seer means a pound! And so the Mahatma's menu was saved Years afterwards, I think, it was in 1940, he told Gandhiji how he had equivocated to him twenty-two years ago and Gandhiji had a hearty laugh over it—the only occasion, I know of, when he laughed over an untruth!

II

Mahadev's duties were such as to involve him in an almost perpetual joust on the Master's behalf But there were occasions, very few indeed, when he felt called upon to break a lance in the Master's cause with the Master himself! One such occasion came in 1940. Gandhiji had launched individual civil disobedience on behalf of the Congress on the issue of no participation in war and the freedom of speech. His plan was to send all his best men to prison but not to court arrest himself as it would embarrass the authorities. *Harijan* had suspended publication soon after the Satyagraha of Vinobe Bhave, when a notice was served upon the editor "not to publish accounts of incidents leading up to Satyagrahe by Vinobe Bhave or any report of his speeches etc." without reference to the Chief Press Advisor, Delhi Over-work and accumulating worry bed impaired Mahadev's sleep It was the beginning of the end which claimed him nearly two years later

One day Gandhiji woke me up in the middle of the night and told me that I was to offer civil disobedience next. I was delighted But my delight was turned into dismay when he added that Mahadev was to go next I tried to expostulate with him but in vain Before going forth for civil disobedience, I got Mahadev to make a solemn promise that he would not leave Gandhiji's side, even if he had to make Satyagraha against him That was the view of all other friends too The rest of the story is told in two letters exchanged between the Master and the disciple. They are reproduced below in an abridgement:

"Most revered Bapuji,

As a rule I wake up at 2 a m these days. But yesterday, I could get no sleep after midnight What you told me the day before yesterday in the course of our discussion has been heavily weighing upon my mind Your words were: 'If you tell me that you are not going to join the civil disobedience campaign at all I shall abide by your decision' For me to say so would be the height of impertinance Had you told me 'Mahadev, if you feel that it is your clear duty to keep out of the struggle, I won't send you into it against your will,' I would have straight away replied: 'I do not feel it to be my duty to court imprisonment, leaving you But if *you* feel that *your* duty requires you to send *me* away from you, my own scruple is rendered of no account and I shall welcome your decision with त्वदीयं वस्तु गोविंद, तुभ्यमेव समर्पये" (I offer to Thee what after all is Thine own gift).

But you have taught us to think independently . and encouraged us to strive with you till the last unless we feel convinced. That is why I do not feel inclined to give in even now

You have argued that you want to rely upon God rather than upon man. That

argument would have been valid if you had contented yourself with sending Vinoba and Jawaharlalji to prison and stopped at that — as you had at first thought But when you modified that plan the premises on which it was based also went by the board If you really want to test the principle of sole dependence upon God you should cease to think in terms of action and rely solely on the 'power of thought' for the prosecution of the struggle My difficulty is this If I concede that you can be left to carry on the struggle by ruling out all human aid then I must invest you with the attribute of infallibility But I have known you as a perpetual seeker after truth — a fallible, erring human being You yourself have admitted errors of judgment and in thought more than once before I must therefore plead with you not to divest yourself of the help of your few tried associates who are still with you

You said to me the other day 'If *Harijan* had not been suspended, I would not have thought of sending you to jail.' Similarly you offered to send me to Devadas (to conduct the *Hindustan Times* for him after your heart) He declined your offer but if he had consented, I would have gone to Delhi and then there would have been no jail going for me. If jail-going be an absolute duty, how can the continuance of *Harijan* or its suspension make any difference in that respect? It seems to me that at that time you were thinking in terms of a fight, now you are thinking in terms of self-sacrifice There is some discrepancy between the two stands."

After setting forth how he was being pressed by all friends to stick to his post with Gandhiji and not to leave him alone, he proceeded

"You adduced the parallel of Abraham's sacrifice (of his son Isaac on the altar of the Lord). It is the acme of your affection for me After that to address you a long letter like this is really to prove my utter unworthiness of your love or, to use a metaphor, it is like a person going off for his toilet when Lakshmi — the goddess of fortune — comes to crown him with the crown of good luck In all humility I venture to suggest to you that the beauty and grace of your noble sacrifice in this particular case is likely to be utterly wasted upon the Government, who neither expect nor have the capacity to understand such things. And in any case, I am no Nachikeis to tell you: 'You have given away your all, why do you not give me away too'."

* * *

"There is a lot more I could say. But I must not take any more of your time You will perhaps feel that I am trying to measure you with my own pygmy yard-stick (But that would be hardly correct) My feeling to the matter is like that of a Hindu wife, who has the fullest faith in her husband's prowess, but still feels that her own place is by his side"

The Master made short work of the disciple's argument but left him in possession of the field His reply ran

"Courting imprisonment never can be your duty independently. It will accrue to you when I feel it to be my duty to ask you to go to jail Since I am anxious to carry your reason with me I have not only left you free but have encouraged you to think independently If your reason does not support my proposition it is no use my proceeding with it, it won't bear fruit

The call of self-sacrifice is not different from that of the struggle The former is conceived only as a part and parcel of the latter.

To send you or any one else to prison cannot be a duty in the absolute sense Duty is always relative to an individual or a situation. Thus, if *Harijan* had continued, or if Devadas had asked for your services and you had gone to Delhi I would not have suggested to you to court imprisonment. But since neither of those duties is there to hold you back it becomes my duty and consequentially yours to offer you as sacrifice

You have cited in support of your argument the opinion of others Take it from me, their concern is rooted in sheer ignorance and delusion

I am quite capable of committing mistakes That is why I have said I won't ask you to go to jail if your reason is opposed to it. But so long as I cannot see my error, I must proceed according to my light, especially while I feel that I am being prompted by God But so far as you are concerned, you must ultimately do as you feel prompted."

And so Mahadev stayed I do not know if it jeopardized in any way the purity of Gandhiji's conception of his struggle. But it certainly enabled many a civil resister like myself to plunge into the fray with a light and care-free mind

New Delhi, 4-8-'52 PYARELAL

To Be Out on 15th August

A NATION BUILDER AT WORK

By Pyarelal

This is a collection of Gandhi Memorial Lectures delivered by the author in 1951 under the auspices of the University of Agra.

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NAVAJIVAN PUBLISHING HOUSE

Post Box 105, AHMEDABAD

NEW USES FOR OLD CITIES

(By Swami Sitaram)

(In his intense anxiety and effort for bringing about the materialization of the Andhra State, Swami Sitaram has offered a solution which, if there is the will, would be regarded as a practical one.

In March 1946, I had published a pamphlet *Some Particular Suggestions for the Constitution of Free India* * in which, among other things, I had suggested that all cities with a population of not less than 10 lakhs should be constituted separate units under the direct administration of the Central Government (or, in the current phraseology, States like Delhi Ajmer etc.). This suggestion was further explained and discussed in 1949 in three issues of *Harijan*. In the atmosphere then prevailing, my suggestions did not attract much attention. Humbly, I see no other way of solving the problems of linguistic States and also for facilitating the development and growth of rural India. I am glad to find that Swami Sitaram accepts my view and reinforces it with further arguments and suggestions. The suggestions should be taken as tentative, liable to modification on further examination. — K. G. M.)

All over India have grown up several cities during the course of the British administration for over a period of one hundred and fifty years Some were ancient cities which were further developed during this period Some cities grew up from humble beginnings.

All of them have political importance as head-quarters of provincial administration Some have military importance Othere are harbours and ports which are centres of trade Lattarly grew up some cities as centres of industry, arts, science, culture eta.

All these cities are distributed over the whole country Under this category may be placed all big towns with a population of ten lakhs and over, which are roughly about 25 in number

All these cities were never self-supporting. They were being given either grants or loans out of the general current revenues of the country which should have been beneficially spent on the smaller towns and villages, but which were diverted out of political considerations to these big cities so as to provide amenities for the governments as civil and military paraphernalia. These cities are thus indebted to the general tax-payer and there is no prospect of repaying those debts and the longer these cities are continued in their present condition or are improved to keep pace with modern requirements, their indebtedness is bound to increase.

In India, where, sooner or later, decentralisation of administration is bound to be introduced, the problem of these cities is sure to come up for consideration and determination. When the question of linguistic redistribution of provinces in the Indian Union arises for final settlement, these cities present conundrums for politicians to solve.

Shri Kishorlalji dealt with the problem of the cities in his article in *Harijan* (13th March and 15th and 22nd May 1949) But, they do not seem to have attracted attention they deserved.

As the problem of these cities has to be decided once for all in the near or distant future, it is sometimes useful to discuss these problems from a detached standpoint

The Indian Union has succeeded to all the properties, rights and obligations of the old fallen government In that view, all the Government properties whether of the State or the Central Governments vest in the Central Government as trustees of the general tax-payer, who made towards interest or capital for the liquidation of the debts incurred from time to time Provincial Governments cannot claim any share in the lands, buildings etc., which are occupied by them even today

Therefore, it stands to reason that all these cities where the Central Government has immense properties should be Centrally administered, From the point of view of the defence of the country they must surely be the exclusive concern of the Indian Union From the industrial and cultural standpoints also, such central administration is advantageous for the country as a whole Some of these places would be places where multi-lingual institutions may be developed to foster common All-India ties of citizenship and brotherhood.

When the new States are formed, the buildings in the old cities may be let out to them on fixed rents. Such State Governmenia would be obliged to utilise these buildings until such time that they are able to build suitable head-quarters elsewhere out of annual savings earmarked for that purpose or through specially raised provincial loans. As decentralization of authority extends, embellished capitals with gorgeous buildings in centralised places will be out of fashion, and moderate buildings in many places in convenient parts of the State can then be raised to meet the requirements of those days Even then, old buildings in old cities may be utilized by these State Governments along with the new head-quarters for the different departments in different seasons of the year or they may, if so advised, give up the old buildings which may be used by the Union Government for its own purposes or they may fall into disuse and disrepair.

There are many advantages if this course of action is followed :

(i) No compensation need be paid by any one State to any other.

(ii) New capitals need not be built immediately or in the near future.

(iii) No capital amounts on a huge scale may be spent on brick or mortar which is ordinarily difficult but is specially so now in view of the economic depression rapidly overtaking us.

(iv) Ornamental Heads of Governments need not be multiplied and one Governor may perform the constitutional functions on behalf of two or three State Governments also

(v) The present position of these cities will not be appreciably altered They will appear like

* Published by Hamara Hindustan Publications, Hamam Street, Bombay 1 price, 4 as.

the houses of some intelligent joint families in the country which keep up the formalities of joint-family life while enjoying the benefits of real division in status and functions.

(vi) The difficulties of disposal of such cities in the division of assets and liabilities will disappear

(vii) A uniform policy for the whole country will be evolved and linguistic redistribution of States will become easy without hurdles which are now becoming a headache both to the States and Central Government.

(viii) The available buildings may be proportionately assigned to the States that are newly formed

These proposals are tentatively put forward by me for consideration by the public in general and the popular institutions in the country. The Governments may take up the question for thorough investigation and report.

WHAT ABOUT ILLICIT DISTILLATION ?

The other day Shri Rajaji was called upon to address a meeting in Madras held under the auspices of the Madras Textile Workers' Union Among various points that be talked about, prohibition was the main one He referred to the opposition to the measure and said that 'he had agreed with them that the Act had not been rigorously enforced and that it did not succeed to the extent he wished. It was also true that some persons illegally distilled liquor and made profit by selling it to addicts' * But this does not prove nor warrant us to conclude, as some falsely do, that prohibition should go. As Rajaji told the workers, "Drink is the enemy of your brain and the foe of your family. Even for driving away ennui, do not go near it." The State policy must be based on this principle and it should be so framed as to see that drink is not made available by the State itself, so that people are not lured to legally take to it Vice cannot be legalized. Prohibition comes in here. And the Act having done it has fulfilled itself, so far as it can go It by itself can do no more than that. But, on the other hand, nothing less than that should be done by the State.

The aftermath of such a measure is unfortunately found to be illicit distillation and, the bootlegger's trade in drink. This is mainly an urban vice Rajaji in his address to the workers touched this question and gave them a sound piece of advice which is true for all that care to see that women and children and all of us prosper and that prohibition should come to stay in our land. He said,

"When an Act was administered, it was usual to blame the police. He would only recall to them that many years ago when he wanted to introduce prohibition in Salem, many friends asked him to begin instead, with Madras City as the families of many labourers here were being ruined because of drink. Then he told them how it was difficult to begin with the city where there would be illicit distillation and that rather they should begin with Salem because the rural people would cheerfully obey and make the Act a success. Many things had happened since then and all these had now passed into history.

"Today the Act has come into force everywhere in the State including the city I shall ask of you only this: I have given an undertaking in the Assembly that I will see that the Act is enforced properly (And have we not given a solemn undertaking—a pledge to the Father of the Nation that we shall achieve Prohibition the day we have Swaraj ?—M P) I asked for time to fulfil my pledge This is all I ask. Do not bother if another man drinks illicit liquor See that you yourself do not drink. You earn your money by the sweat of your brow Do not spend all that hard-earned money at one stroke by drinking. By drinking you ruin your family"

And further, "he expected the people to be helpful and if any unscrupulous person distilled secretly, they should not buy the drink from him and thus make him lose on his investment. If they refrained successfully from drinking for 10 or 15 years, then Prohibition would become a success"

1-8-'52 M F DESAI

* This is from the report of the speech that appeared in *Hindu*, 30-7-'52.

Krishi-Goseva Department, Gopuri, Wardha

The office of the Krishi-Goseva Department, Gopuri, Wardha will be shifted to Goshala, Pipri on and from 1st August 1952, the Tilak Anniversary Day. Pipri is at a distance of three miles from Wardha on the Wardha-Arvi Road All correspondence, in future, should be made at the following address

Krishi-Goseva Department,
Pipri, P O Wardha (M P)

Since there is no telegraphic office at Pipri, telegrams will continue to be sent at Goseva, Gopuri, Wardha

26-7-'52 RADHA KRISHNA BAJAJ,
Secretary

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A Shining Example

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HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor: K. G. MASHRUWALA

સાબરમતી આશ્રમ ગ્રંથાલય

VOL. XVI. No. 25 AHMEDABAD — SATURDAY, AUGUST 16, 1952 TWO ANNAS

NOTES

L. W. Ritch

Mr L. W Ritch of Johannesburg, South Africa, whose death took place in June last at the age of 84, was one of the closest associates of Gandhiji from 1903 to 1914, and the first European to be articled under him In the thick of the Satyagraha struggle of South Africa in 1907, he had been sent to England, where he did very useful work keeping the public well informed of what was going on in Transvaal

He was associated with the *Indian Opinion*, Gandhiji's paper in South Africa, from the beginning until his health finally broke down a few months ago, and contributed literary, moral and spiritual articles to it He was also one of the trustees of the Phoenix Ashram until his death.

Originally a Jew, Mr Ritch was an ardent Theosophist and a student of the Bhagvad Gita. He derived solace from the Gita in the midst of hard physical sufferings he had to pass through, having become a cripple since several years last on account of the amputation of his legs. "Though for selfish reasons, his death must cause grief to all those who survive him — two sons and two daughters — and to us who equally share their grief one has really to be thankful to merciful God for having relieved him from agony and taken him unto Himself"

(Abridged from *Indian Opinion*)

Jamshed N. Mehta

If ever men of God walk on the surface of this earth, Jamshed N Mehta who passed away last week at Karachi, was one of them He ever endeavoured to practise the three great principles of Jarthushtra (Zoroaster) — purity of thought, purity of speech and purity of action And those who knew him personally testify that he almost personified in himself the great virtues of charity, humility, cheerfulness of spirit, the constant effort to make up with the adversary peacefully and in a friendly manner, and a largeness of heart, which refused to reckon any human being in difficulty as unworthy of his sympathy and help on the ground of differences of religion, community, nationality, or past mistakes He knew no narrowness and egoism Such gentle souls are rather incapable of being advocates of strong and radical measures and movements which appear to them like cyclonic storms disturbing an even course of life But this gentleness is not without its heroism They know that, much as they might dislike storms, they cannot be prevented, and when they do appear these godly men are not among those who seek their own safety and flee from them, but move out in the storm to pick up those who have been placed in adversity

He was one of the builders of Karachi, which owes much to him for its beauty and past cleanliness. (I do not know what its condition is now). For several years he was the Chairman of its Municipal Committee, and later its first Mayor. The partition did not terrify him and make him quit Sind. He decided to stay in the city which he had adopted and helped to prosper It was a great help both to its emigrants and immigrants. Law is expected to be no respecter of persons, but often it fails to reach that ideal But death and distress come impartially to all. They know not Hindu or Muslim, Sikh or Christian, white or coloured. Nor did this friend of the distressed recognize any distinctions.

Like L W Ritch Shri Jamshed Mehta was also an ardent Theosophist, and a deep student of philosophy

Though he has been called back home by the Creator, it is souls like Jamshed Mehta that make humanity appear as the noblest creation of God. May their race multiply

Wardha, 8-8-'52 K. G. M.

Bhoodan of U. P.

The following donations were announced at a Conference of U. P Workers in Vinoba's Camp at Banaras on 20th July 1952, as having been collected by the workers:

Names of the District	Acres
Hamirpur	7,000
Banda	11,500
Sultanpur	9,000
Muradabad	2,500
Allahabad	2,500
Saharanpur	3,000
Total	35,500

Total *bhoodan* of U. P. up to 20th July 1952: 3,02,000 acres.

(From Hindi) D M.

SHRI VINOBA'S UTTAR PRADESH TOUR — IX

Glorious Kanpur

After staying for two days at Lucknow the seat of the U.P. Government, we proceeded to Unnav on our way to Kanpur. Unnav got only two days, the least that any District had. But the workers did not complain about it, and got even that quantum to the best account. They gave 2,014 acres, and went back to their work with redoubled energy for fulfilling the rest of the 10,000 acres quota.

From Unnav we entered into Kanpur. The Kanpur District had been working for the yajna ceaselessly for the past two months and everything had been so well planned and thoroughly organized that it was able to make a record contribution in the progress of the yajna and set an example in the whole of U.P. The Mathura Sammelan was attended among others, by some of the Kanpur friends also. But the work got going really after the Pawaya Sammelan that is after February 18. Shri Shiva narayan Tandon, the moving spirit of the yajna in Kanpur was present at the Pawaya Sammelan. He was overwhelmingly impressed by Vinoba and completely convinced to the *Bhoodan Yajna* idea. Back at Kanpur he sought co-operation from every party and set about his work in right earnest. Workers were divided into batches, one for every tahsil. With songs and speeches and literature in support of *bhoodan* and most of all by personally approaching all the prospective donors, they mounted a perfect campaign and strode foot to success.

Some workers undertook walking tours also. The result was that the day Vinoba stepped into Kanpur the workers presented him with the full quota of their land contribution. It was a nice precedent and the workers deserve all honour for it.

And Vinobaji had had a wonderful reception that day when he entered the city. People had walked about 8 miles to receive and then escort him to the city. At the point where we crossed the Ganga there was on every side as far as the eye went an endless multitude of people. The procession which preceded him was a gala sight. The loving receptions *arti*, (waving of lights), the garlands and the downpour of flowers which marked our passage through the city were so numerous and so spontaneously enthusiastic that we felt very much like being carried away literally on the tidal crest of love.

Vinobaji remained in Kanpur for two days. The workers planned the programme so wisely and well that they were able to utilize every moment of his time without his having to move from his place. Representatives of every section of public opinion were able to see and interview him both individually and in groups. They included the Zamindars, representatives of the landless, Congressmen, Socialists, K.M.P.P. workers, R.S.S. and Jan Sangh workers, labour leaders and even Government servants. The idea behind the interviews was to let Vinoba acquaint himself with the local conditions and inspire the people with his context to lend their support to the *bhoodan* movement. And the purpose was well fulfilled. Every one pledged him sympathy for the work and promised full support.

He also performed foundation-stone-laying ceremony of the Harijan Colony proposed to be built by the District Board. Shri Harishankar Vidyarthi presenting the welcome address pointed out, "We have our differences of opinion but we do not let those mar our decisions. We discuss them quite frankly among ourselves but we take our decisions unanimously."

Vinoba congratulated the Board on having undertaken to build the Harijan Colony and said, "Your city will not be known by the number of palatial buildings in the city but by the hutments you build for the Harijan brethren. Those who have no power of their own have behind them the power of God and service to the dispossessed entitles us to His kindness. The efficiency of the body hinges on the weakest part. The *bhangi*, whose we treat with contempt is the heart of our society. If he falls he sure the society will topple down. The strength of the chain lies in its weakest link. If the latter snaps the chain will break and come to naught."

Commending the principle of taking unanimous decisions which the Board followed, Vinoba said "This is what is sought to be expressed in our old maxim. What the five (i.e. the five elders composing the panchayat, the village council) say jointly signifies the Divine wish. This was true democracy. But nowadays we decide things by majority, an evil which we have imported from the West. This has given rise to numerous minority problems. Unless we go back to the whole ideal these problems will continue to plague us."

Vinoba touched this important topic again in the course of his post prayer speech. He said. The greatest need of the present-day politics is to unite the people and to direct their energy in some commonly agreed programme. Disunion has been the bane of our country throughout history. We are a big country, the unity of heart is therefore all the more necessary. Let me tell you what I consider to be the fundamental principle of social reconstruction. It is this that the governance of our villages which are 77 per cent of our entire population must be placed in the hands of the villagers themselves and it should be carried on the principle of the unanimity of all the five. We must take care not to introduce disunity among the people. Under the circumstances of our country that alone deserves to be called politics which will bring together and unite our entire energy. Politics, rightly analysed, implies the enhancement and consolidation of the energy of the people. To my mind he alone will have served the cause of politics who will pool together the peoples power of thought and action and direct it freely only to the principal one of our vital problems. And I claim that *bhoodan* work is succeeding well in this all important task."

Congratulating Kanpur on the ready compliance of its share of yajna work on the very first day Vinoba said, "These ten thousand acres will go in support two thousand families. I should like that Kanpur which has done so much will go a step further and also make available for distribution two thousand pairs of bullocks. Kanpur is one of our first seven cities and this should not be impossible for it."

A pair of bullocks costs 500 rupees, two thousand pairs means at the minimum a million rupees.

But to our joy and the glory of Kanpur Shri Shivanarayan Tandon succeeded at once. Inaharaj, Kanpur accepts your demand. On behalf of Kanpur I assure you very humbly that we shall give two thousand pairs of bullocks.

And the assembly greeted the assurance with cheers and resounded with cries of victory in the *Bhoodan-Yajna* and its author Shri Vinoba.

Shri Shivanarayan Tandon gave a further assurance that they would also try for the construction of wells for the needy farmers.

But Kanpur had another surprising gift in store for us, a very pleasant function of the distribution of donated land to the landless at the hands of Vinoba at our last halt in Fulshraya. The account of this function has already appeared in the *Harijan* of June 7.

The title-deeds of the lands distributed were presented to the landless by Vinobaji in the prayer meeting held that evening. It was an unforgettable experience to see them go back, their eyes glistening with emotions of humble gratitude and proud self-respect.

At the end, Shri Shivanarayanji who came to thank Vinobaji paid him a remarkable tribute full of sincere feeling and discerning insight. Shri Shivanarayanji said, "From what is happening in the way of *bhoodan* work I have a feeling that once again something great and good is going to rise in our country. After Bapu, we had not left with us a leader representing the Gita ideal of a

sthitaprajna (a man of steady understanding) Now, however, we have such a leader in Vinoba. He is a leader and a seer rolled into one" He appealed to the audience to shed their attachment to the devious ways of our self-seeking mind and follow the guidance of Vinoba.

Vinobaji dwelt on the significance of the function, which was that the people had had in it the glimpse of the fundamental truth of our existence that it was the same *atma* working everywhere. This was the truth on which *bhoodan* work was based. He told the workers that having seen what they had accomplished he hoped they should be able to achieve still greater things For a fuller report both of the speech and the function, the reader is referred to the account mentioned above

Thus Kanpur more than fulfilled its share of the work. It not only fulfilled its quota but gave five thousand acres more and in addition is that the assurance about the bullocks and wells Some of the workers went even further and pledged to offer themselves for Vinoba's work. It goes without saying that by their work they have qualified themselves for lasting glory in the annals of *bhoodan*-work. But what they received was no less, for they have won Vinoba to themselves for ever

Vinoba has also agreed to visit the Narbat Ashram founded by the late Shri Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi. But the programme was ultimately cancelled for want of time with the concurrence of the workers themselves. It meant hard sacrifice for them and though they had accepted it freely and willingly, it caused them considerable disappointment, particularly because the programme had been widely publicised in the neighbouring villages and workers had worked hard over it. There was an additional reason which gave to the disappointment a touch of poignancy A similar visit planned by Gandhiji to earlier days was similarly abandoned Shri Shyamlal Parshad, a close friend of the late Shri Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi, who has dedicated himself to the Ashram, wept bitterly over the decision. Finally he requested Vinobaji to accept to guide the Ashram Vinobaji readily agreed to this loving request. He said, "The workers had had to face many difficulties in the last thirty years, but your Ashram has successfully weathered them all Clearly something immortal has entered into its making. I will gladly give whatever help and guidance I can. I have been in your province for these many days and have come into contact with many workers and I myself would like to preserve these valuable contacts How can I refuse your demand ?" The *sahramites* were full of gratefulness at these words

Almost all the workers of the district were present at this last hall And the question was seen and discussed from various points of view, and this led to some important clarifications. A friend asked "Our work will surely progress. This may also add to our hold and influence over the people I fear the political parties may see in it the rise of parallel political organisation" Vinoba said "It will undoubtedly enhance your influence, but if it does not enhance your pride, there is no fear For in that case you can depend on your conduct and company to dispel all misunderstanding about you."

The question of accepting Government help for constructive work was also discussed at some length. Vinoba explained, it is a people's Government and it will naturally offer help when we ask for it. But acceptance of monetary help from the Government will take away from our self reliance and reduce us to weaklings dependent on outside help.

The question as to our next step after the five lakh target is reached was also raised Vinoba said, "I have a programme ready in all its details for the reconstruction of villages for village-swaraj But you may ask for the next step only when you have finished the first. Settlement of a landless family per village is only the beginning. I will not be satisfied unless the entire village-land comes to be freely owned by the whole village as one family. The power and authority which is at present centred in Lucknow or Delhi should get distributed in the villages"

To the question whether Satyagraha could be resorted to, in case of need, for the success of the *Bhoodan*-mission, Vinoba said, "They often raise the question of Satyagraha. All I have to say is that whatever I do I undertake as a Satyagrahi. *Bhoodan* work is a form of Satyagraha. To hold to truth, to work for it, and to *suffer* for it that others may be converted to it : this is the essence of Satyagraha. In a way it is not anything less than *parkaya-pravesh* i.e. the act of entering into the body and mind of another person. However, after all these efforts have been tried, if it still becomes necessary to resort to the external Satyagraha you have in view, I am sure God will inspire me and you to do it."

We were in Kanpur for 6 days And it was a great joy to see the wonderful faith and devotion and perseverance of the workers of this place They are full of love and loyalty to Bapu and his teaching There is quite a group of workers who had in them the urge of common objective and the will to work for it in a missionary spirit. At one end of the group there are old workers like Doctor Murarilaji Rokatgi, at the other, young workers like Shri Harishankar Vidyarthi. Then there is a long string of friends Shris Ramnath Tandon, Brijlal Jangbahadur Singh, Munshiji, Shambhooduyaiji, Parshadji, Dr Hardihar, Aziziba Prahladji, all pledged to service And then, there is our Shri Shivsaarayanji Tandon whose is the chord of love which keeps these friends stringed together

But the common source from which all of them have drawn and still draw their inspiration was Shri Ganesh Shanker Vidyarthi The people of Kanpur can never forget him, and his great sacrifice Vinoba called him *samarpanyogi* i.e one who successfully pursued the difficult path of surrender to a cause. The workers of Kanpur are an example of how a great sacrifice can and does inspire innumerable others with the will for similar work.

(Abridged from Hindi) D M.

Safeguarding Various Interests

"New Delhi, July 16.

"The Commerce and Industry Minister, Mr T T Krishnamachari, assured the House of the People today that the Government was doing its 'very best' to safeguard the interests of the consumer while meeting the claims of various other interests.

"While Mr Sinhasan Singh (Congress—Uttar Pradesh), Mr S. N Das (Congress—Bihar) and Mr Ramji Verma (Socialist—Uttar Pradesh), said that prices were too high for consumers, particularly the poorer sections, Mr G D. Somani (Independent Parliamentary Group—Rajasthan) said that the prices allowed by the Government did not fully take into account the increase in wages and manufacturing cost.

"Mr Krishnamachari admitted that cloth prices which the Government had fixed were 'in all conscience very high' The Government would like to reduce them, but 'we are torn between our desire to keep cloth cheap for the consumer and provide a reasonable return to the various interests.'—PTI"

What are these various interests,—except of all those who live on interest-profits, rents and taxes? They are to be provided before the consumer's interests can be considered? This is the nature of the 'very best' attempt of safeguarding him

Even the so-called Communism has no solution for this Decommercialized economy and self-government by the people themselves without a paid service can alone provide a solution or very near it

Wardha, 22-7-'52 K. G. M.

HARIJAN

Aug. 16 1952

A SHINING EXAMPLE

We shall soon be celebrating the Independence Day On 15th August 1947 the British rule came to an end, we gained our political independence It was made possible by the silent self-sacrifice, renunciation of innumerable soldiers of freedom who laid down their lives in the struggle for freedom Most of these heroes were unknown to fame We do not know their names even There are some others whom we have known and loved but whom we are beginning to forget One such who sacrificed his all on the altar of the Motherland was Mahadevbhai Desai

He joined Bapu at the age of 25. Politics is considered a dirty game all the world over and India was no exception But with the advent of Gandhiji, the Indian politics was metamorphosed. Truth and non-violence became its basis Many who had shunned politics before were thereafter drawn towards it They were the new leaders who talked a different language and inspired confidence and enthusiasm among idealists Sardar Patel, Mahadevbhai Desai and many others came under this category Mahadevbhai Desai was then in service at Ahmedabad. He and his friend, Shri Naraharibhai Parikh used to visit Gandhiji off and on in his Ashrem They went there in no hero-worshipping mood to begin with, but in a spirit of curiosity mostly But in the very first meeting they were won over by Gandhiji completely They became frequent visitors Mahadevbhai expressed a wish to stay with Gandhiji to serve him but Gandhiji did not encourage people to leave their moorings unless he was convinced that the urge was irresistible and there was sincerity of purpose behind it. He advised Mahadevbhai to continue with his work and devote his spare time to voluntary service Mahadevbhai's beautiful hand-writing, the regularity of his attendance and his natural humility and sweetness of temperament impressed Gandhiji deeply. One day Mahadevbhai received a post card from Gandhiji who was on tour saying— "I wish to annex you". Mahadevbhai was delighted He joined Gandhiji and for the next 25 years was almost his constant companion. He had only one ambition and that was to relieve Bapu's burden to the extent he could and to interpret Bapu to the people at large He rummaged through literature, devoured periodicals and newspapers, met people, and presented the result of his researches to Gandhiji in the form of articles for the *Harijan* Weeklies. He also looked round for the right type of workers, who could put Bapu's programme into operation. Thus, he was instrumental in bringing Rajaji to Bapu's attention He became an important link too between Bapu and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel.

Mahadevbhai was an artist by temperament He liked the good things of life but at Bapu's feet he learnt the lesson of renunciation The artist in Mahadevbhai thereafter found expression chiefly in his writings, but more than that in his daily actions. Bapu sometimes talked in parables Sometimes he made brief, pithy statements like a proposition of Euclid, Mahadevbhai provided the commentary Bapu once called him his 'spare body'.

After Mahadevbhai's death Bapu once remarked, "Mahadev excelled all my other associates in that like Ba he had completely merged himself in me" Mahadevbhai was happy to serve Bapu in any capacity Whether it was the domestic chore or representing him in a diplomatic mission, he did it with an equal joy and enthusiasm Away from Bapu he felt forlorn If ever a discussion arose as to what would happen to the Ashram or to some of Bapu's activities after he was gone, Mahadevbhai would suddenly get up and go away He could not conceive life without Bapu

On the 9th August 1942, Mahadevbhai was arrested along with Bapu at Bombay and taken to the improvised Aga Khan Palace Camp for detention On the 15th August 1942—it was Saturday morning—he accompanied Bapu as usual on his morning walk. About half an hour later he was no more He had been very worried at the possibility of Bapu going on a fast unto death in prison The constant emotional strain had affected his heart so that it would stop beating momentarily from time to time. On this particular day it stopped, and stopped for good. When Bapu reached his bedside, the breathing was still there but the heart had stopped to beat Bapu called out "Mahadev, Mahadev!", but Mahadev, who had never failed to respond to the call of the Master, for once refused to answer "I feel if Mahadev would but open his eyes and look into mine, he would not die," remarked Bapu afterwards But Mahadev did not open his eyes We were all prisoners The Government officials wanted to take the dead body outside to cremate it quietly But Bapu refused to hand over the body of his son to strangers He was willing to hand over the body to friends, but the Government were keeping the whereabouts of Gandhiji secret The friends could not be called and the dead body could not be handed over to them. Perhaps the Government were afraid of the popular reactions that might follow Ultimately, we cremated him in our own compound There was sorrow and suffocation in the atmosphere, but Bapu put heart into us all He sent a telegram to Mahadevbhai's wife saying that Mahadevbhai had had a patriot's death, and no sorrow was allowed. He explained to Ba "Mahadev's death is the purest sacrifice on the altar of freedom. It must result in hastening the advent of freedom." Exactly five years after Mahadev's death,

on the 15th August, India gained her Independence Simultaneously with the Independence, India was partitioned Wounds were inflicted on her from which she has not yet completely recovered. To heal those wounds and to make Independence a reality so that there is freedom from fear, freedom from want, freedom from ignorance It is an arduous, uphill task Many more sacrifices shall have to be made and many shall have to offer their all like Mahadevbhai before that dream of Bapu can be fully realized in this sacred striving Mahadev's example will serve as a beacon light for all for a long time to come

5-8-'52 SUSHILA NAYAR

MEETING THE FOOD CRISIS

—POST-PRAYER SPEECH—

(By M K Gandhi)

I claim that in a well-ordered society there should be always pre-arranged methods of successful treatment of scarcity of water and food crops. This is, however, not the occasion for describing a well-ordered society and for showing how it would deal with the matter. Our concern, for the present, is to see whether we can, with fair hope of success, deal with the present food crisis.

Self-help

I think we can The first lesson we must learn is of self-help and self-reliance If we assimilate this lesson, we shall at once free ourselves from disastrous dependance upon foreign countries and ultimate bankruptcy. This is not said in arrogance but as a matter of fact. We are not a small place, dependent for its food supply upon outside help We are a sub-continent, a nation of nearly 400 millions We are a country of mighty rivers and a rich variety of agricultural land; with inexhaustible cattle-wealth. That our cattle give much less milk than we need is entirely our own fault Our cattle wealth is any day capable of giving us all the milk we need Our country, if it had not been neglected during the past few centuries, should today not only be providing herself with sufficient food, she would also be playing a useful role in supplying the outside world with much-needed foodstuffs of which the late war has unfortunately left practically the whole world in want. This does not exclude India. The distress is growing instead of showing signs of decreasing My suggestion does not include ungrateful rejection of free supply that any foreign country may wish to offer us. All I say is that we must not go a-begging It demoralizes Add to this the difficulty of internal transport of foodstuffs from one place to another We have not the requisite facility for rapid movement of grains and other foodstuffs from place to place Further add not the remote possibility of delivery of uneatable stuff We dare not lose sight of the fact that we have to deal with human nature. In no part of the world it is to be found perfect or even very nearly so

Meaning of Foreign Aid

Next, let us see what possible foreign aid we can get. I am told, not more than three per cent of our present wants If this information is correct and I have had it checked by several experts who confirm the figure, I am sure the case for reliance on outside help falls to the ground The slightest dependence on outside help is likely to deflect us from trying to the fullest extent our immense internal possibilities in the shape of utilizing every inch of arable land for growing crops for daily food in the place of growing money crops We must reclaim waste land which is capable of being placed under immediate cultivation

Centralization or Decentralization?

Centralization of foodstuffs, I apprehend, is ruinous Decentralization easily deals a blow to black-marketing, saves time and money in transport to and fro Moreover, the villager who grows India's cereals and pulses knows how to save his crops against rodents The movement of grain from station to station makes it liable to be eaten by rodents. This costs the country many millions and deprives it of tons of grain, every ounce of which we badly need. If every Indian were to realize the necessity of growing food wherever it can be grown, we should most probably forget that there was scarcity of foodstuffs in the land I have by no means dealt fully with the fascinating and absorbing subject of growing more food, but I hope I have said enough to stimulate interest and turn the wise towards the thought of how every individual can help in the laudable enterprise

How to deal with Shortage

Let me now show how to deal with the three per cent of grains we might possibly get from outside. Hindus observe a fast or a semi-fast every eleventh day per fortnight. Muslims and others are not prohibited from denying themselves especially when it is for the sake of the starving millions If the whole nation realized the beauty of this partial self-denial, India would more than cover the deficit caused by the voluntary deprivation of foreign aid

Personally I hold that rationing has very limited use if any. If the producers were left to themselves, they would bring their produce to the market and everyone would get good and eatable grain, which today is not easily obtainable

President Truman's Advice

I shall close this hurried review of the food crisis by drawing attention to President Truman's reported advice to the American people that they should eat less bread, and thus save the much-needed grain for starving Europe If America would deny herself for the sake of hungry Europe, should we fail to do this little act of self-denial for ourselves? If many must die of starvation, let us at least earn the credit of having done our best in the way of self-help, which ennobles a nation.

Harijan, 19-10-'47

ILLITERATE BUT CULTURED

[Shri Ravishankar Maharaj in the course of his discourse on the occasion of the ninth annual function of the Madhi Girls Hostels narrated the following instructive story of an illiterate shepherdess.—K. G M]

The word 'backward' rings repellent in my ears when it is used for men and women, who though they have nothing to eat, desire to educate their children Those who are keen, intelligent, proficient and noble-hearted cannot be designated backward I see here that a girl has woven her experiences of her tour in a poem. I find that in a plot few feet square, the girls have raised 7 lb of paddy They can easily raise 700 lb if a larger plot is available They have raised their vegetables and perform all their domestic occupations in an orderly manner It is quite wrong to call such people backward

These girls remind me of an illiterate shepherdess At Bochasan a boy of the Baraiya community had joined the Nai Talim School He learnt spinning and the Acharya of the School got his yarn woven into Khadi The boy was extremely pleased to have his self-spun Khadi. I asked him what he would do with that Khadi He said that he would present it to 'Maadhi Rabaran' (shepherdess), who was his foster-mother.

I felt inquisitive about the woman, who had kept a hold over this boy, long after his childhood was over. I once got a chance to go to her village and went to her cottage She welcomed me and gave me a seat Shortly after, a young handsome boy, about 8 years of age, came up to her and began to sit on her lap The woman tried to push him away, but the more she did so, the more he clung to her I asked her if it was her son She said, "No, he is a *bania's* son. His mother having died while he was only a few days old, I brought him up His father has now taken him away, and has directed him not to drink water from my jar, as I am a *rabarin* (shepherdess), and so he would lose caste I have kept a separate jar for him, but the imp does not listen and insists on drinking water from my own jar He does not miss seeing me for a single day."

I asked her if she charged anything for nursing the child.

"Charge for nursing a child!" Maadhi exclaimed with astonishment. "God has given me enough to eat and to enable to preserve a flower."

Then I asked her how she treated a child, when it fell ill. She answered by asking why should a child, which was looked after properly, fall ill? A mother should cut off her hands, if her child became ill. When I narrated this talk to a lady who had taken her M A degree, she asked me to get her into touch with that shepherdess as her child kept ill from end to end of the year I ask you, friends, who is better educated between this shepherdess and the University graduate?

Modern education has brought into existence a middle class in which one earns and other members of the family only consume Its feet are in poverty but its head pries into the houses of the rich What I mean is that though they cannot afford to live like the rich, they always pine for and imitate the luxurious living of the rich and live beyond their means. I therefore, advise these girls not to imbibe habits of the middle class It is Nai Talim which will reform this middle class. For it teaches children to work with their hands

Generally the opening ceremony of a building is made by the guest opening a silver lock with a silver key These two are pocketed by the guest. It is sheer waste and an imitation of aristocracy I am glad to find here that little girls are cooking nice *rotlas* (loaves) in the new rooms. They have already performed the opening ceremony in the right manner

Let these girls develop the spirit of service the virtue of hospitality the care of the diseased and the dignity of physical labour.

Madhi,

(Translated and abridged from Gujarati) A. M.

Alcohol the Brutalizer

W R. Hughes in his *These Human Russians* (Victor Gollancz) quotes the following report made by a brave and able German Woman, describing her experiences at the time when the Red Army entered her home town'

In May 1945 Russian Officers had a discussion with me about the *attacks on women, which took place after the discovery of stores of alcohol in the shops* and brought terrible distress to many wives and girls The officers were much troubled by it, as we were They thought with great uneasiness what it would mean if the soldiers returned home in such a state At this time we could make no report to the Russian commander of every *outrage committed as a result of these drinking orgies* There was a woman (whose) husband had been shot by a drunken officer as he was trying to protect his daughter from being taken off by this man (p 110)

Later on in the same book (p 127) Hughes adds the personal judgment of Russian soldiers written by a woman after she had lived with successive groups who occupied her village.

'I got to know hundreds of ordinary soldiers They are the ordinary, garden Russian, and I never found one really bad person among them. I was to hear much of how they stole looted and raped. *They do that when they are drunk* '

The italics are mine throughout.

V. G. D

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RAJAJI ON PROHIBITION

Mr Rajagopalachari convincingly explained that a motion, such as the one suggested by Mr Viswanatham, if accepted would amount to the death of the movement for total abstinence in the country If he agreed to the demand for an inquiry it would amount to his taking a suicidal step and sabotaging the scheme of prohibition itself An inquiry into the usefulness of prohibition would bring about suspicion in the minds of people and kill prohibition not only in Madras but all over India It would amount to killing the patient in order to diagnose the disease He said such an inquiry would also sound the death-knell of Article 47 of the Constitution dealing with prohibition.

Mr Rajagopalachari reminded the House that the experience resulting from the success of prohibition in Madras during the Congress Ministry in 1937 was responsible for the Constituent Assembly making prohibition a directive part of the Constitution applicable to all States in India He recalled how sitting till midnight the Madras Assembly in 1937 adopted the prohibition policy unanimously

The Chief Minister referred to the success of untouchability, and asked— "Do we question untouchability? Do we want an inquiry about this on the basis of its enforcement?" Even as untouchability was difficult to enforce, they should not be disappointed with gradual progress while enforcing prohibition He held that prohibition had been enforced to a better extent and would, therefore, succeed surely though slowly. Progress would necessarily be slow and two generations might have to pass before this evil was completely eliminated It was his submission that the removal of alcohol was no less important than removal of untruth in law courts.

Warning those who spoke carelessly of removing prohibition, he said the day it was removed it would be a day of orgy all over the land and people would drink to death It would bring to the country great destruction He added: "If any one wants to ruin the poor people of this country utterly then they can bring this move I cannot be a party to this kind of move."

Mr Rajagopalachari went on to say that opening liquor shops was worse than highway robbery because it removed the will and judgment from the mind of the addict and made him a slave It was not a mere tax. To those who argued that it was necessary for many, he said no medical book in the world gave alcohol as the medicine for any disease except that which resulted on account of addiction to alcohol.

Saying that he would be a "bad robber," and "a wicked person" if he removed prohibition, he added it was not his way of helping the poor which the Opposition sought to follow He warned them "You will be ruining your own election chances by bringing such a motion" He recalled how Lenin ordered that barrels containing alcoholic drinks shall be emptied into the rivers as soon as the revolution ended because he too believed drink was an enemy of wisdom.

Mr Rajagopalachari appealed to the members to remember that now that power had been transferred to the people it was not proper to seek to ruin them The Opposition's move would ruin the people "today, tomorrow and for ever."

(From the speech in the Madras Legislative Assembly on 17-7-'52 as reported in *The Hindustan Times* of 19-7-'52)

THE CINEMA INDUSTRY IN INDIA

It is good news to hear responsible Ministers of State warning the cinema industry and the people against vulgarity, bad taste and pandering to base instincts that is to be generally found in our motion pictures as they are today

While addressing a mass rally of the working class in Madras a few days ago, Shri Rajagopalachari said,

> "Next to prohibition cinema producers were absorbing the hard-earned money of the poor and spoiling the character of the masses He was not totally averse to motion pictures provided they were decent. But the producers knew human weakness and produced indecent pictures which stimulated base instincts of the people and the spirit for adventure. If the workers avoided frequenting picture houses they would devote their time to making their families happy, he added." (*Hindustan Times*, 20-7-'52).

A similar note of warning to the Industry was sounded by Shri B V Keskar, Minister for Information and Broadcasting, the other day at Bombay, while addressing the cinema industry assembled at the All India Film Conference (7-7-'52). He said,

> "The unfortunate erotic attraction of this industry, I will go further and say, the romantic and erotic attraction, is most unsettling for its future. Producers in this line should have a certain background of culture, social sense and contact with the masses Then alone they will produce something which is constructive, which is popular and which will establish them on a firm footing.
>
> "At present, there is hardly any standard maintained by many of the productions that we see on the screen. Socially, they are poor often crude Nor is there any sense of a good story They have not yet learnt the great art of producing a good story with simple material.
>
> "I have received representations from various bodies that censorship should be abolished. Nobody would be happier than Government if it could do away with censorship. It is an unwilling and unpleasant task. If the industry exercised self-censorship, the Government's work would be done and I might assure you that you will receive its blessings But since this is not done, it is not possible for Government to withdraw censorship in the interests of public order and morality
>
> "One can moralize about morality indefinitely. Moral standards and behaviour differ in every country or continent or region and it is not possible for an industry which claims to entertain the mass of the people to ignore moral conventions prevailing in a particular country or region.
>
> "In this connection, it is really regrettable that Indian producers, because probably of want of original thinking have consciously or unconsciously, been trying to copy Hollywood standard of morals. Now,

Hollywood is bold and unconventional even for American moral standards. If it is taken by the Indian yardstick it really belongs to another world.

Government is receiving increasing criticism against the present trend in production, from the public and the Press. I would like to give a friendly warning to the industry that it is not possible for the Government to continue this way unless it finds an immediate change in the standard of films.

I would strongly urge on the industry to exercise greater discretion in this matter. We cannot switch on the people of India with their present day moral code to a European one, let alone a Hollywood one, and any such effort can only have an unsettling and shaotic effect. It is possible that by producing unconventional things, you might attract a certain type of audience but by doing that you are neither setting up a moral code nor contributing anything to the setting up of a new one. Eroticism will psychologically attract a large number of people but that does not mean that they would dare approve of it as a moral behaviour. The industry should not try to exploit human passions or weaknesses.

The cinema is a social industry. It has for its purpose the entertainment of people which cannot be diverced from its social purpose. Such an industry cannot flourish or carry on without having due regard to the society and culture in which it lives. It cannot ignore the history, civilisation and environment of a great country like ours. Even in a country like the U.S.A. where the cinema industry has probably the fullest freedom we will not find many productions which will parody American culture—American civilisation or the way of life of the American people. A cinema industry in India cannot grow and prosper by parodying and bringing into disrepute our history, our culture, our traditions or our society. Such an attitude can only bring disaster to the industry. It cannot prosper without the goodwill and support of the people. I hope that soon the industry will see the soundness of this advice and reorganise itself on a firm foundation."

31-7-'52 M. P.

LAND FOR THE COW

(*Mirabehn*)

Land, cattle and forests are so closely connected with one another, that we cannot interfere with one without dislocating the other two.

The time is now rapidly approaching when, one way or another, the land in India is going to be redistributed. It is therefore imperative that all of us who are actively interested in the welfare of rural India (and thereby the whole of India) should put our heads together and try to agree on a definite common objective regarding this issue. And we must invite to our consultations experienced *kisans* and herdsmen. After all we are only amateurs; it is they who really know what's what; but they need organizational help which we should give them. In *Bapu Ray Patrika* (June) I have already asked for ideas and suggestions from the peasants themselves on this and other relative matters.

Suggestions

I give below some of the vital points which I feel we have to keep to mind when working out this problem.

1. Since there is not enough land to provide for all, we must make the rapid development of village industries an integral part of our scheme, and must never hold out the hope that everybody is going to get land.

2. The distribution of land for cultivation must be restricted, except in a few special cases, to lands already under the plough. The terms *waste lands* and *culturable waste* are entirely misleading, as practically all such lands are, in fact, grazing lands, and their extensive cultivation in the present "grow more food" drive is causing untold damage to the cattle of the peasantry.

3. A good deal of land ploughed up in this manner will have to be returned to the cattle and also land for forest blocks will have to be allotted, as without cattle and without trees, India would, before long, become a desert, tractors and artificial manure accelerating the process.

4. The present-day propaganda that cattle should be stall-fed is an impossible proposition for the peasant. At the most he could stall feed his working bullocks and cows in milk, but the young stock, dry cows and old cattle must have grazing lands. Besides, the economic difficulty involved, cattle kept tied up all the 24 hours become susceptible to disease and the cows are also liable to have trouble at the time of calving.

Nature's Law

5. If we wish to obtain permanently sound agricultural economy and maintain the true cycle of Nature's laws we must not think in terms of tractors, artificial manure and the like but must stick to our bullocks for cultivation. Besides the fact that Nature responds best to this method, the economic question with which we should be faced by giving up bullocks for the plough, would be that we should either have to give up keeping cows altogether, or eat the bullocks, as they do in Western countries. Modern experts are, I think, mostly meat-eating minded and my impression is that the present-day agricultural and animal husbandry officers would like to turn India into a beef-eating country, so as to suit their Western methods, regardless of their permanent value. We, therefore, have to think independently in these matters and make the *kisans* and herdsmen our advisers.

6. Unless there is complete readjustment of the government machinery, land distribution will be greatly hampered to its good effects. We, therefore, have to work for an all-round change.

(*From The Hindustan Times* 11-7-'52)

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INDO-U.S AGREEMENT

[I gladly publish the following letter from Shri Gulzarilal Nanda regarding the Indo-U S. Technical Co-operation Agreement, which was criticised in *Harijan* in May last.—K. G M.]

In the *Harijan* of May 3 and May 10 there are two articles regarding the Indo-U S Technical Co-operation Agreement by Suresh Ramabhai under the heading "Agreement or Slavery Bond?". Although some time has passed since these articles were published, I am writing this letter to explain to you that the criticism contained in these articles is entirely unfounded I shall not attempt to deal separately with each point made by the writer The correct position may be set out in the following propositions about which, having watched the working of the Agreement during the past few months, I am fully satisfied:

(1) No agreement under the Indo-U.S. Technical Co-operation Programme is being entered into by the Government of India except for an object which is essential and fits into the framework of the Five Year Plan. The priorities are those of the Five Year Plan

(2) In certain directions the Technical Co-operation Programme strengthens the Five Year Plan to a much greater extent than could have been done otherwise These are, for instance, (i) tubewell programme, (ii) programme for the development of marine fisheries, and (iii) supply of equipment needed urgently for irrigation and power projects.

(3) By providing for the import of commodities which can be sold and are essential for agricultural production (fertiliser and steel), we obtain counterpart rupee funds for financing our projects

(4) There is no obligation on the part of India to buy any equipment for projects under the Technical Co-operation Programme from the United States. India is free to buy equipment through her own agencies wherever the price factor and the delivery situation are favourable

(5) No American experts are employed in India or sent to India unless they are specifically requested for by the Government of India. No experts are asked for unless there is real need for them It is the policy of the Government of India to develop the talent of and to give the utmost opportunity to our own people It is only where, in any particular field, by reason of knowledge or experience, it is felt that a foreign expert can usefully supplement an Indian expert, the services of a foreign expert are requested Even in case of such experts only certain local expenses have to be met. Salary and equipment needed for such persons are paid for by the T C A.

(6) The Clause in the Agreement that the Director of the Technical Co-operation Administration and his staff should be regarded as part of the diplomatic mission of the Government of the United States of America was inserted at the suggestion of the Government of India It was felt that there was no need for a separate T C A Mission in India on the model of T C A Missions in Europe. Further, under the Agreement, the Director and other members of his party of specialists, though appointed by the Government of the United States of America, have to be acceptable to the Government of India.

(7) The entire Technical Co-operation Programme is carried out under the direction of the Central Committee, that is, the Planning Commission with the Prime Minister as Chairman The Central Committee is completely free to reach its decisions. There is consultation between the Representative of the Government of India and the Director, Technical Co-operation, as to the use of American Funds, but such consultation is limited only to this aspect.

(8) The Agreement provides for the consultation with the Director in drawing up the form in which quarterly reports under different project agreements are to be presented by the Central Committee to the Government of India. The reason for providing for this consultation is that the U S Administration has to report to the U S Congress regarding the employment of funds appropriated by the Congress. Consultation with the Director ensures that the reports obtained by the Government of India contain

information on points which may be required by the U S Administration in tendering their account to the Congress I do not think there can be any objection to such a provision.

2. I need not say much about the political aspect because the policy of the Government of India has been made clear on several occasions by the Prime Minister While holding that foreign assistance has a legitimate part to play in the economic development of India, the Government of India have always been clear that India's Plan shall not be dependent on foreign aid and shall be capable, if necessary, of being proceeded with without such aid.

3. I trust my letter will serve to dispel the doubts which have been expressed in the articles and which may possibly be shared by you

Planning Commission,
New Delhi, 7-8-'52 GULZARILAL NANDA

SHRI VINOBA'S UTTAR PRADESH TOUR — X

Bundelkhand

If Vinoba had to travel in the extreme cold of Paush and Magh (January and February) months in the hilly districts of Himalayas, he had also to bear the scorching heat of Jyeshtha (May) in the hilly regions of Bundelkhand. In both the paths his work went on incessantly like the ever-flowing Ganga, or like ever-revolving Sun. That in spite of these extremes of climate, his feeble body remained constantly working indicated that God wanted to accomplish His task through Vinoba and supplied him with the necessary energy

There are four districts in Bundelkhand, namely, Jhansi, Jalaun, Hamirpur and Banda Of these Jhansi is the gate of Uttar Pradesh. This heroic city became the starting-point of our Uttar Pradesh tour, and here, in the very beginning we got 5 000 acres of land. Indeed, there occurred in this district as many good omens as were required for the beginning of such a great yajna. It was this donation of 5,000 acres that inspired the workers at the Mathura conference to take a pledge to collect 5 lakh acres Even before leaving Jhansi, Vinobaji and a prominent that the people of Bundelkhand would put a crown over the collections made in the districts of U P. And as it happened. The people of Bundelkhand appeared the mindful of their past traditions, and conscious of their past glory Here, in Kalpi on the banks of Ken, Vyas and Valmiki had performed their *tapas* It was in this land again that Maharana Chhatrasal Prithviraj Ala and Udal and Maharani Lakshmibai had proved their mettle, each for a noble cause. Before the 1857 Revolution, the British Government had sensed a rebellion here and had taken military action. And to add to this glorious history, the memory of that great and inspiring soul Goswami Tulsidas seemed to have infused life in the very atmosphere Though the whole country is indebted to Tulsidas, Uttar Pradesh and particularly, Bundelkhand and been recipients of his especial favour and regard. At a time when the people were in a state of despondency the Goswami had saved the country from it. This miracle had been wrought by his great work — the Ramayana. And, we finished our journey of Bundelkhand, in an atmosphere filled with the recitals of Ramayana. We came across so many people who were intense devotees of Ramayana. They did not know anything else, but had the whole of Ramayana by heart. We also met many earnest and talented devotees who have made the propagation of Ramayana a mission of their life Their hearts simply swelled with emotions with the chanting of this great poem.

The city culture does not seem to have made much inroads in Bundelkhand. Naturally we found several people intensely devoted to that great devotee of God — Tulsidas The cleanliness of these parts reminded us of Telangana Everywhere we were received by men and women with great eclat Vinoba used to begin his journey at 4 a.m. In the morning and reach the destination of the day at 9 a.m. During all that time young as well as old came running to see him They sang *bhajans* and even after Vinoba had passed over, they would keep in looking at him for a distance of 2 or 3 furlongs. On one occasion I requested Vinoba to turn round and have a look at the people watching him. Vinoba did so and said "This is the difference between civilisation and culture. You will find civilisation in cities, but culture you will see in the villages only" He seemed to throw out a challenge to us What will you choose ? — culture or civilisation ?

The Miracle of Mangroth

After crossing Vetravati we entered the Hamirpur District In mere villages than one we had a very warm reception. But Mangroth the first village we passed by in the district, performed a miracle

This small village has a glorious history It took part in the 1857 revolution. Thereafter, it and become a camp of "revolutionaries". It also participated in the Satyagraha movement launched under Gandhiji's leadership And now it also took the unique credit of practising the great ideal "All land belongs to God", (सर्व भूमि गोपालकी) by offering all its land in the *Bhoodan-Yajna* All the sixty six land holders of this village donated all their 1,300 acres to Vinoba And they got this inspiration only from a speech of Vinoba He had not even personally visited that village The villagers had come about 2 miles to see Vinoba on his way Just as *Kirata* (an *adivasi* tribe of the Ramayana period) had come with great love to lay their offerings at the feet of Rama, similarly the villagers the offered one hundred and one acres of land in the *Bhoodan Yajna*. Vinoba in his short speech gave the message "All land belongs to God." This was enough for them. Vinoba proceeded further and the villagers returned to their village with this great *mantra*. They were thinking all the while as to what was their true duty Diwan Shatrughan Singha a sincere *sevak* of the village was touring outside for *bhoodan*. People called for him and he arrived an hour before mid-night. The villagers opened their hearts to him. He was so pleased to hear their resolve. Gift-deeds were prepared, and a gift-deed of all the holders combined was sent to Vinoba through the Diwan Saheb.

Now there is not a single landless man in Mangroth. All beggars (*pachaka*) have turned into *masters* (*sjachaks*) The common cultivation of land has been agreed. To make the village ideal, work has been started under Vinoba's guidance Since that day, Vinoba has paid tribute to Mangroth in every village and in every speech. He asks the people, "Is Mangroth inhabited by *kinnars* or gods ? Or are the people there of a different kind ? No, they too are like us. The only difference is that a real *sevak* serves them. He could enthuse them to do this miraculous deed. There is a dearth of such *sevaks* in other places."

All Doubts Answered

Mangroth had solved all problems and doubts, such as, fragmentation of holdings, gift of a biswa or two, individual farming against co-operative farming, the problem of waste and culturable lands etc., by the single act of renunciation of private ownership. Vinoba had this ideal in his mind from the very inception of *bhoodan*. But and he insisted upon it from the beginning we would not have seen such a magnified form of *bhoodan*. We have seen already that this movement started with the donation of a hundred acres by one land-holder Since then big holders began to offer lands Vinoba requested the rich and the poor alike to offer for the *bhoodan*. And thus stepping forward we got at last, all the village land in

tune with the principle "All land belongs to God" (सर्वं भूमि गोपालकी).

Advance of Quotas

His demand too reached its peak in Bundelkhand. In the beginning, to Telangana, he was getting about a hundred acres a day; it reached to two hundred during his return journey to Wardha. From Wardha to Delhi he obtained on an average 250 acres a day In the western districts of U P it rose to 300 acres and after the Sevapuri conference it increased to 1 000 acres a day Originally Vinobaji began by demanding only ten thousand acres from every district. He gradually raised the demand and got a quota of twenty thousand acres to Jalaun. The upward trend continued, and Hamirpur was asked to collect thirty faur thousand Ultimately Banda carried the palm by agreeing to raise one lakh. And new Vinoba is not ready to put it at less than that. He says that finally every district must contribute two lakhs, so that the two hundred and fifty districts (the total number of districts in India) may make up the five crore figure which ultimately we aim at. "I do not care how much land actually comes to me But why should I set a low limit to my aim?" The *Upanishad* declares: Happiness is not to be had in the limits!" Every child, who hears Vinoba, propagates the message of collecting lakhs of acres. "No matter, if you bring only an acre but do not speak of less than a lakh. What we today repeat faithfully, we will achieve tomorrow", he says

End of Wranglings

Hamirpur seemed to be torn with party rivalries. Diwan Shatrughan Singhe, the idol of the masses of the district, was bending all his efforts on *bhoodan* work. He had collected eight thousand acres, but the Congress workers of the place were not co-operating with him. They came to Vinoba and explained how the political wranglings had compelled them to abstain from taking their part in the work and assured him that they would fully co-operate from then onwards. Vinoba was pained to see how the deterioration in politics had gone so far down as to hamper co-operation even to a venture as noble as this, and he expressed his distress a little vehemently He did not understand, he said, how they could not extend their co-operation to this work even though they had political differences with the Diwan Saheb. It was national work and personal or political differences should not be allowed to come to the way Service should always be undertaken in the spirit of selfless detachment. As to name, he alone earns it who does not hanker after it. Goswamiji (Le Poet Tulsidas) never wanted name and yet he is known and reverentially remembered in every home. He warned them that these differences were responsible for the incoming of the British and if we persisted in fostering them in place of the British now the Americans might get in "I therefore want,' he said, "that we must all unite and apply ourselves to this work which will strengthen this unity ever more"

The readers will be pleased to know that finally the two parties agreed to sink their differences and work together Diwan Shatrughna Singhe and Babu Ramgopalji, the heads of the two rival parties embraced each other in the presence of Vinobaji, and the reconciliation was made perfect. Vinoba made good use of this happy occasion by enhancing the quota of contribution from Hamirpur to 34 thousand acres. Of these Shatrughna Singhaji had already collected eight thousand. The District Magistrate, who worked for the cause with admirable enthusiasm, brought in ten thousand on behalf of the estates of the Court of Wards. For the fulfilment of the remaining sixteen thousand the two parties accepted equal responsibility.

Banda also, which subsequently agreed to raise one lakh acres, did not begin well. When we entered the district, they had collected only three hundred acres and Shri Arjunbhai felt very anxious about fulfilling the promised quota He was present at the Mathura Sammelan and had offered to collect eleven thousand acres from the eleven hundred villages of his district. But excepting his little group of Sarvodaya-minded friends he had no other helper. The leaders of the place were away at Delhi and Lucknow Of course, they came, as they had to, the day Vinoba reached there Vinoba declared straightaway, "Your district has the high honour of being the birthplace of Tulsidas. His Ramayana is read throughout the country. Here, we will not speak in terms of thousands, we are going to insist on not less than a lakh." Continuing he said, "Wa aim of the change of heart, the change in the prevailing psychology. We want to create a new social order Those whose minds are grooved to old ruts fail to appreciate this. They cannot think of anything apart from legislation or violent revolution. They ask me how and where you are going to achieve your aim My answer to them is: The results of the method of legislation are before you. The other method of violence also has been tried And your experience of them should convince you that they are totally useless They should draw a lesson from the story of Sund and Upasund (two demon brothers who both wanted the same woman, and who therefore fell out between themselves and destroyed each other). For ourselves, therefore, we have chosen the path of love. We ask for land in the name of Tulsidas. And we expect from you, who share the glory of belonging to the same district as he, not less than a lakh."

Shankar's Worship and Vishnu's Donation of the Eye

Speaking to the workers about the faith and spirit they should bring to bear on their work, Vinoba said, "God Vishnu had resolved to offer a thousand lotuses to Shankar In the end he found that he was short by one He at once made it up by offering his lotus-eye" Tears rolled down his eyes he had passed into emotional trance For a time he remained silent, while the audience sat awed under an atmosphere of high sublimity Controlling himself with some difficulty, Vinoba spoke just one more sentence, "It was this love and devotion of Lord Vishnu which emerged later as Sudarshan Chakra; the same love and devotion is protecting the world at the present moment and will protect us."

They had a glimpse of the depth of emotion and meaning with which the utterance was charged. The workers made a silent resolve and plunged themselves into the work. They would work all day long, attend the evening prayer and announce their collections and go back to work again. Arjunbhai and friends had conveyed Vinoba's message to hundreds of villages But the donors had so far evaded decision with the usual reply, "Let Vinoba come, then we shall think over it." Arjunbhai doubted whether he would be able to keep his word. God came to the help of his devotee Arjunbhai was enabled to honour his promise just as Narsi Mehta was enabled to honour his. There was literally a downpour of land gifts for days on end during the period Vinobaji remained in Banda. We got twenty thousand acres And at Rajapur the birth place of Goswami Tulsidas on the bank of Sarju, the workers resolved that they would collect one lakh acres.

The region is described in the Ramayana as the dwelling of the forest tribes of Kols and Kirats The forest tribes still live there. The people are remarkably loving and hospitable. At the leave-taking, Vinoba said, "Atma is Satya-Kama and Satya-Sankalpa, i.e., the desire and the will of the Spirit are always realised. If we will truly and, what is more collectively, we get to know our hidden powers We should continue to make better and higher resolutions and strive after them with all our might, however strenuous the effort and sacrifice it may involve. I therefore hope that you will continue to devote yourselves unflinchingly for redeeming your collective resolve of one lakh acres You have the assurance of Tulsidas that 'What we love truly we are bound to achieve.'"

Meeting with Jaya Prakash Narayan

After the Pachmarhi Convention of the Socialist Party,

Shri Jayaprakash came to see Vinoba at Banda. The news of the meeting of the two leaders gave rise to a great deal of speculation and much hope in the country Pandit Nehru had expressed his sympathy with *bhoodan* work at the very beginning Shri Kripalanijl had issued a statement in its support early before Vinobaji entered Uttar Pradesh. The R.S.S. workers had also passed a resolution in its favour and worked for it. New Jayaprakashji himself came to Vinoba with a resolution of his party pledging his co-operation We had had the support of Socialist friends even before and many of them had accompanied us in our tours Some of them had also contributed lands In Telangana the Socialists of the Karimnagar District had not only given full co-operation but one of them had also made over to Vinoba 25 acres which was half of his share of land In this context Jayaprakashji's visit certainly had a significance not from the point of view of only the bhoodan movement but also from that of the progress of the country towards real freedom

Their interview lasted for full three hours. Shri Jayaprakash acquainted Vinoba with the resolution passed by Panchmarhi Conference and the views of his colleagues about *bhoodan*. Vinoba also related to him in brief the progress of *bhoodan* movement since its inception and the development of its various phases and explained to him his views on such matters as legislation, compensation, Satyagraha etc

In the public meeting Shri Jayaprakash said, "After 30th January 1948, it was felt that the inspiration for sacrifice which we used to get formerly had come to an end. But now we have again begun to feel that we can solve all our problems through non-violence I hope that through *bhoodan* the two currents of Socialism and Gandhism are to meet like the Yamuna and the Ganga and together work for the country's good."

I cannot reproduce here the whole report of their talks. However, I shall give here a few important opinions, which Vinoba expressed, as being useful for all

"The power of the people is limitless. I, therefore, do not fear the pressure even think of legislation. The people are like *kalpa vriksha* (desire-yielding tree) They give us what we desire If we are able to collect twenty-five lakh acres in two years the Government will have surely to consider the question of legislation and I don't think they will not be prepared to do so. If the nation realises that the public mind is prepared to give land and the landowners also accept the idea, the next step will be an easy one'

Regarding compensation, Vinoba said, "The Constitution stipulates payment of compensation But what compensation will have to be paid to those who have all along owned as much as ten thousand acres of land? They have received enough return from land But they too are our countrymen, and we cannot be indifferent to their means of livelihood. Hence it is a different thing that they should be given something for that purpose But all such people will not need it. I, therefore ask them to donate their compensation also I have so far received donations of compensation of about a lakh and a half rupees. But I take all land as gift. You will therefore infer from it what I think about the question of compensation."

His views about Satyagraha for *bhoodan* have already appeared in *Harijan* (18-8-'52) I need not repeat them here

(From Hindi) D M.

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STUDENT LABOUR CORPS

(By A V Barve)

[While speaking at the last Sane Guruji anniversary, at a meeting of the students of the local High School an idea intuitionally occurred to me which was much appreciated both by the young audience and the Superintendent. I want to share it with my readers.]

One very substantial objection to the system of education prevailing in India, is that it gives the student a false superiority complex, and makes him look down upon physical labour as something below the dignity of an educated person. Apart from the controversy whether the present literary bias should or should not be substituted by the vocational or 'basic' bias, there should be no two opinions about the utility of the dignity of manual labour being inculcated in the minds of the youth of India, by their teachers both by precept and by example

Accordingly, in memory of Sane Guruji who laboured for the nation day and night, students should resolve to give half an hour's physical labour daily to the nation. That would come to three hours per week taking one day per week as a holiday Alternatively, they should volunteer to work 1½ hours, on each of the two week-end days, namely Saturday and Sunday. That would be their *Shrama-Yajna* (श्रम-यज्ञ) They should regard all kinds of labour as a sacrifice and as such 'sacred' Road-repair, street-sweeping, scavenging should be regarded on par with any other kind of labour If there is no suitable work every week, they should reserve their work at this rate (about 150 hours during an academic year) completing the remaining quota during the vacations. The labour must be offered without any expectation of any kind of return or reward When there is a sufficient number of volunteers, say about 25, it may be expected that an enthusiastic young teacher might take the lead of this student labour corps, and local leaders would come forward to provide suitable implements and work for the young generation volunteering to work for the nation

Ultimately, this idea would catch the imagination of the educational authorities who may turn the voluntary nature of the work into compulsory and lay down that without a minimum of planned labour, say 100 hours per academic year, no student should be promoted to the higher standard

This labour will improve the health of the younger generation, make them more practical and less white-collarish and forge a link between them and the toilers of the nation.

[*Note* I give place to the above suggestion in case no better training in physical labour than the one suggested above can be introduced What is needed is not a training in physical labour, but training *through* physical labour. If the people who belong to the middle or upper class at

present want to survive and lead a life of contentment and self-respect in future, they must rapidly divest themselves of the white-collar mentality, and take to physical labour not as a pastime, but as a regular feature of life at all stages And if those of the labouring classes are not to be made applicants of the Employment Bureau in large numbers they must be saved from the modern school. K. G. M]

LAND-GIFT-MOVEMENT

(By H M Desai)

Land problem in India has assumed huge dimentions after the war and drawn attention of all because of the Chinese revolution. Communists in India want the Russian way of rehabilitation of our country. Orthodox Gandhiites offer a solution by the Sarvodaya way They are not in a hurry to solve the problem with undue haste but want to awaken the people to action by appealing to their good sense They want voluntary action so that it may be lasting and in the process generete love To this end Shri Vinobaji is collecting land as a free gift to be distributed among the needy. In Gujaret a strong committee of selfless and astotly men has been formed to collect land gifts.

In this connection, some puzzling points are discussed hereunder by taking the Kheda District as an example for stating the points of doubt.

The Kheda District has 16 lakhs acres of land out of which nearly 13 lakhs are under cultivation. The district has the population of 16 lakhs with about 500 density per square mile, while some districts have density of population as high as 1,000

Let us now look at the following table, which gives the distribution of land among holders :

Holdings	Land	Owners
Below 5 acres	30%	76%
5 to 15 acres	32%	15%
15 to 25 acres	12%	3%
25 to 100 acres	16%	5%
Over 100 acres	6%	0.15% (300 owners)
	99%	99.15%

(Decimals left out)

From this table it will be seen that over 75% of the farmers in the district are uneconomic farmers, i e., have ttoy bits of land for their cultivation If we study the production figures, the production of this group of farmers is less than half than that of farmers who cultivate economic holdings, that is, fields of 5 to 15 acres. Bigger farmers rent their land to tenants who are also uneconomic group of farmers and their production is also low.

Those who are interested in the agricultural productive study to the rural areas know the disabilities of these uneconomic group of farmers. These farmers cannot command optimum means and methods of production i.e. good seeds, manure, bullocks etc. The standard of their cultivation being toefficient and untimely, the land being low in fertility and weedy, the result is low production Government have not been able to reise the standard of cultivation of this group of farmers by any of their schemes under the Grow More Food Campaign

Coming now to the potot, under the land-gift-movement in the district it may be possible to collect some land from big land-holders in response to appeals from men like Shri Ravishankar Maharaj. The land, that will be secured, will be scattered all over the village and in distributing these among the landless, whose number is great, about 15%, they would form tiny bits of holdings. This would swell the number of the uneconomic group who form about 75% of farmers, and who are at present a problem group. The Government of this State is trying to liquidate uneconomic holdings by various methods and means and this land-gift-distribution will go contrary to the Government policy of consolidation of holdings. The ultimate aim of all parties, Government and social workers, is to increase production to self-sufficiency. How the land-gift-movement will be helpful, to this end is not clear.

In the Kheda District alone there are large areas of land, to an extent of thousands of acres, lying vacant on river banks, sea shores and in bits scattered in low lying areas infested with salt. If these lands are developed they would provide large areas of cultivated land for farming on co-operative lines, if so desired With the machinery, implements and tools we have on hand, the economic development of these areas should not be difficult in the present state of our scientific advancement. If the scope of the land-gift-movement is extended to include the development of such cultivable land now lying waste the speed of rehabilitation movement will be accelerated. The work of development can be taken up by the co-operetion of Government and Public Funds like Memorial Funds. The preliminary work can be undertaken through the appropriate Government Departments. The executive work can be taken up, wherever possible, by such agency as may be created for the purpose and/or by Government Departments. If people come forward to develop such land they may be given all help and guidance they need This will help rehabilitation of landless farmers and needy farmers in a group by giving them land for cultivation on economic basis and secondary occupation as a supporting occupation. If co-operative societies are formed the organization and execution of schemes will be facilitated

In any case this will provide field for a huge social experiment in rehabilitation of rural surplus population under the same environment conditions not very far from their land of habitation.

Can this be included in the orbit of land-gift-movement by widening its scope ?

BANNING OF TODDY

(By Gajanan Naik)

Though the natural sap obtained by tapping the palms (Date, Palmyra, Coconut and Sago) is quite harmless when it is fresh and sweet even if consumed as beverage, still the sap when fermented develops intoxicant quality What is commonly known as 'toddy' is the fermented sap of these palms. The production, supply and consumption of toddy is under rigorous Government control, as it has been made a source of lucrative revenue. According to the Constitution, India stands committed to complete Prohibition. Now, it is only a matter of details and effective implementation of the policy, since the fundamental has been laid down.

It would be of interest to make a study of the toddy consumption. A cursory observation of the working of the toddy booth in any place will show that almost all the consumers belong to the working class, who generally live hand-to-mouth. The well-to-do people rarely take to toddy, as they patronise more costly drinks. Toddy is perhaps cheaper than even country liquor Thus the first great disadvantage resulting from the propagation of toddy is that it drains the poor man's pocket, in addition to the other attendant sufferings like harassment etc., experienced by the family members of the toddy drunkard.

Secondly, the prevalence of toddy obstructs the growth of the important cottage industry — Palm Gur The owners of the palm trees, who realise exorbitant rents for the trees lent for toddy production, are reluctant to lend their trees on reasonable rent for *gur* production. The skilled labour, viz the tappers, are reluctant to utilise their skill for *gur* production, as some of them can easily make more money by even indulging in adulteration of toddy The prevalence of toddy trade creates a prejudice in the minds of the public against *gur* consumption from the fresh sap of the palms, as they wrongly presume that *gur* is made out of toddy But, in areas where toddy is unknown to people, they bear no such prejudice. Due to such prejudice, marketing of *gur* becomes problematic.

The experience gained in the States like Bombay, Madras, and Saurashtra, where complete Prohibition of intoxicants including that of toddy has been introduced, goes to prove that the discontinuance of toddy has bestowed so many benefits on the erstwhile consumers as they have been able to effect savings and also purchase better articles of everyday utility, like clothing, utensils etc., for leading a more hygenic and smooth life Moreover, the revenue realized by the States from toddy, is more or less, very limited excepting in case of Hyderabad (over 8 crores), Bihar and Travancore-Cochin (over one crore each). In 13 States, it is nil. So, the States can easily ban toddy immediately, with a view to save the poorer classes from the toddy menace and also for encouraging the cottage industry in order to ensure regular supply of the raw material, increase the skilled labour and also guarantee market for the *gur*. The banning of toddy will also serve as a substantive indication of the faith of the State Government in the policy of Prohibition. It is quite interesting to observe that there are 13 States in the Union, which have already banned toddy in spite of the fact that there are large number of palms which can be exploited for supply of toddy. The States are, Bombay, Madras, Saurashtra, Punjab, Jammu-Kashmir, Patiala and East Punjab States Union, Rajasthan, Ajmer, Himachal Pradesh, Delhi, Bhopal, Vindhya Pradesh and Kutch. Out of these 13 States, only the first three States have complete Prohibition. In the remaintog 10 States, toddy stands banned though complete Prohibition has not been introduced.

The position of toddy consumption on All-India basis is in short, as follows:

Out of the total 28 States in the Union, three States (Bilaspur, Manipur and Tripura) have no palms at all. In the remaining 25 States, 13 States as shown above, have already banned toddy Thus, the problem of banning toddy is to be tackled by only 12 States (Assam, Bihar, Orissa, West Bengal, Hyderabad, Madhya Bharat, Coorg, Andaman and Nicobar Islands, Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Mysore and Travancore-Cochin) Even in these 12 States toddy has been partially banned in some of the States (e g., Uttar Pradesh — 11 districts; Madhya Pradesh — 6 districts; Orissa — a few tahsils, and Travancore-Cochin — almost in half the State).

From the above it will be noticed that banning of toddy need not be held up till it is financially possible to introduce Prohibition of all intoxicants. The 12 States where toddy is still existing, can very well adopt the policy immediately, as is adopted by the other 10 States, where toddy has been banned even without introducing complete Prohibition.

The piecemeal banning of toddy in a State on a district or tahsil basis does not bestow the desired benefits on the addicts or on the Palm Gur Industry Since the addicts migrate to the neighbouring toddy area for obtaining toddy and also the skilled labour concentrates in the area where toddy is still continuing, as has happened in Mysore and Uttar Pradesh, where toddy has been banned partially. Therefore, it is very essential that toddy should be banned simultaneously all over the States

The rehabilitation of the skilled labour employed in toddy has been very successfully achieved in the Madras State, by organizing Co-operative Societies of the ex-toddy tappers for Palm Gur production. More than 2,000 such Co-operative Societies are working in the State now, giving employment to more than one lakh tappers.

KASTURBA GANDHI NATIONAL MEMORIAL TRUST

Summary of the Report

Training of Workers During the year 1951 170 trainees completed training in rural service and there were 248 undergoing training at the end of the year 1951 Besides, 43 girls successfully completed midwifery training and the number of trainees undergoing midwifery training at the end of the year was 70 The number of medical and *gram seva* centres, including a leprosy relief centre, for the year was 107, and 211 respectively. The total number of trained *gram sevikas* employed in these centres was 508.

The total number of women trained by the Trust from 1945 to 1951 in *gram sevika*, prebasic, basic midwifery, Khadi and other crafts was 1,184 The number of trained *sevikas* on the staff was 114

Maternity Aid The total number of deliveries attended to in the village homes were 3040 and in the maternity centres 1,217, thus making a total of 4 257 deliveries The number of outpatients was 63,148 men, 1,14,958 women 1,19 587 children and others 3 585 22,004 antenatal and 15 312 post-natal tests were conducted.

Leprosy Service : The Trust is conducting a full 30 bedded hospital for patients suffering from leprosy at village Mazhavanthangal, District South Arcot for which the Trust has constructed buildings worth about Rs 75,000, and has been spending Rs 20,000, per year

Medical Work : The report regarding the medical work says "It has to be remembered that all this was done for the benefit of rural areas lying far away from places with convenient facilities of transport and where there are no facilities of any kind of medical aid The work of the medical centres, apart from being actively helpful in giving relief has a much greater indirect value in so far as these centres create sanitary consciousness among the people, not only among womenfolk, but generally among the entire village population "

Expenditure The Trust has spent during the year Rs 5,89,607 on training and village centres : Rs 1,35,172 on the administrative and organizational work, Rs 5,10,804 on building works at Kasturbagram Leprosy Centre and other building constructions, and Rs 45,224 on non-recurring expenditure as equipment etc Total : Rs 12,80,807

Rehabilitation The Trust in response to the request of Rehabilitation Ministry, the Government of India, has also taken over the management of the Home for unattached women and children for 1,200 persons situated in Rajpura, Pepsu, since September 1951. The Trustees have also accepted the offer of the Government of India to take over the management of Hathibhai Wadi Home, at Ahmedabad, for unattached women and children

Kasturba Samadhi Looking to the sanctity of the Kasturba Samadhi at the Aga Khan Palace Poona, and the necessity of maintaining the Samadhi in proper environments the Trust has decided to acquire about 7½ acres of land in and around the Samadhi

Kasturbagram The Trustees have further earmarked a sum of Rs 20 lakhs for the development of Kasturbagram near Indore

Conclusion The Trustees while concluding their Report for 1951, say

"The report presented in facts and figures makes encouraging reading But it has to be borne in mind that the work achieved was by no means a smooth sailing It is difficult to conceive of the frequent disappointments and the mental worry and agony the Pratinidhi has to suffer to make a success of this noble mission which was dear to Gandhiji's heart Times and conditions, people and their views have considerably changed since he departed from this world Those at the top have their mind centred on huge projects of national interest and those at the bottom are so rooted in ignorance as to be blind even to their own interest The advent of Swaraj has not yet proved an incentive for missionary spirit and zeal The Pratinidhi's appeal therefore, to the well-to-do for monetary help, to educated women for active aid and to the village folk for co-operation, often goes unanswered While ploughing her lonely furrow in this field of constructive work, though she feels a bit forlorn and forsaken at times it is the great Trust that Bapu and Bapa laid in her that keeps her spirit alive and her faith undiminished.

' It has been admitted by one and all that in this country it is the peasant of the countryside who is the backbone of the nation On his well-being depends the prosperity of the Welfare-State — otherwise it will be only a misnomer But this backbone has for decades been in a diseased condition Every effort not only by the non-Governmental agencies, but even by the Government has to be made to drag him out of this and to wake him up in time out of the stupor into which he has fallen Non-Governmental agencies like the Kasturba Trust, however much they may strive, can touch only a fringe of this colossal problem of poverty, disease and ignorance combined "

A NATION BUILDER AT WORK

By Pyarelal

This is a collection of Gandhi Memorial Lectures delivered by the author in 1951 under the auspices of the University of Agra

Pages iii+73 Price Re 1 Postage etc As 4

WHICH WAY LIES HOPE ?

By Richard B Gregg

Pages v+82 Price Re 1-4 Postage etc as 4

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HARIJAN

Aug 23 1952

THE FUNCTION OF BHOODAN-YAJNA

The reader will find in another column an article by Prof H M. Desai of Matar (Kheda District) He is a scholar of agricultural science. But I am afraid that he has not carefully studied the utterances of Shri Vinoba reported from time to time in these columns and my occasional articles Else, there should remain no reason to feel that the Land-Gift Movement will in any way come in the way of consolidation of scattered bits, or co-operation in agriculture, or institution of land reforms, if the peasants are convinced of their benefits The *Bhoodan-Yajna* carries out a programme which none of these measures are capable of doing, viz. the equitable distribution of land-wealth without recourse to coercion, expropriation, or compensation and without creating ill-will among the different sections of society Indeed, it establishes amity amongst them instead of a class war When it becomes necessary, if at all, to complete this process with the aid of legislation for compulsory acquisition from some who do not realize their obvious duty, the large measure of success in *Bhoodan-Yajna* will have created public opinion in its favour, so that the passage of such legislation will not meet with resistance from the landed class.

Nor does the *Bhoodan Yajna* come in the way of rehabilitating the landless on reclaimable lands That programme does not need a movement The State Governments have the power to draw up a planned programme for it and carry it out in the execution of their policies It would be unwise to combine it with *Bhoodan-Yajna* The *Bhoodan-Yajna* is a voluntary movement of the people in which appeal is made to the "haves" to share their fortunes with the "have-nots" This spiritual effect of it would be weakened if it mixed itself up with administrative projects and programmes

The writer expects "memorial funds". I believe, he has in mind the Gandhi Memorial Fund in the main, — to take up the work of rehabilitating the landless on reclaimable lands I do not know the mind of the trustees of that Fund or any other fund But I doubt the capacity of such funds however big they might appear to undertake such a Herculean task as the one suggested by the writer Even the carrying on of the Land-Gift-Movement and the work of distribution of land obtained as gift by the Committee appointed by Vinobaji will need some expenditure. It is likely that the Gandhi Fund may have to bear a great part of this burden The rehabilitation of the landless on new lands is a programme which can be initiated and carried on only by the Central and Provincial Governments, and even by them at a pace proportionate to their resources Of course, even they would need the co-operation of the people They would get it if they do it in a manner free from waste, corruption and nepotism But the equitable distribution of land which is in the exclusive possession of a few is a different problem This problem will have to be tackled by the people, and it will have to be solved by voluntary sacrifices, if an agrarian revolution is to be avoided and if India has to show to the world how even baffling world problems can be solved in a non-violent, non-coercive and peaceful manner.

Shri Desai has reiterated the plea of uneconomic nature of small holdings The reason he gives for this is that "these farmers cannot command optimum means and methods of production, i e good seeds, manure, bullocks etc" Also, they possess farms not only small in size, but also inferior in quality — "being low in fertility and weedy" It will be seen that the fault is not with the smallness of holdings, but with the inequitable distribution of the means of production The Government administration favours the rich in the supply of seeds, manure, iron, cement etc and in the grant of loans And the rich farmer also selfishly prevents them from getting the necessary means and in a subtle manner drives them out of good lands And owners of very large areas act as mere parasites caring only to collect the rents and never paying a thought to the improvement of agriculture, or of the tenants working on them It is the callousness of man and not the smallness of holding that is responsible for low productivity. This defect must be remedied by a more straightforward and painstaking administration, and unselfish, equalitarian co-operation among farmers *Bhoodan-Yajna* will cure the latter defects as nothing else will It will awaken the conscience of the big farmers.

The writer says that the 'Orthodox Gandhiites' "are not in a hurry to solve the problem with undue haste" I do not know who are orthodox and who are heterodox Gandhiites But if he wants to suggest that the workers for *bhoodan* want to go in a leisurely fashion, it is a mistake No Government and no unofficial public institution evinces even one per cent of the earnestness and energy which Vinoba has been expending on this problem They are all — including many a leading constructive worker — fallen under some opiating influence, and are unmindful of the new spirit which has been pervading throughout the rural population The condition may be compared to a ripe boil which is likely to become septic and to poison the entire blood stream if not gently opened up For the present, it is only Vinoba who, having realized this vividly, has given up all other programmes and with his frail body made this work his "Do or Die" mission And in a course of nine months he has obtained more than three lakh acres of land If every party and every leading worker

gives his attention to this in a similar manner, we can solve this problem in the next five years As Vinoba has said elsewhere 1757 and 1857 were revolutionary years in the history of India, both of them were of a sanguinary nature and as a result India passed under foreign domination The foreign domination is gone, but the emancipation of its masses has to be achieved Let us achieve it by 1957 by the new non-violent method, which under the guidance of Gandhiji, relieved us of the foreign rule and, under the guidance of Vinoba, has begun to bring about an amazing change of heart in the landowners

Wardha 27-7-'52 K G MASHRUWALA

NOTES

Assessment of Values

Simla July 25 — The Finance Minister, S. Ujjal Singh told a questioner in the Punjab Council today that the question of providing "Khadi" uniform to the police was considered last year It was found that the Khadi cloth available could not replace the mill-made cloth for police uniforms from the point of view of economy durability or impressiveness so that matter had to be dropped

As far as peons and orderlies were concerned, Government had considered the desirability of patronizing Khadi cloth and issued instructions to all concerned — P T I

In national economy as opposed to individual or proprietory economy, the cheapness or otherwise of a thing has to be judged from the sum total of its effect upon its profitableness to the nation No ore will say that the various river schemes are cheap ventures But if they succeed according to the plans of their makers and enrich the soil and people of India for centuries hereafter no one will say that the expenditure honestly and prudently made on them was too much. On the other hand *vanaspati* is apparently cheaper than *ghee* but every rupee invested on the hydrogenation of the oil is a continuous exploitation of the people and the ruin of its cattle-wealth Similarly the destruction of forests can be carried out more cheaply and it provides more immediately the needs of the people than afforestation, but who will say that the cost on afforestation and preservation of forests is a luxury and a waste?

Similarly Khadi provides much needed employment to millions of our women Like a small and negligible but perennial spring it is a continuous source of sustenance to thousands of families — particularly in Punjab, and no wise Government of Punjab can afford to allow the industry to be smothered on the ground of apparent cheapness of the mill-cloth

The want of durability is very much due to want of patronage and care for its development by the Industrial Department of the States And as to 'impressiveness" surely in New India, just as by all standards a Governor or a Minister clad in the people's own Khadi is regarded more respectable and impressive and a friend, so too, will be a policeman or a soldier clad in the people's home made cloth. Impressiveness varies with the fashions set by leaders

Our Governments need to revise their theories of economics of industries and cost, if they want to establish a Welfare State

Dhatis and Sarees

Shri C. Rajagopalachari has been trying with the Central Government to get the manufacture of *dhatis* and *sarees* reserved for handloom weavers Though this reservation may not prove enough for the weavers of States other than Madras, it would be the first step in the right direction after a *tapasya* of several years But the Central Government will need some courage to do it, and Rajaji will be entitled to hearty congratulations if he is able to inspire it in the Central Government

Some day or other Governments of India will have to adopt the policy of reserving certain industries to villages Rajaji's is the mildest suggestion in that direction, and should be fully accepted

Wardha 9-8-'52

A Noteworthy Marriage

Shri G. Ramachandra Rao alias Gora is sufficiently known to the readers of *Harijan* as the author of *An Atheist With Gandhi* * and as a prominent worker of Andhra A Brahman by heredity encouraged and inspired by Gandhiji, he married his eldest daughter to a Harijan youth He is the head of a large family They all work for their bread and lead a life of great poverty, working among Harijans with a few workers as self-sacrificing as himself About two years back his second daughter who had become a grown up girl, fell an unfortunate victim to the seductive approach of another worker — a married man — and conceived When Gora and his wife came to know of her condition, they immediately took their friends into confidence As is usual among Savarna Hindus some of them advised him to keep the girl in some 'Home' until she had delivered, and to leave her child in some 'Orphanage' thereafter Some advised bringing about secret abortion But Gora took the straight course and did nothing of the kind The girl lived under his roof and Gora made no attempt to conceal her situation. In course of time, she delivered a girl

Gora became anxious to find a suitable husband for her. The would-be husband must consent to adopt the daughter also One can understand how difficult it is to bring this about Ultimately a young man, Shri Jonnalagadda Ramalingayya offered to marry her and adopt her child as his own. He is a Brahman widower of 38 with a young son by his first wife and a social and political worker The marriage was solemnized on 29th June last amidst a large gathering Shri Gora writes "I explained the case of my daughter at length from the wedding platform and the bridegroom also made a bold

* Navajivan Publishing House, P B 105, Ahmedabad Price Re 1, Postage etc As 4

and dignified statement in the end on the position of women in the present social set-up The couple and the baby (who is one year old now) were the recipients of several gifts and congratulations I see the strength and dignity of truthfulness, that is as I understand it in terms of actual practice, of openness in dealings or of avoidance of secrecy"

I had come to know of Shri Gora's daughter's condition through the complaint of another worker I referred the matter to him He immediately gave me a very candid answer The complainant was also impressed by the transparent sincerity of Shri Gora, and Shri Gora is happy to report that he was one of those who attended the wedding

May his adherence to truth guide him and stand by him always

Wardha 3-7 '52

Dr Ananda K. Coomaraswamy

Dr Coomaraswamy was a great authority on Indian philosophy, culture and art He died in 1947 shortly after the attainment of Indian independence Eminent men of Asia, America and Europe paid glowing tributes to his memory These have been collected together by one of his disciples Shri S Durai Raja Singam of Kuantan (Malaya) in a volume entitled *Homage to Ananda Coomaraswamy* (Price Rs 15/-) They give interesting reading and information of the life and character of that great scholar Page 219 of the volume contains the following remarkable information:

> "On Indian Independence Day he saw the fulfilment of a cherished dream of his and when I asked for his message to New India he wrote to me on the 15th of August 1947 (Independence Day) the following
>
> *Be yourself Follow Mahatma Gandhi, Bharatan Kumarappa, D. V Gundappa Abul Kalam Azad, Abdul Gaffar Khan and Sri Ramana Maharshi Co-operate with such men as the Earl of Portsmouth, George Bourne, Wilfred Wellock, Jean Giono, Fernando Nobre Why consider the inferior philosophers? Be not deceived evil communications corrupt good manners'*
>
> 'When he was asked what tribute he paid to Gandhiji for having achieved freedom through Non-violence he wrote: '*I have the highest respect for Mahatma Gandhi's work in this field By his advocacy of Satyagraha he reminded India of her most ancient ideals and is not only a teacher for India but a Jagat-Guru But non-violence as he knows, is not merely a matter of refraining from visibly violent actions, it is a matter of making peace with ourselves. one of learning to obey our inner man for none but the outer man or ego is aggressive*'

Wardha, 1 7-'52 K G M

'Stalin's Road to Power'

The Editor has referred to recent events in Hungary to show that communism has little regard for truth Similarly it has little regard for non violence as for instance the following list of communist leaders who had worked with Lenin and who were removed by Stalin in his struggle for power published in *Foix et Liberte* and reproduced in *Socialist Commentary* of April 1952, p 30, shows

Members of the Politburo of the Russian Communist Party

Trotsky, assassinated by the G P U

Zinoviev Kamenev, Boukharine, Rykov and Sokolnikov executed

Tomski committed suicide (by persuasion)

People's Commissars and Members of the Party's Central Committee

Executed Smirnov Smilga, Serebriakov, Evdokimov, Bogouslavski, Ouglanov Beloborodov, Rosdsoutak Jagoda Enoukidze Karakhan Mdivani, Safarov, Rosengoltz, Grinko, Reingold, Tchernov, F Khodjaiev Osinski Petrovski, Soukoumline, Eatonski Kavtaradze, Kossior Lomov Krylenko

Shot Preobrajenski, Unchlikht Postychev, Tchoubar, Boubnov, Elikha Antipov Mejlaouk, Saulmov, Milioutina, Soltz, Arhouzov Iakovlev

Committed suicide Lominadze, Skrypnik, Khandjian, Gamarnik, Tchernialkov I Khodjaiev, Lioubichenko.

Poisoned Ordjonikidzee, Kouibychev

Arrested disappeared Radek Hakovski.

Leaders of the Communist International

Shot, liquidated disappeared Helen Siassova, Bela Kun Remmele Wetzicki Brandt, Borodin, Heeltz Neuman Pintulski Ebeilein Warski Dombal

The following members of the Politburo have so far survived

Andreiev Molotov Voroshilov Stalin.

In assessing the value of communism let us avoid partial views and have a look also at the other side of the medal

V G D

INDIA SHOULD LEAD THE WORLD

[How liquor interests the world over were trying to promote the sale and consumption of alcohol was described by the U S Temperance leader Prof W A. Schaffenberg in a lecture in New Delhi on Tuesday, 20th May 52

The Professor is the executive secretary of the International Temperance Association and Director of the National Committee for Prevention of Alcoholism in the U S A He quoted facts about his own and other countries to warn India against the pressure that the influential manufacturers of alcohol were sure to use to defeat the policy of prohibition The battle was already on elsewhere in India it was beginning, and he hoped the people here would not be taken in by subtle propaganda to change their traditional attitude to drink and drinking]

Centuries ago people in India, who once offered alcohol to gods had begun to frown on drink There was now a stigma attached to the manufacture, distribution sale, and consumption of liquor Mahatma Gandhi had given them the ideal of total prohibition If as in India, the U S A had 90 per cent of its people in favour of prohibition, the ban on alcohol would be very effectively enforced there India should not be satisfied with anything less

Profit Motive

Manufacturers of alcohol had only one motive — profit They wanted more people to drink so that they could get large profits. They

[illegible] did not manufacture it to drink themselves. A big wine merchant from France was feted in New York. When offered a cocktail, he pushed it away. 'This is to be sold' he declared, "not to be taken

All means of propaganda were used by manufacturers of alcohol In the Philippines the radio was used for this propaganda In Japan there was another argument Consumption of sake was claimed to be patriotic because it brought revenue to the Government In the U S A 23 Temperance organizations had sponsored a Bill to ban the use of radio for liquor advertisements The Bill had not been passed, but it would be since opinion was more and more in its favour

Newspapers and magazines, of course, carried liquor advertisements, and their editorial policy was naturally influenced. But 176 newspapers in the U S A had refused to accept liquor advertisements, but their revenues were not affected A paper in Los Angeles had 40 per cent of the total advertisements in the city's five papers, in spite of the fact that it would not take liquor advertisements Such papers were held in higher esteem They never lost

Social Pressure

Besides advertisements, there were billboards and electrified signs The most attractive were those advertising some brand of liquor Then there was social pressure. In Paris, for instance, it was difficult to get a glass of water in a restaurant.

In South Africa things were no better While hotels in the U S A earned only 11 per cent of their revenues from liquor, in South Africa the sale of liquor in hotels accounted for 70 per cent of their revenues

Vigorously pursuing his point the Professor said, alcohol was dynamite which broke so many homes, caused so many deaths on the road and sabotaged nations

Subtle Propaganda

India should be prepared for subtle propaganda in a large way in the next five years to divert the people's attention from alcohol. In other countries it had already started It took several lines One argument was that alcoholism was a disease Scientists physicians and educationists were quoted to support this view But no one need be taken in by this propaganda Alcoholism was a vice, not a disease

Another argument was that alcoholism was not caused by alcohol It was caused by social maladjustment But how was it that nobody who did not drink ever become an alcoholic?

A third argument was that an alcoholic man is a sick man He should be sent to hospital If he was a sick man, he should be prevented from becoming sick To fight malaria, mosquitoes were destroyed or people were protected from them Why should the germ of this disease be openly licensed by the State?

A fourth argument was that drinking was no moral issue This was gaining strength in India and the people here must be on the alert It was very much a moral issue and nobody should be able to get away by describing it as a mere public health matter If clinics were required for alcoholics they should be financed by the liquor interests who produced alcoholics This position had been accepted in Washington

A fifth point was that beer, wine and liquor are food Food could be digested Alcohol could not The human system he said, could contain up to 5 drops of alcohol in 1000 drops of blood Nature protested after that If there were 6 drops of alcohol to 1000 drops of blood, it meant death Alcohol was no food It was poison It killed the living and preserved the dead — in a laboratory An eminent scientist in the U S A was offered $ 125,000 to say that alcohol was food, but he firmly declared that no one could call it food.

It was also being said it was wrong to prohibit people from drinking Why? Was it right to allow an air pilot a surgeon a car driver or even a man who walked to drink? An Australian pilot who drank had recently been deprived of his flying licence Nobody had the right to drink except those who wanted to commit suicide and if people wanted to commit suicide they were locked up so that they could do nothing

India should Lead

In India it was being said that prohibition should not be introduced because it had failed elsewhere. The people here with their heritage, their background and their attitude should insist on total prohibition and thus lead the world.

They should not be taken in by the argument that drinking in moderation was all right. Nor should they accept the argument about loss of revenues Alcohol was a great liability to nations In one of the States of the U S A. liquor revenue was $ 13 million, but $ 65 million had to be spent on caring for victims of alcohol. In another State the position was even worse

In the U. S A people in increasing numbers were demanding prohibition In the 48 States 1,500 Bills had been sponsored to restrict the use of alcohol Temperance organizations were strong They would like to do what was done in Switzerland where ten per cent of the revenue from liquor was used for educating the people against the use of alcohol.

But in India the position was much happier, and the Professor hoped that the country would soon achieve the ideal of total prohibition so strongly advocated by Gandhiji

[From a report in the *Hindustan Times* 22-5-1952]

Note The information about the Australian pilot is interesting I greatly suspect that some of the recent casualties of airplanes in India might have been connected with drink - I wonder if the investigating committees make any inquiries about the drink habits of the pilots involved in the accidents

16-7-'52 K. G. M.

BASIC EDUCATION IN MADRAS

[On 12th June 1950 the Government of Madras appointed a Committee consisting of Shri B W Aryanayakam (Chairman) G Ramachandran K. Arunachalam and R Vinayakam to study how Basic Education is being imparted in the State and to suggest ways and means of improving it The Committee finalized its report on 9th January 1952,—rather a long time The report published by the Government consists of 26 pages in print Though parts of the report deal with local administrative matters some of its chapters will be read with profit by all those who take interest in Basic Education

The following is the summary of recommendations made by the Committee — Ed]

1 The Government should publish as early as possible a plan for Basic Education showing specifically how it is to be integrated with secondary and with university education

2 The scheme should be administered by the Education Department and all education officers working in the Basic areas should be trained for the work of Basic Education

3 Basic Education should be developed on the basis of compact areas, each training school being organically related to the schools of its own area and being responsible for training and guiding the teachers of the schools Teachers should be trained with a view to their absorption in such specific areas

4 Middle and High Schools in the Basic Education areas should be converted into Senior Basic and Post-Basic Schools sufficient to meet the needs of the children of the area for secondary education In order that these schools may be adequately staffed, the recommendation of the Advisory Board for the training of graduate teachers should be implemented at once

5 In order to demonstrate norms of achievement twenty Basic Schools in the neighbourhood of each training school should be taken over by Government and their management and control vested in the headmaster of the training school concerned

6 Basic Schools should no longer be regarded for administrative purposes as on a par with the old primary schools They should be recognized as on a par with secondary schools, and should be so manned.

7. Every Basic Training School must be provided with an efficient, practising school, which should be developed as soon as possible into complete Basic School of eight grades, if necessary by providing for residence of pupils

8 The recommendations of the Committee with regard to the provision of literature, the assessment of achievement and the abolition of external written examinations are of major importance in securing the efficiency of the training of the teachers

9 The organization of the Basic Crafts both in training schools and in schools should be overhauled, and greater stress laid on the efficient working of the craft chosen, as the centre of the educational programme

10 Land water, buildings, and equipment, in sufficient quantity and of a kind suited to the programme of Basic Education must be provided for all training schools and basic schools, and new ones should not be opened until such necessities have been made available

11 As the programme of Basic Education represents the declared policy of the Madras Government it should command the full support of all the officers of the Education Department whether or not they are directly concerned in its administration The Department as a whole should take responsibility for the enlightenment of the general public on the educational principles and methods involved

KASTURBA TRUST REPORT

The ordinary reader generally does not care to peruse reports of institutions He takes interest when a Fund is collected and remembers roughly the amount gathered He thereafter rarely bothers to know how it has been spent and what work has been done by it When the work is carried on in far away villages, which he has never visited nor is likely to visit, since he does not read the reports, he carries till the end of his life the impression that the Fund is not put to any use, and goes on complaining, "What is being done of this Fund ?' If a worker asks for subscription for any work, he says ' What is such and such Fund good for ? Why do you not get money from that ?", and so on

The critic is not to be blamed always for this For reports, for no fault of the Trustees, often contain details, or are in forms, which do not interest the ordinary reader

The summary of the report of the Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Trust published in this issue gives only such facts and details as the reader should know, and I request him not to neglect to read it. Kasturba work, in accordance with the conditions laid down in the Trust, is mostly being done in villages far away from towns and railway lines, and townspeople cannot have an adequate idea of the difficult conditions in which the women workers have to work. A perusal of the report will give him just a glimpse of it When a Kasturba worker sees him, let him talk sympathetically with her, learn more facts from her, and help her as much as he can

The Trust follows generally the healthy policy of not making a centre dependent upon itself for all time After a year or so, a part of the expenses has to be raised by the worker herself. Most of the villages are so backward and poor that they cannot be expected to raise them locally Hence the Pratinidhis have to approach city people They should consider it their duty to help them to the best of their ability

Wardha, 30-7- 52 K. G MASHRUWALA

COMMON MAN'S WELFARE IN RUSSIA

(By M P T Acharya)

Shri J C Kumarappa, in explaining his appreciation of Russian economy, says So far as State's one care is the welfare of the common man, it is far in advance of Imperialisms, and nearer to Gandhian ideology "even if the Russian economy may be termed State Capitalism that is far away from true Communism"

Shri Kumarappa thinks from these statements There is welfare of the common man even under State Capitalism His objection is that it has not been achieved without State and without violence If it were done without State and without violence it would be Communism

But the question is not whether "Communism in Russia is really State Capitalism or whether it is established with State and violence but whether welfare of the common man has been secured in Russia As this appears to be a widely spread belief, I wish to dispel this illusion

Shri Kumarappa told his audience at Wardha that it cost 1 (or 3 ?) rouble per cup of cocoa with a slice of bread minus butter and the wage of a sweeper or teacher is 100 roubles a month It means the sweeper or teacher cannot buy a cup of cocoa and a slice of bread without butter The price is too exorbitant at least so far as the sweeper or teacher is concerned

There are many grades of wages and salaries in U S S R The higher the posts, the greater the salaries — although the higher posts contribute nothing to production There are special shops (so-called 'free shops') where the highly paid men are allowed to buy at a higher price as much as they can afford But ordinary workers can get only in ration shops where fixed quantities are sold. All this belongs to common man welfare

Perhaps it will be alleged that there is medical free treatment, creches for infants in factories and free school facilities for all They are not really so free The workers contribute out of their meagre wages by compulsion a part of the expenses The management of these services take a large part of the contributions forcibly deducted from the wages

Since the end of the Second World War there is no more free secondary education Hence most workers cannot give higher education to their children The State wants only skilled workers Higher education is reserved only for highly paid officials As regards the abolition of illiteracy it is only good for reading official propaganda The quality of medical care is poor

In Russia where all people are able to live if only they sell labour to the State it is impossible to say how many are really employed, for statistics are kept secret However, a report seems to have betrayed when it described how much wages were distributed among so many million persons It was about 40 million persons who were really employed all workers What of the rest of the 200 million population

Among the 40 million employed a vast majority are Government servants army and police who are maintained out of Government revenues These revenues are taken in the form of profits rent taxes, and interest on sums advanced by Government to various bodies That means *this vast horde of parasites are maintained out of the wages of producing workers — who have to eat so much less to maintain them* For most "economists" production and parasitism seem to be alike "work" equally essential. I hope no economist influenced by Gandhiji will fall into the same mistake

Then let us remember the concentration camps (forced labour camps), where the labourers are not paid anything at all for work but a meagre ration These camps are estimated to contain 20 million persons of all ages and sexes Sentencing people to hard labour is a form of getting free labour for the State and hence these inmates are increasing

All this goes as welfare of the common man Can it be said that these are nearer to Gandhian ideology ? These are the hard facts of State Capitalism, which so many people think, takes *care of the common man* "although violently"

We know other imperialisms, but Russian State Capitalism is just a new variety of it It has brought so many countries of East Europe (100 million people) under its sway *The colonies are on the periphery of the mother country*

The Bolshevik party itself is an imperialist body within Russia making all to submit to its will with the economic monopoly of the State which it wields exclusively

"All I have done is to appreciate the self-denying spirit the zeal, devotion to the cause of the masses, the steadfastness and earnestness of purpose and the doggedness with which they set about resolving their problems" says Shri Kumarappa If all this were done in the service of the common man, we could appreciate that But it is fanaticism *in a bad cause* Today the Bolsheviks are much better placed than their slaves and there is no self-denying but shooting and imprisoning of them and keeping them in terror There is only wage slavery or concentration camp slavery for all others God save us from this kind of self-denial zeal, steadfastness and earnestness of purpose with which they set about in solving *their* problems

Bombay, 5-7-'52

Note I am not interested in spreading dispraise of Russia or China, and I have no love for the American way of life But we must not labour under illusions Shri M P T Acharya has lived and worked in Russia and has kept in touch with the factual conditions there I know he has become inveterately opposed to the Russian system but he is in a position to

[illegible] the value of statements put forth as [illegible] This is the reason for my publishing this [illegible] Kumarappa, too, has in spite of his liberal [illegible] ments to the two so-called Communist [illegible] made it clear that he has not fallen in [illegible] with any of the two and does not put forth [illegible] model which may be copied He is only [illegible] to bring about radical changes in our economic system without loss of time He is impatient with the present state of affairs I think we cannot blame him for that, and should be all as anxious as he on that count But, if we can realize the implications of the *bhoodan* movement, and whole-heartedly bring it to completion, we shall have achieved what no other country has ever achieved It is rather unfortunate that even our constructive workers have not yet fully realized that this is the principal activity which we need today

10 7 52 K G M

BERLIN WARNS US

(By J C Kumarappa)

Berlin must have been a most beautiful city It was among the leading five cities of the world In the lay out and architecture probably it had to share the honours only with Paris if at all Now little of all that is left The palaces have been reduced to rubble A good deal of the debris has not yet been cleared Yet there are crowds of people One wonders where they all come from

In 1914 when Germany sent her zeppelins on to London and dropped those enormous bombs, it little realized that one day the whirlwind of destruction will sweep out its own abodes All that one sees of the once beautiful city is just burnt out walls with the major portions crumbling down The facades that still stand only declare the past glory The destruction of human beings men women and children, that must have taken place has left no traces but it is terrific to contemplate Material destruction can be as nothing before this human loss and suffering Under the Kaiser and under Hitler, Germany had drawn the sword and now we bear witness as to what happens to those who lay their faith on the strength of arms

In the first war Germany fell but rose again quickly but after the second war her recovery has been pitiful whatever the cause may be Now there is a serious plan to help her on to her feet and let her arm herself to her teeth Not only Germany but the whole world does not seem to have drawn any lessons from the past experience The prospects are too terrible to contemplate

The Americans with their satellite countries are rapidly drawing in battle array against the Soviets Has the last two global wars no lessons to teach us? Let not our second state be worse

[illegible] the American Ambassador [illegible] the past armaments [illegible] but he thinks God is going to [illegible] U S A differently The course of [illegible] changed even to please Uncle S[illegible] [illegible] America is arming herself [illegible] with the most deadly armaments This lo[illegible] though her end is in sight Let her beware

' God's mills grind slowly
But they grind exceeding small

HINDI IN MADRAS

Shri S R Shastri of the Hindi Prachar Sabha, T'Nagar, Madras, writes to the Editor wherein he says

> 'In the schools in Madras State Hindi is taught for two periods a week as an alternative subject to craft. Pass in Hindi is not necessary for promotion and so the students are indifferent Hindi teachers are finding it very difficult to teach Hindi to an indifferent class. This has made the study of Hindi in schools a mockery
>
> ' After all as an all India language, Hindi is an alternative more to English than to craft, and this is more true in the South where popularity appears to lean towards English But it is a well known fact that the standard of English among the students today is deteriorating though its periods a week are allotted to it Hence two or three more periods may be given to English which may be specially devoted to the study of classical works This higher English may be made an alternative to Hindi. Students may choose between English and Hindi. The practice of taking additional English in lieu of second language is prevalent in some of the Universities in the North If this is agreed to and Hindi is made an examination subject counted for class promotion on par with English much of the difficulty of the Hindi teacher will be removed
>
> Hence may I suggest to the Madras Government to make Hindi alternative to higher or additional English and not to craft in this give free scope to the students to choose between Hindi or English ?

Shri Shastri's note must be read in the background that certain sections of the people in Madras State are not still reconciled to the view that Hindi should now form an integral and compulsory part of our school and college curricula Perhaps they fear what is called Hindi Imperialism ' of the North Right or wrong, this must be dispelled, and one of the ways to do it is for the North to keep itself away from Hindi Prachar work in non-Hindi areas, leaving the field to them and their States and proffering what help, if any, they might need from it In the meanwhile Shri Shastri's suggestion deserves consideration so far as it goes The true thing would be for the Madras State to see its way to beginning Hindi as a compulsory subject in schools as soon as possible

THE WORLD PEACE COUNCIL MEETING

(By J. C. Kumarappa)

The extraordinary meeting of the World Peace Council met in Berlin from the 1st to the [illegible] in July when about 450 delegates and observers from 59 countries met together to consider the situation that has arisen out of the development of germ warfare in Korea, and the rearmament of Germany and Japan. The representatives were drawn from all walks of life. The one communing that united them all was the deep desire for world peace. The spirit that prevailed at the session left no doubt as to the sincerity of those who were present.

The problems that were taken up also covered stemming the tide of a world war, the question of the prohibition and checking of the armaments race, the banning of atomic mass destruction and obtaining freedom for the peoples to lead their own way of life, securing the independence of colonial and semi-colonial peoples and finally the drafting of the Peace Pact.

The situation in the world demands immediate [illegible] and resolutions were passed [illegible] an Address to the Four Great Powers and the peoples of the world to settle the German [illegible] peacefully through the calling of an immediate conference of the Four Powers, — two, that the San Francisco Treaty and the agreements based on it should be replaced by a genuine treaty signed by all States concerned, stipulating the withdrawal of all occupational forces and foreign bases and guaranteeing sovereignty to the Japanese people, — three, the council called for a speedy settlement of the Korean war by an armistice based on international agreements.

It was also decided to call a Plenary session of a Congress of Peoples for Peace in December in Vienna to consider the ways and means of attaining our end. It was suggested that the delegates should go back to their respective countries and engage themselves in intensive preparatory work for this Conference.

As Pietro Nenni said in his closing address, the fate of the Congress will be decided by the quality of work between now and its meeting. It will be decided in the depths of dark Africa, in the Near and Far East, India, the U.S. of America, Latin America. The Eastern Peoples Democracies to the exact degree that we shall find the ways and means to get in contact with that part of public opinion which has misunderstood our activities or shared in the calumnies by which it has been attempted to break the spirit of our propaganda."

A fair share of the time of the council was taken up in receiving evidence of the bacteriological warfare that is now being waged in Korea. Short films were shown of the victims of napalm bombs — the sufferers looked like those at an advanced stage of leprosy with their fingers and toes eaten up and the nose and face flattened out. Several medical men and scientists who had visit-

[illegible] intensive [illegible] people — not only [illegible] delegates — [illegible] the general population [illegible] in desired [illegible]. This desire was not [illegible] by any [illegible] appeals. It is too [illegible] in the [illegible] population which has [illegible] the devastation caused by two wars. The ruins of the once beautiful city of Berlin which is in itself a reminder of what a race for [illegible] will bring.

And I hope the experience of the last two global wars will not fail to bring home the lessons to the modern generation.

At the bottom of all the causes for these conflicts are the economic reasons. When we are parties to these transactions such as travelling by American Airways using American built cars or buses or buying American fountain pens, cosmetics, drugs, breakfast foods etc. we become sharers in the horrible responsibilities with the Americans for these wars. If we desire to have no part or parcel in this sordid business we should non-co-operate with the trade and commerce of the U.S.A. until this Korean war is stopped. Are we prepared to undertake the sacrifice this involves?

WHAT LED TO THE CHINESE REVOLUTION

On the broad backs of these (Chinese) farmers Chiang-Kai-shek swept to power.

(However) the compensation the peasant received for putting Chiang Kai-shek to power was not land or even rent reductions but threats, curses, blows and sometimes a coffin.

" the learned economists in Chiang's Government began to justify the betrayal by finding that the land problem was a myth and did not exist.

'In adopting this attitude, they could conceivably find support if they wished in some very useful figures. On the morrow of Chiang Kai-shek's *coup d'etat* in Shanghai all the arable land within China was estimated at one and one-third billion mow.* The population of the country was around four hundred and fifty million, of which about three hundred and fifty million were farmers. In effect, and under the most ideal conditions, this meant that the peasant would have to extract taxes, food, fuel, clothing — in fact everything he would ever use in his life from an iron hoe to a wooden coffin — out of no more than four mow (two-thirds of an acre) of land. This fact by itself suggested that China would have to end feudalism or perish. But Chiang's agronomes now discovered in these figures proof of another sort. 'What is the use of dividing the land?', they blandly asked. 'There is not enough anyway.' As for land concentration, it did not exist and hence there was no cause for revolution. No doubt the economists wished to rationalize

* One mow equals approximately one-sixth of an acre.

[illegible] the wishes of the [illegible] man were too [illegible] figures — but [illegible] and concentration [illegible] their eyes"

[illegible] *The World*, Jack Belden

RAJAJI'S DIAGNOSIS

I have read Shri C Rajagopalachari's appeal [illegible] Handlooms' and your article "Hand-[illegible] Khadi", as also your leader in *Harijan* [illegible] 1952 Rajaji has truly observed that [illegible] of every twelve families" in his State [illegible] weaver This applies more or less to other [illegible] also I means that we have in our country sufficient number of weavers who can supply our annual cloth requirements If they are less, the deficiency can be easily filled up

The craftsmanship of our handloom weavers in producing cloth of rich designs still stands supreme mills are unable to produce them The designs of the handloom cloth carry about them the civilization and history of our country and handlooms occupy an important place in our village centred economy Economically also, handlooms compare favourably with the mills and in point of durability the handloom-cloth is definitely superior to the mill cloth, the obvious reason being that handlooms do not exhaust the strength of yarn as much as the mills

It is painful that despite such favourable conditions for the handloom cloth Shri Rajaji has to make an appeal to the people to patronize it Concluding his appeal, Rajaji has said, "Freedom and political rights must rest on occupational balance Political freedom cannot but break down if we neglect the foundations of national life"

If this diagnosis and prophesy are correct — and I am sure they are — why should his appeal confine itself to the people alone, through the radio? Should not this appeal be addressed even more to the Government than the people? Why is not the Tariff Board of the Government of India vigilant about it?

Our forefathers devised a science of producing cloth from raw materials of our own country such as cotton silk and wool, and enhanced their prestige But those goods are now being thrown out and replaced by plentiful imports of foreign stuff like plastic cloth, artificial silk, and similar fabrics Georgette *sarees*, which were once prized even by the princesses, are now sold for 10 or 12 rupees in a retail shop Plastic has begun to be used for coating It has ruined a number of cottage industries, such as of toys, bangles and other articles of daily use This shows which way the wind is blowing

A broadcast appeal will be quite inadequate to save the handloom industry Some more con-

[illegible] of foreign yarn and cloth of [illegible] should be banned, [illegible]

[illegible] machinery should be set up to ensure the [illegible] supply of mill yarn to handlooms to keep them working all the year after previously testing its strength and uniformity

3 Only such cloths should be allowed to be sold in India as do not conflict with handloom cloths and to the extent they are necessary in a particular area

4 Mills must be allowed to manufacture cloth only after the yarn necessary for handlooms is produced and if there is a demand for Indian cloth in foreign markets

These are the indispensable measures which should be implemented if we want to save and revitalize the skeletons working on the handlooms Otherwise, as Rajaji has prophesied the neglect of the foundations of our nation cannot but imperil our freedom

Rajaji has rightly said that for every twelve persons in his State there is a weaver I would add to it that if these twelve persons spin only during their leisure hours they can surely keep one weaver employed throughout the year, without neglecting their other occupations All this yarn can be produced in his own place But who will see this clearly in the present befogged political atmosphere?

(From Gujarati) LAKSHMIDAS PURUSHOTTAM

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HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor K. G. MASHRUWALA

VOL XVI No 27 AHMEDABAD—SATURDAY, AUGUST 30, 1952 TWO ANNAS

THE FINAL SHAPE OF THE BOMBAY SALES TAX

The Bombay Government has favoured me with a copy of the Sales-Tax Bill as it has emerged in its final shape, and drawn my attention to the principal points of difference between the first draft and the final form They are

1 In respect of the Special Tax, the limit of exemption from it has been raised from a turn over of more than Rs 1 000/ to that of more than Rs 5,000/- The special tax is to be collected at one stage only at the first stage of sale and as the majority of small dealers selling the goods liable to the special tax will mostly purchase them from the bigger importers and manufacturers who will have paid the tax on the first sales, they will not be troubled by the special tax. They will be liable to the general turnover tax of 3 pies per rupee only if their total turnover exceeds Rs 30 000/ in a year If their turnover is less than this amount they will not be called upon to pay even the general turnover tax The Government says that the lower limit of Rs 5,000/- for the special goods has, however been kept for reducing evasion by dishonest dealers to the minimum particularly in regard to high priced goods

2 In respect of general tax my attention has been drawn to Schedule I of the Bombay Bill to show that most of the necessaries of the poorer classes have been exempted from tax The Government claims that the Schedule of Exemptions under the Bombay Bill is the largest among all States My special attention is drawn to the fact that *ghani* oil khaddar of all kinds and articles of khaddar, and handloom mill yarn cloth not exceeding Rs 1-8-0 a yard have been exempted with a view to give relief to the poorer classes in the rural areas as well as to encourage cottage industries in regard to these items

Incidentally, I am informed that the decision to change over from the single point tax on last sales to a multi point general tax was taken by Government during the time when Shri Valkunth L Mehta was the Finance Minister He had no doubt at one time expressed himself against the multi-point system of tax but the extensive evasion which the single-point tax made possible, had convinced him that the tax required to be changed to a multi-point tax

I am glad to note that my observation that I was satisfied that the Bombay Government had introduced this change after a careful consideration is further justified I am glad that the Government has made these changes

No doubt, the agitation of the mercantile community as well as the criticisms of the Opposition have also had a share in getting these changes made They are also entitled to take credit for them

But I advise the merchants not to prolong this agitation any longer and make of it a power politics campaign It must be watched as a new experiment and the results awaited At any rate, I strongly advise small merchants not to involve themselves in this agitation.

Some one will charge me of having suddenly changed sides Why did I not think over it when I rushed my first article to the Press? I do not repent having done so My first article was written in the interest of the peasant and the lower middle class this too is in their interest For my article has also had its share in guarding their interests

My ultimate desire is that the method of raising revenue from Sales Tax should be abolished altogether The extra revenue should be raised by a special surcharge on income for the benefit of each State But this is a larger question, which I cannot discuss at this stage

I understand that my article was freely made use of by the mercantile community in support of their agitation I do not blame it for that It was natural for it to do so But I understand that at the same time they have linked their agitation with an attack on the Prohibition policy A correspondent says that the agitators did not say what my views are on that Was this proper? I must say that on the question of Prohibition, I am entirely in agreement with the policies of Shri Morarji Desai and Shri C. Rajagopalachari.

Wardha 23-8-'52 K G MASHRUWALA

ALL-INDIA BHOODAN PROGRESS

Dear Friend,

Soon after the Sevapuri Conference, I had written a letter to you on the 30th of April 1952 explaining to you the steps that we have to take to see that we carry into effect the resolution adopted on the *bhoodan* movement It is now about three months since I wrote that letter I have given a brief report of the work that has been done during the past three months in the leaflet *Progress of the Bhoodan-Yajna*

I feel that detailed information on some aspects of the progress of the work will be useful to all of us After the Sevapuri Conference, Shri Vinobaji toured the remaining districts of U P Up-to-now, he has received above three lakh acres of land in U P Some villages like Mangroth, Janua-Pashchim etc, donated all their land to Vinobaji and thus became inspiring examples of the solution of the land problem that we seek through the *Bhoodan-Yajna* Shri Vinobaji will stay in Banaras during the rainy season, and start for Bihar on the 12th of Septembec And in the last week of February, all of us Sevaks of the Sarvodaya Samaj will meet in Bihar for the Sarvodaya Sammelan The workers of U P have decided in their meeting of the 20th of July, 1952 held at Banaras, that they will see that U P 's first instalmant of 5 lakh acres is donated to the *Bhoodan-Yajna* before Vinobaji leaves U.P.

I have attended, during the past three months, conferences of workers in the Karnatak, Andhra, Tamilnad, Kerala, Hyderabad, Rajasthan, Maharashtra, Punjab and Delhi provinces All these conferences formulated plans for the work of the *Bhoodan-Yajna* in their respective provinces and in most of these provinces, Provincial *Bhoodan-Yajna* committees have been set up Committees have still to be set up in the Provinces of Bombay and Mysore.

Shri Dhotreji presided over the conference of the workers of Bengal that was held at Hatuganj (24 Parganas) He also presided over a workers' conference that was held at Gauhati in Assam At these conferences Dhotreji explained how the movement could be organized and popular response secured through the proper approach

In Madhya Pradesh, Shri Dada Dharmadhikari and Shri Dadabhai Naik, Convenor of the Provincial Bhoodan Samiti, covered hundred miles in a village to village trek, and in ten days, secured donations that totalled 310 acres At present Shri Dada Dharmadhikari is in Bihar attending the district conference of workers, explaining the background and the rationale of the *bhoodan* movement and enthusing the workers to make an all-out effort in this cause It has also been decided that Shri Dada Dharmadhikari will now give first place to the work of *bhoodan* and devote more and more of his time for it

It is clear from the work that has gone on for the last three months that the *Bhoodan-Yajna* has gripped the imagination of people of all the schools of thought in the country

Another good result of the movement has been that the sense of frustration that had crept into the minds of the people, and more especially of the workers, after the advent of Swaraj, has begun to disappear like mist before the morning sun It was wrongly expected by some that once Swaraj was won the Governments by themselves would do all that was necessary for the welfare of the people For various reasons we found that though the Government succeeded beyond expectation in some of the tasks to which it addressed itself, it was not able to fulfil what could reasonably be expected of it in the domestic and economic spheres which in fact, were the spheres that most affected the people The result was that constructive workers became critical and dissatisfied with the Government. The *bhoodan* movement has shown them that it is neither desirable nor necessary to wait in helplessness, on the Government, believing that it alone can tackle and solve the burning problems of the people It has shown that there is an effective non-violent way in which the people can solve their problems on their own strength And it has been proved that the people are willing to tread this path The *bhoodan* movement has thus enabled the workers as well as the people to have a glimpse of the moral and spiritual potentiality that lies locked up in them

But it will have to be admitted that though the feeling of frustration has been considerably reduced, workers do not as yet feel the urge, the irresistible desire to plunge into the work of the *bhoodan* movement with the same intensity as is necessary for the fulfilment of such a great task One of the reasons for this is the fact that these friends have not yet fully grasped the revolutionary potentialities of the *bhoodan* movement nor realized the urgent need to find a non-violent solution of the land problem

As far as I can see there is yet another reason for the reluctance to take the plunge. Workers feel hesitant, feel a kind of nervousness in approaching the people with the message of *bhoodan*, since they are doubtful about the response that they would get from the people. The rank and file of our workers seem to think that it is only people like Shri Vinobaji, who is listened to as the First Satyagrahi as a man who has sacrificed his all at the altar of service, as a saint as a close associate and disciple of Gandhiji who can hope to get such an enthusiastic response from the people, and that common workers like us hardly expect any response It is, therefore, often asked "When will Vinobaji come to our province? When will you come?" and it is said that though committees may be set up and some propaganda work may be done etc., the actual work of *bhoodan* can be started in the provinces only when Shri Vinobaji or somebody of the same nature and stature goes to the province It seems

to me that this is a wrong way of thinking and that it is necessary for us to remove the feeling that only a saint or a leader can hope to get response for the message of *bhoodan* It is the fundamental faith of a Satyagrahi that there is within every man an all-conquering and inexhaustible source of moral power, and that an appeal to this moral consciousness even in your opponent can convert him to your cause. We should then have faith in this power that is latent in all of us, and devote ourselves to the work of *bhoodan* to the extent that our faith and our strength warrant We should realize that it is only thus, by right action that one can grow in moral stature In the very nature of things, this growth can only be slow though sure In the meanwhile, all of us can contribute our mite even as the cowherds of Krishna helped him to lift the Gowardhan, and then we will see, even as Shri Vinobaji saw, that as he always tells us, the people are the *kalpavriksha*, the divine tree that fulfils your desires You are given what you seek in its shade

I also find that the constructive workers are caught up in the works for which they have already accepted responsibility and are facing the dilemma, — whether to leave off or limit their present responsibilities and to plunge into the work of *bhoodan* or to continue where they are and to contribute whatever help they can from where they are.

Though the importance of constructive work is beyond question and though it is true that what we are today and whatever will be tomorrow, depends on our constructive work, I want to say in all humility that if we are to maintain the power and glory of the constructive programme and to fulfil the main purpose for which it was fashioned we will have to try and solve the burning problems of the people with the help of non-violent methods We can, therefore, say that the land-problem is such a burning problem and that the fortunes of constructive workers are dependent on the success with which we solve that problem with the non-violent method of *bhoodan* Shri Vinobaji himself has referred to this many times. Let us all ponder over this in all earnestness, and see that we play our part in this great movement. It is, therefore, my humble but firm opinion that all of us should make it our chief concern to see that the target of 25 lakh acres which we fixed at Sevapuri is reached before April, 1954

In addition to constructive workers, there are many brothers and sisters in the towns and villages who have faith in Sarvodaya, who try to mould their lives in accordance with the tenets of Sarvodaya and who have contributed their share to the progress of the *bhoodan* movement It is their duty too to see that they help in advancing the cause of *bhoodan* in their own circles and areas Let them not hesitate for fear that some critics may ridicule them and question their right to preach the message of *bhoodan* as long as they themselves have not sacrificed all their possession in the cause To such critics let them reply " Yes, I cannot ask you to sacrifice your all, as long as I have not done so myself, nor am I doing so But I have contributed my share, and I am only asking you to contribute your share " When a house is on fire, my duty does not end with throwing a bucketful of water into the conflagration , I have to appeal to every one in the neighbourhood to join in the attempt to put out the fire

Brothers and sisters, wherever we are, and whatever our station in society, whether we are constructive workers or just honest men who care for the good of our people let every one who stands for Sarvodaya immediately set about doing his utmost for this *Bhoodan-Yajna*

In conclusion, let me say one thing more Since the *bhoodan* movement is our solution for the land problem it is natural that we have concentrated most of our attention on it But we must know that the equitable distribution of land brought about by *bhoodan* by itself will not be adequate to solve the problem of finding employment for all or to lead to the establishment of a Sarvodaya order of society The second half of the Sevapuri resolution, that asks us to boycott the products of centralized industries as far as the needs for food and clothing are concerned, and to take the vow of Swadeshi, i e to use the products of village industries is a pointer towards the further steps that we will have to take in this direction I therefore appeal to all our friends to educate public opinion on the latter half of the Sevapuri resolution as well.

Yours sincerely,
SHANKARRAO DEO

July '52

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HARIJAN

Aug. 30 1952

KHADI STOCKS

I understand that large stocks of Khadi have accumulated in U P Bihar, Madras etc. Their sales have progressively diminished since the attainment of Independence

The periodical accumulation of Khadi stocks has not indeed, been a rare phenomenon in the history of Khadi, since the revival of this industry under the leadership of Gandhiji Various methods to dispose them of had to be again and again organized by Khadi organizers I believe there must be several members among the various ministries of our Central and State Governments who have at some time or another, gone from place to place with Khadi pieces on their shoulders to sell them to rich people The rich did not always purchase Khadi, because they realized it to be the right Indian Political Economy, but simply because they could not say 'No' to these leaders Even some of the leaders were not convinced of its economic aspect but felt that it was a good political weapon against the British, and was the price which must be paid to Gandhiji for getting his leadership in the Congress

Disposal of Khadi by such artificial methods is by no means a pleasant performance. During his confinement in the Aga Khan Palace, Gandhiji ruminated over the Khadi problem deeply and arrived at a new conclusion *He who wears Khadi must spin he who spins must wear Khadi* The former half applied to the consumer, the latter half to the producer For, somehow, though Khadi had been going on for about twenty years and plenty of it had been purchased and sold and though its use was compulsory upon all Congressmen, the fact remained that few consumers of Khadi realized the necessity of themselves taking to regular spinning and few spinners and weavers realized the necessity of wearing what they themselves laboured after to produce The former assumed the role of patrons and the latter that of caterers to them It became clear to Gandhiji, as it should be to others also, that Khadi could never establish itself in India's economic organization by this method of producing and distributing it So he determined to establish a moral and permanent relation between the consumer and the producer by stipulating that the consumer shall demonstrate his faith in the economics of Khadi by personally contributing to its production and the producer by not spinning for wages alone, but also for his personal consumption.

No doubt, the ultimate ideal of Gandhiji was that so far as the clothing wants of a family were concerned all the processes ancillary to spinning should be done at home, weaving alone being got done by artisans, but he also realized the importance of Khadi production for supplementing the income of the poor So, he did not stipulate that Khadi shall be exchanged only against self-spun yarn He demanded only a token payment in the form of yarn, and allowed the balance to be paid in cash To add to this, the Charkha Sangh allowed the yarn to be repurchased by the contributor in order to enable him to get it woven for himself

But, barring a few exceptions, spinning-mindedness had not permeated among the big or small politicians of the Congress Gandhiji was fond of constantly quoting with approval Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's description of Khadi as "the livery of Freedom" As I view it now, it is clear that the description, though not so meant originally, became a description limiting the place of Khadi in the Congress. That is, the Congress adopted Khadi as a *livery* of Freedom and not as its *mufti* Hence, Freedom having been obtained, the necessity of wearing the livery, did not appear imperative It need be put on only on ceremonial occasions

As this was the attitude of even many a leader of the Congress, it was not surprizing that the non-availability of Khadi without payment in part in the form of self-spun yarn was not appreciated by its politicians A vigorous protest was raised against this 'hurdle' in the purchase of genuine Khadi As Gandhiji did not yield to it at first uncertified Khadi was silently allowed to become 'the livery' Though the number of Congressmen enlarged year after year, certified Khadi Bhandars found it extremely difficult to dispose of Khadi on Gandhiji's conditions, and many of them had to be closed or greatly reduced in size It was not impossible to get spinners and weavers on Gandhiji's conditions, but since Congressmen ceased to be its patrons, the production had to be heavily reduced year after year

Even the sharp acumen of Pandit Jawaharlalji could not appreciate Gandhiji's new Khadi policy It seems that shortly after Gandhiji's death he once went to the Khadi Bhandar of Srinagar during one of his visits to Kashmir and, failing to get Khadi there, got much irritated, and expressed it in a letter to a leader in the Khadi organization In the meanwhile the Congress Constitution had also been radically revised It was so framed as to suggest that its large body of active members would need Khadi and if the A I S A did not rise to the occasion it would be blamed of being unreasonably perverse and unresponsive So at the Sevagram Conference, which met shortly after Gandhiji's death, Vinoba advised the A I S A to relax in some manner the rule of selling Khadi only against part payment in the form of yarn The A I S A accordingly considered the matter and resolved that while the main body should not itself make any change in the working of its own *bhandars*, it should allow

certified Khadi *bhanders* to sell Khadi against cash alone so that Congressmen need not complain that genuine Khadi was not easily available to them It even helped suitable *bhandars* to be opened in lieu of its own As some of the provincial branches of the A I S A — like the Gandhi Ashram in U P and the Bihar A I S A — had by now become autonomous independent bodies, they took free advantage of this relaxation and there was no difficulty whatever in those provinces for purchasing Khadi without compulsory spinning The famine conditions of U P and Bihar and the Firka Scheme of the Madras Government enabled the Khadi organizations in those States to expand their work of Khadi production The Central and the State Governments supplied them with funds also for the purpose But though production can be easily organized in a country of immense unemployment, there is no scheme for getting a steady body of purchasers The politically-minded Congressmen have not adopted Khadi as their *mufti* and even as their livery, they do not care to obtain genuine and unexploiting Khadi They are prepared to deceive themselves and to deceive the public

The result is that large Khadi stocks have accumulated in all the States mentioned above and the workers are now at their wits' end to find how they should be disposed of Though famine conditions still remain what they were and threaten to get intensified and extend to other areas also in the next year, how can these organizations carry on their activities if Khadi has to compete against mill-cloth of the same varieties and there is not a regular body of customers to purchase it?

To meet the immediate situation the Charkha Sangh has been compelled to start its *dreary* go-round for pushing the Khadi sales. I understand that the Bombay Bhandar, the well-known and most generous 'friend-in-need' of Khadi producers under the guidance of that prince of salesmen, Shri Vithaldas Jerajani, contemplates to re issue its scheme of 'Khadi notes', and the mufassal Charkha Sangh bodies contemplate to send their workers during the ensuing Charkha week in a walking tour in the villages round-about their centres to popularize and sell Khadi and explain its importance in the village economy of India

As an emergent measure these methods will have to be adopted But it is obvious that they do not show the way to the long-time solution of India's problem The only national and long-time solution is to reserve the production of cloth as a village industry Even in the village, it should not be allowed to become a factory-producer It should be produced by methods which will allow every able-bodied and needy person to take part in it If this is assured it does not matter if fuel or electricity is available to all and is used to help rotation of the Charkha or movement of the loom to save the physical fatigue or a part of the time of the workers No cloth, or a tempting substitute thereof, which can be produced in villages should be allowed to be produced elsewhere and by other methods

Like Prohibition and Education this should form a part of the nation's Directive, so that it ceases to be a party programme Khadi is not the hobby of a political party or of Gandhian faddists, or of a 'go-back' organization A party that does not accept this proposition does not know its country Any interest that resists this, retards the country's welfare

This implies, without saying, that Shri Rajaji's demand that *dhotis* and *sarees* should be reserved for handlooms is a very modest one, and must be accepted *in toto* unhesitatingly It will be one of the first steps in the right direction

Wardha, 20 8-'52 K G MASHRUWALA

THE SUBJECT OF FERTILIZERS

I

(*By Ashvin Mehta*)

The following are a few extracts, from the report of proceedings on the symposium on 'Chemicals for Agriculture' held on 6th and 7th July, 1951, at the National Chemical Laboratory, Poona 7

1. Nature of the Soil

Dr S. P Raychowdhury (Indian Agricultural Research Institute, New Delhi), " stressed that *the nature of the soil* is an important factor in deciding the response of fertilizers to crop growth He also presented experimental data to prove that there was no truth in contention that the quality of the crop and its nutritional value are lowered when grown on chemical fertilizers In view of the short supply of fertilizers in India, their use mainly on *irrigated soils*, with an *assured water supply* was recommended by him '

2. Inadequate Knowledge of Soil Scientists

Dr C K N Nair (National Chemical Laboratory, Poona), " criticized the haphazard characterization of our great soil groups based on colour etc and stated that *even the broad physical and chemical properties of these soil groups were not adequately known to our soil scientists* Recommendation for fertilizer practices without this basic knowledge were in many instances misleading Dr Nair then briefly discussed the *importance of trace elements* in Indian agriculture, with particular reference to Boron Manganese and Copper, and stressed that it is essential that India should pay attention to the status of these elements in our soils Boron exerted considerable influence in the absorption and availability of various other plant nutrients

3. Fertilizer Usage

Mr K M Mehta (Agricultural Chemist Government of Rajasthan) stated "that more crop and soil data were required before a proper scheme for fertilizer usage could be recommended in India"

4 Combination with Organic Manure

According to Dr J K Basu (College of Agriculture Poona) "two of the main considerations involved in a proper system of application of fertilizers to dry land were (1) critical moisture limitations and (2) soil structure He emphasized the need for a land use classification system He cited result of his experiments which showed that *unless soil structure was improved*, the application of fertilizers was not bound to give adequate response *Best results* were obtained when *a combination of inorganic and organic fertilizers* were added in conjunction with traces of Boron, Manganese and Zinc"

5 Combination with Organic Manure

Mr K V Gopala Iyer (Sugar Cane Breeding Institute Coimbatore), "expressed the opinion that ammonium sulphate *in conjunction with* heavy organic manures would greatly step up India's cane production "

6 Combination of Various Factors

Dr H L Richardson maintained that "chemical fertilizers would secure a large increase in food production from Indian soils *provided the water-supply was adequate* He advocated a greatly enlarged extension service, field experiment to *study nutrient requirements of individual soil and crops* more fertilizer factories, and adequate arrangements for distribution He thought there was need for a few complex field experiment on long-term problems The kind of experiment required *careful planning and intricate experimental designs* Dr Richardson concluded his paper by saying that really high level of crop production could be achieved under *suitable crop rotation bulky local manures* and chemical fertilizers"

7. Rotation with Fodder Legume

Dr S V. Desai (Indian Agricultural Research Institute, New Delhi), stated that "It had been shown that at least one crop in three should consist of fodder legume to build up soil fertility This treatment would bring enormous *fixation of atmospheric nitrogen* and build up organic matter of good quality in the soil'

8 Misuse of Fertilizers

Mr A P A Brittomuthunayagom (Central Research Institute Travancore University), " stated that a wise use of fertilizers would only build up the fertility of soil. Majority of *our farmers knew very little about proper fertilizer practices* The most *common misuse* was the application of one plant food constituent in excess and another in very insufficient amounts The efficient utilization of nitrogen depends on proper nitrogen potassium ratio *Another misuse* of fertilizers was their application without necessary safeguards such as use of ammonium sulphate without complementary liming The use of superphosphate on acid soils rich in soluble iron and alluminium was another instance of misuse "

9 Misuse of Fertilizers

Dr B K Mukerji (Sugar Cane Research Shahjahanpur U P) observed that "increased yield of sugar cane were showing *distinct downward trend* in successive years after about the first three years and the deterioration was most pronounced in the case of the heaviest application of nitrogen as ammonium sulphate The system of rotation followed in U P sugar plantations was unsuited for cane production It reduced the total bacterial population "

Dr Mukerji suggested that the *use of ammonium sulphate could only be successful* when the soil was properly buffered with organic matter and bases It was undesirable to apply more than a third of the crop requirement of nitrogen in the form of ammonium sulphate "

10. Superiority of Organic Manures

Dr B Viswanath, (Ministry of Agriculture, Government of India), 'discussed the question whether chemical fertilizers could improve and maintain the fertility of the soil as measured by crop yield He quoted results from Rothamsted (England) to show that *organic manures were definitely superior* in all respects to *purely* chemical fertilizers *The author presented data to show that without the use of fertilizers*, the *Indian farmer and Nature maintained the system of agriculture at a production level which did not compare unfavourably with the levels in other countries which used fertilizers and modern methods* For Indian conditions chemical fertilizers were important but *not all important*

"Dr Viswanath stated that *chemical fertilizers* were *at their best* when the soil was adequately supplied with organic matter or when in association with organic manures As regards *superphosphates* the author contended that it was *not indispensable* for Indian agriculture

II

11 Inadequate Knowledge of Soil Scientists

Mr K M Mehta (Agricultural Chemist, Government of India Rajasthan) stated "that more crop and soil data were required before a proper scheme for fertilizer usage could be recommended in India"

12. Humus

Dr R D Rege (Sugar Cane Research Scheme Padegion Poona) ' concluded that the *humus content of the soil* was *the only factor* essential for getting best advantage from chemical fertilizers "

13. Soil Humus and Earth-Worms

Dr G J Fowler (Bangalore) "discussed the importance of biological school of thought which was concerned more with what was known as fertility' than agriculture and attached *great significance to soil humus* The *activity of earth-worms* was an important factor

in building up [illegible] phate from this point [illegible] its effect"

14 Ammonium Sulphate

Dr J K Basu stated that "ammonium sulphate was a very useful fertilizer if a few precautions were taken to maintain *proper soil structure*"

15 Earth-worm and Ammonium Sulphate

Dr C K N Nair (Chairman) said that "while *no one denied the importance of soil organic matter or of earth-worms* in building up good soil structure he deprecated the attitude on the part of some of our soil chemists to attach imaginary importance to comparatively trivial things He said *one could make earth-worm thrive* in great abundance in a soil receiving ammonium sulphate *provided* other conditions conducive to their existence were adequately met, such as proper *soil acidity range presence of enough organic matter and trace elements*"

16 Insufficient Availability of Ammonium Sulphate

According to Dr R D Bose (Indian Central Sugar Cane Committee New Delhi), "if the total area under crops in U P alone were to receive an average annual supplement of 1 cwt of ammonium sulphate per acre over two million tons would be required or about six times the estimated annual production of Sindri

In planning for future, it was *essential to think of fertilizers* not in terms of thousands of tons but of *millions of tons* It was necessary to provide sound technical guidance and advice to the inexperienced farmers *Ad hoc* attempts often resulted in failures

17. Steamed Bone Flour

Mr K N Moorthy (Central Laboratories for Scientific and Industrial Research, Hyderabad) said that, "due to the *shortage of sulphuric acid* it was imperative that we should work out alternative means of converting bone-phosphate to plant available forms *Steamed bone flour* was a more concentrated fertilizer than super-phosphate, and could be made available to farmer at cheaper prices, because of costly bye-products obtained"

18. Superphosphates and Bones

Dr M L Diwan (Damodar Valley Corporation), stated that "phosphorous is the bottleneck of India's hunger India required approximately *10 million tons* of *super phosphate* (20% P_2O_5) or its equivalent to provide for the annual depletion of phosphates As against this tremendous requirement, India had *a total reserve of only a few million tons of phosphates* A *useful alternative was bones* India could produce annually 2 million tons of bone superphosphates if this source were properly tapped"

Summary

On the presumption, that the nutritional value of crop grown on chemical fertilizers is not [illegible] the following [illegible] the above [illegible] paper [illegible] symposium

(1) Fe[illegible] se in the [illegible] fraction [illegible] artificial fe[illegible] will be [illegible] example [illegible] mes the estimated [illegible] production of [illegible] Fertilizer factory, [illegible] as cost us about 200 million rupees and [illegible] (approximately) 0 75 million tons of [illegible] per year Our total reserve of gypsum [illegible] at 35 million tons

(2) Chemical fertilizers alone cannot constitute any permanent and effective system of agriculture

(3) Even to get best results from chemical fertilizers humus content of the soil is of prime importance Hence, it follows that bulky 'organic manures will be required The mechanization of farming minimizing the number of farm animals, should be carefully thought of, keeping this fact in mind

(4) The importance of earth worms in soil appears to be well recognized and these poor creatures (!) should not be forgotten while fixing fertilizer requirements of the soil

(5) Adequate water supply is absolutely necessary

(6) Major, plant nutrients — nitrogen, phosphorous, potassium should be properly balanced according to environments

(7) Presence of trace element, like Manganese, Copper Boron etc as plant food, besides sulphates phosphate and potash is absolutely essential

(8) Sewage irrigation is possible only in the sandy soils and it is not advisable to grow vegetables by sewage irrigation

(9) Super-phosphates is not indispensable for Indian agriculture. If required, steamed bone flour should be prepared as

(i) It is more concentrated fertilizer than super-phosphate,

(ii) India has a total reserve of only a few million tons of phosphates,

(iii) It is cheaper than super-phosphate

(10) Hence, naturally, all exports of bones or bone-meal should be discontinued

(11) Fertilizer requirements vary according to different types of soils, (depending upon their acidity structure etc), and weather conditions Hence soil analysis goes together with artificial fertilizers

(12) But on the other hand, "even the broad physical and chemical properties of our great soil groups are not known to our soil scientists" and soil analysis is not found to be 'quick and reliable" How, then, are the fertilizers to be applied? Before dumping the American 'gift' fertilizers in our villages, will it not be sensible to think of all these factors and inform our farmers regarding their proper usage?

HOLDINGS AND PROJECTS

Shri S N Agarwal Convener of the Congress Parliamentary Committee on Planning had gone to Banaras from Delhi on or about 7th July last to meet Shri Vinoba to seek his views on the land-problem A brief summary of their talks having already appeared in the Press, a full report is published below for the information of the reader

Q May I know your views on co-operative farming? Do you agree with the views of the Planning Commission?

Vinoba I have often expressed my views on co-operative farming Almost every big town puts me this question and I have to repeat my reply The truth is that when I bethink myself on a problem I firmly hold my feet on earth and do not allow myself to soar in high flights in the air I believe that if we really want to do something in the present distressful plight of the country and bring immediate relief to the poor, we should not get involved in the jugglery of words. We should understand that our country has been predominantly agricultural for at least these ten thousand years and the people have therefore evolved a definite way of life which has become their second nature

Having regard to this great fact, I say that the only practical and fruitful way for India is for the present to allow small holdings which individual families of peasants can concentrate their efforts on and produce the maximum food grains through intensive cultivation For this purpose they should be provided with adequate irrigation facilities

It will be of course necessary to fix a minimum of small holdings I regard about five acres as an average size a little more or less being allowed to suit local conditions The U.P Government has fixed the limit of 6½ acres This is not a great difference But the reason for even this difference lies in the fact that my limit is based on direct contact with the people in the course of my tour, while the U P Government takes decision sitting in the Government Secretariat in Lucknow Peasants can and in fact practise today a partial co-operation in matters such as the use of bullocks, irrigation, night-watch etc. At present this co-operation is unorganized It needs to be properly organized

Large Farms

I have seen a number of large farms where labourers and bullocks work for a definite period of hours and are jointly instrumental in producing agricultural crops Both have no share in the produce Both are set to hard work and both are fed, since without doing so they cannot work The intellectual development and inner satisfaction of both is almost similar Where some are regarded as 'heads' and a great many others as 'hands', the body politic faces annihilation God has not created a few with heads alone and others with hands alone, like the demons Rahu and Ketu We should bear this in mind in organizing our work Otherwise, we shall demolish all other gods no doubt, but install in their place a new god, the *Manager* This will spell ruin for the country

Community Projects

Q What is your opinion about the Community Projects?

Vinoba I had no occasion of seeing the scheme of the Community Projects I got it only from you I glanced through it. I happened to go to Etawah in the course of my *bhoodan* tour I had heard of it also The objective of the scheme is good but I must confess that it has not much attracted me The manufacture of articles required by the villagers and producible from the raw materials available in the village itself, should as far as possible be produced in the village itself, through the implements readily available in the rural areas

As far as food and clothing are concerned, barring a few exceptions almost every village should be self-sufficient I find that this principle has been ignored in the scheme The same old pattern of education has been accepted Villages should be regenerated mainly with their own resources Outside help should be so limited as to make them quite dependent upon them, and nothing should be imposed from above

Demerits of the Scheme

My conception of an ideal village is that one in which there is a simple and beautiful garden around every home The urine and night-soil of that home are utilized as manure I do not find the picture of such a village in this scheme *Bhangis* (sweepers) will remain The master will sit on a rickshaw-cycle drawn by human beings There is no mention of vegetable gardens. All these things are suggestive of the want of a perspective in the scheme

On account of these defects the scheme has not enthused me But as I said before, its objective is good So with necessary changes if an experiment is made in a few areas and money is not squandered, there is no objection to make a few experiments.

(From Hindi) D M

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HARIJAN

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गांधी संग्रह
सेवाग्राम

BHOOMI-YAJNA JAYANTI

Vinoba commenced from Paunar his North Indian tour for *Bhoodan-Yajna* and the 57th year of his life on 11th September 1951 * A PTI message from Jabalpur says that elaborate arrangements are being made at Kareli (about 60 miles from Jabalpur in M P) to celebrate Bhoomi-Yajna Jayanti on 11th September next The Jayanti is being organized to give an impetus to his *Prajasuya-Yajna*

I believe that this is a good idea and workers all over the country may make use of this day to spread the message of *bhoodan* far and wide, and exhort owners of lands to share their lands with those who have none

I implore every owner of land to ponder deeply over the undeniable truth that like air and water, earth must belong to all It should be shared by all and worked upon for the benefit of all. Since this fundamental principle has not been respected, and a free gift of nature has been in the possession of a few though coveted by many, the earth has been incessantly torn by wars and murders

Sons have killed fathers, and brothers have murdered brothers for getting exclusive ownership of a small plot of land Kingdoms have arisen and fallen for the sake of land We cannot have peace and amity and the welfare of all, as long as we persistently stick to the idea of private ownership of land

A time will come and I hope it will not take long to come when the land of the whole world will be possessed in common by all the peoples of the world, and every man who is willing to work upon it, will be allowed to do so, irrespective even of his race or nationality This will lead to an equal spread-over of humanity on the Earth

Let us begin this process by methods peculiar to our philosophy and culture i e. by *tapas*, *yajna* and *dana* or by voluntary action.

The landless have patiently carried on their *tapas* for centuries and centuries If they have become exhausted and impatient now, they cannot be found fault with. Let the *tapas* be continued on their behalf by workers now The *yajna* has been already started by Vinoba and his committees May the owners of land bring their *dana* in abundance for the completion of the process

Vinoba is exhausting himself in his 'do or die' mission He does not move on on the physical strength of his frail limbs It is the Spirit that sustains him Let us all pray for him, work for him and respond generously to his appeal

Wardha, 28-8-'52 K G MASHRUWALA

* As usually happens every 12 years, this date closely approximates the date of his birth according to the Hindu calendar which is Bhadrapad (in North India Ashvin) Vad 7th while this year it will be 8th

SHRI VINOBA'S UTTAR PRADESH TOUR — XI

From Fatehpur to Raibareli — 7th to 16th June 1952

The Eternal Mahatma

The Bundelkhand tour over Vinoba entered the Fatehpur District on June 7 Lying between the Ganga and the Yamuna this district is very fertile We gave it five days. The first halt was at Kishanpur In the afternoon prayer meeting instead of speaking over the land speaker, Vinoba took up his position standing in midst of the assembly This day thirty-six years ago he had first seen Bapu Naturally he remembered him In two short sentences, he brought out the entire depth of his relationship with him.

"I was a young boy then I have been obediently following him ever since."

Not only is he obediently following him, he is also carrying his work further on from the point where Bapu had left it. This reminded me of a conversation between two Bundelkhand Harijans whom I had overheard.

'Do you know who is going ? — 'Vinobaji '

— Oh no he is Mahatmaji — But Mahatmaji is no more He is Vinobaji."

' But you forget that Mahatmas never die"

And I said to myself Look at the profundity of spiritual understanding of this poor Indian peasant He knows that Mahatmas never die

And Vinobaji has demonstrated that the Mahatma is not dead. He is, eternally he is

And these words continue to ring in my ears I have been obediently following him ever since '

Equality and Equanimity

In our Bundelkhand tour we had in our company one whose earlier life was spent in highway robbery lost and murder The Government had once declared a five thousand rupees price for his arrest But then there came a change in his life and for the last ten years, he has been spending his days in quiet contemplation and meditation as also in service to those about him He is a devotee of Shri Arvind He asked Vinobaji whether along with the equality of wealth he would also attempt to bring about the equanimity of the mind the *samya* of the Gita Vinobaji said " Essentially our efforts are directed to the attainment of the equanimity of the mind. We have all within us the same *atma* and it is equally extended everywhere. This is the fundamental of spiritual wisdom, and it can and should be realized by appropriate *sadhana*, that is,

spiritual striving. The real question is how to attain the equanimity of the mind.'

Relating an anecdote from Buddha's life he said, Once the disciples of Bhagwan Buddha brought someone to him and requested him to speak to that person about the *atma*. The Buddha asked the disciples to feed the man. The man was very much emaciated and looked hungry. After he had had food and rest he was again ushered in Buddha's presence. And all that Buddha did was to ask the man to go his way. The disciples were surprised. Buddha explained that the best thing they could do to a hungry man was to feed him. If we preach that the *Atma* resides in us all we must also practise the preaching. Action is the most effective medium of preaching the truth we have. Words cannot reach the level of action. The real teacher preaches by action. The equity of mind can come only if we, who strive for it, establish equality with those who are poor and unhappy and down trodden. The mother has to bend herself down to lift up her child. We should put ourselves in the position of those who are below us in any way. Let us first be humble and realise unity with the lowliest and the last. Let us sacrifice our life in the service of Vedanta." He then asked "Will you advise me to stop wandering and repair to a lonely cave as an ascetic would do, and feed myself by begging for alms and spend my time in meditation?" I do not decry that sort of thing. It is good. But this is not the time for it. It is not merely by counting beads that one can get the concentration of mind. Concentration of the mind can be realised even on the *charkha* or the water-wheel. The *asahana* and the *mantra*, the great liberating word of our times, is *service*. Service with our hands with Rama in the heart and his name on the lips.'

Feeling of Helplessness

In the course of the meeting a peasant stood up in his place to say something. The workers beckoned to him to sit down. Vinobaji asked them to let him speak. He said piteously, "Maharaj, the poor are being robbed of their lands. And there is none to listen to their sorrows.' Vinobaji consoled him and said, "We have come here for rendering you service. But why should you, why should the poor feel so helpless or look so piteous? Undoubtedly the rich and the better-placed are cheating you and defrauding you of your due. But you can resist them. Only you should preserve your goodness and not be lured into following their evil ways out of a spirit of retaliation or unthinking imitation. We should be honest and never resort to lying and keep away from the drink evil. I want the poor to understand that the future belongs to them, and they should awaken and prepare themselves for shouldering the duties of that glorious day. But awakening does not mean parading the streets and crowding in front of the residences of the rich and shouting slogans. No, you have other and more important tasks awaiting your attention. We have got to give up evil habits and cleanse our hearts and go forward steadily with the Lord in our hearts as our unerring light and guide. It is your *tapasya* the suffering you have quietly borne for ages, which inspires me and compels me to go about thus. No other power could have drawn me out, from my sequestered life at my retreat. I therefore urge you not to cultivate the feeling of helplessness and a passive submission to injustice."

Other Economic Problems

At Kishangur the workers asked: "There are other sectors of economic life besides land which are as greatly ridden with inequalities. What do you propose to do about them?"

Vinobaji said: "Let us first grow strong. Then we may go and undertake to set things right in whichever sector we find injustice. There is no dearth of problems in our country. Problems of peasants of labourers, of refugees, of the rescheduled of criminal tribes, a regular medley of problems. India is a museum of problems.'

Ceiling of Holdings

A Socialist asked: 'Even after *bhoodan* the Zamindars will still be left with more land than what they should. In fact, none should have more than thirty acres.' Vinobaji said, 'Let us first try to secure land for the landless. Let us begin at this end and proceed forward and you will find that none will have even thirty acres."

Satyagraha for Land

Vinobaji has often explained his idea of Satyagraha and its place in his present programme. He holds that his present efforts are but a form of Satyagraha, though he had not excluded the possibility of outer Satyagraha if a need arose for it. But the question was again raised here. Vinobaji answered, "There are three ways of solving the land problem: legislation, land-gifts and violence. I have often said that if we work for the land-gifts programme with faith and in a spirit of complete humility free from any taint of egotism, there will be no need for external Satyagraha. However assuming that the contingency does arise, the atmosphere we will have created by our efforts for land-gifts will be extremely helpful for conducting a successful Satyagraha. If ever I embark on Satyagraha I will do it at such time and in such manner that none will have the heart to oppose it. Everyone will have sympathy for it. Such Satyagraha shall not fail in its purpose. Rama does not speak twice, nor does he shoot twice to pierce the same target. This is my conception of the spirit and form of Satyagraha."

A Poor Man's Gift

It was past 8-30 in the evening. We were making ready for rest when a *kisan* came to see Vinoba. He was gasping for breath, evidently he had come running to be in time. He was feeling nervous as he bowed. Vinoba put him at ease by some friendly questions. Then he revealed that though he had not been able to attend the meeting he still wanted to contribute his share to the land-gifts. He had seven *bighas* and he wanted to give two of them.

From my seat nearby I was looking with amazement at the devotion of the poor man. It is now fourteen months since the movement started and I have witnessed scores of these miracles of faith and devotion. And the wonder grows with every holy incident. Who after all inspires these Sudamas* and Shaberis† to bring their presents to the *yajna*?

A forty member committee was appointed in Fatehpur for collecting land-gifts from the district. The members individually declared the quotas which each of them would raise. They also resolved to collect twenty thousand acres by the end of June. During the tour of the district we secured 0 632 acres from 820 donors. The maximum contribution per village in this district was from the village Khaga: 41 donors offered 1·740 acres.

Our last halt in the district was Mausamabad. We were lodged in a good well ventilated house on a hillock commanding a nice view of the glittering expanse of the Ganga. The leave-taking in the early hours of our last day in those beautiful and serene surroundings and following the morning prayer was almost an ecstatic experience.

Raibareli District

There was deep silence for some time, almost a spell of trance. The Fatehpur people bade adieu and we left in the company of the friends from Raibareli, who had come to receive us. Some one broke forth the tunes of the well-known *bhajan*, '*Sant parom hitkari*' (Saints are the best friends of life). The party joined, while from the other side arose the swaying notes of *Rama-dhun*. We arrived at Rajghat in front of a Shiva temple. A meeting followed and Rana Sweyambar Singh announced his donation of four thousand *bighas*, by way of giving

* A poor school mate of Krishna who when he visited Krishna, presented to him a handful of rice a mighty royal personage as Krishna was.

† A forest woman who entertained Rama with forest berries.

welcome to the spokesman of the Daridranarayan It was a good beginning Accepting the donation Vinobaji said 'I expect one lakh acres from Raibareli. We have received about two and a half lakh acres in the course of fourteen months Rama had to wander in forests for fourteen years I should therefore have patience But I must get help from the workers. I cannot go to every village It is for the workers to reach every village And if you do so, you will know that people are not averse to giving. We must fulfil our resolve then only shall we get to know the all-conquering power of the *atma*." He added "A great leader of men Pandit Nehru has worked in this district Therefore the demand for one lakh acres, which we have made of you is not to be considered too big'

The example of generosity and zeal in this noble task set by Bundelkhand was kept up by the following districts. There was evidence of an increasing enthusiasm among the people From score till eve, there was an unending stream of donors coming to us Talukdars Zamindars, and ordinary peasants The R.S.S contributed a good portion of our total collections in this district, that is two thousand acres

Donor Comes Searching

This happened in Lalganj our first halt in the district It was past nine and Vinoba had gone to sleep. A young man, with some papers in his hand came in searching for me Some one had told him that in case Vinobaji was asleep he should meet me He had been much impressed by the speech that evening He had no land But he had 300 square feet of land, a good plot in the middle of the town—Lalganj is a trade-centre—, and he had brought us a gift-deed donating it to *Bhoodan*

It has been our experience in every district that in the beginning the workers have some doubts about the movement It is so because they do not read the *Bhoodan* literature attentively But once they have them cleared by Vinoba they take to the work with redoubled vigour The workers at Raibareli had doubts regarding the distribution of land

Procedure of Distribution

Vinobaji has formulated a certain preliminary procedure to be followed before distributing land to the landless For example the village people are to be informed seven days in advance of a date on which the function of land-distribution is to be held in their village They are reminded of it by an announcement a day previous to the appointed date All the village people assemble in a meeting and in their presence recipients of gifted land are selected. If the number of the landless was greater than the gifted land can accommodate, the deeds are to be selected by the candidates themselves etc. So when a doubt was expressed about the distribution of land, Vinoba said, ' The members of the Land Distributing Committee are only a witness. I can entrust the work of distributing land to any person even to him who is regarded as an adversary For what risk can there be when land is to be distributed in the presence of all the people of the village and according to our rules ? If it was to be distributed in private there can be room for corruption etc So far I have received no complaint from the Hyderabad State or any other place against the distribution of land that has taken place there

Will the Movement Succeed ?

In reply to a question whether he hoped that his mission would succeed Vinoba said that he had every hope about it He added, 'If you go to the Gangotri and ask whether it hoped to meet the sea what would be its reply ? So far as I myself am concerned, I shall say that so long as my work is not finished, and so long as God gives strength in my feet to move, I will continue to walk If, in the meanwhile my own problem is solved before the land problem is solved I do not worry. Rama Krishna, Buddha have come and gone before us and the problems of the world still remain unsolved. This is all a long-drawn drama of God I do not worry about solutions of problems Mine is to see whether the course I have adopted is right and capable of being effective. If you do not want to go that way who can compel you ?"

A friend said that the land that he received in donation included much bad land Vinoba instantly replied ' Lord Krishna had sanctified Kubja along with Rukmini and purged her of her ugliness and deformities and endowed her with beauty All land we have received is ultimately to turn into good cultivable land

Theory of Degeneration

In reply to another friend who suggested that our country had much degenerated in the last four or five years Shri Vinoba expressed his disagreement with him and said that the process of degeneration of a nation was a long-period one taking centuries Five years was too small a period The present evils were the outcome of economic causes They were symptomatic of the diseased economic structure of society He explained the method of judging whether a society had made progress or degenerated during a particular period and quoted an experience of his tour "A devotee wanted Lord Buddha to pass four months of the rainy season in his place Shravasti. He could get land for the residence of even such a great man, only when he paid its heavy price by covering the entire area wanted by him with gold coins But that very Shravasti gave a hundred acres of land in donation to an insignificant man like me This incident is a pointer whether our society has progressed or degenerated"

Analysing the causes of the present economic evils, Shri Vinoba said ;

' The truth is that our society has not degenerated But the root of the present evils is the present currency, which is unrelated either to production or labour When such a baseless currency is inflated the people succumb to its temptations

What Is Mass Contact ?

Workers had met at Jawasi our last halt in the Raibareli District They pledged themselves to collect 25 thousand acres by 30th June 1952 and a lakh acres in the next year Vinoba had frank and free talks with them. He impressed upon them that the need of the hour for all organizations whether it was Congress or any other body was purity and sacrifice Without these virtues their work would not have life and be effective He exhorted them to go to the villages and plunge themselves in the service of the villagers They should feel that they were there ready to mitigate their miseries This was real mass contact. It was no mass contact to enrol oneself as a member and pay four annas as its membership fee This did not strengthen a party It was wrong to believe if one political party became strong other parties would necessarily became weaker There was no such fear in constructive work He was not speaking about elections In the constructive field work alone strengthened every party and institution.

He appealed to them to volunteer their services and apply themselves in *Bhoodan Yajna*, as all political parties had pledged to lend their co-operation to his mission This meeting in the birth place of the celebrated poet Jayasi represented every political party and community and government officers It was clear that the *Bhoodan Yajna* had attracted every party and given them a vivid realisation of the revolutionary potentiality of non-violence He had always believed that there was enough potential power in non-violence to find its way through the toughest situation.

Regarding the pledge of U P to collect 5 lakh acres, he said If I can leave U P for Bihar after it had fulfilled its pledge it will have a good influence on the country and the world It will also inspire self-confidence in its workers Constructive workers who were experiencing a feeling of frustration for a short while will be revitalized with new life in them All parties are co-operating with us in this mission, I trust this united effort will go a long way to remove mutual differences and will show us the way to work in unison'

(Abridged and translated from Hindi) D. M.

HARIJAN

Sept. 6 1952

VILLAGE INDUSTRIES — THE ONLY WAY *

(*By Vinoba*)

Famine Conditions of Gorakhpur and Deoria

You are aware of the difficult famine conditions which have overtaken Gorakhpur and Deoria The newspapers are full of harrowing reports of the sufferings of the people there Yesterday a worker who had himself toured the area gave me his personal impressions of the gravity of the situation. I need not relate to you all that he told me For every one has realized by now that the situation needs immediate relief But I want you to ponder over a disturbing aspect of this situation It is this **Though there is enough food there to go round, the people cannot purchase it, because they lack purchasing power.**

What does this mean ? It is not a new thing to us Constructive workers have been urging from the beginning that there is no solution to India's difficulties apart from village industries It is a simple truth which should be evident to anyone who would care to see it. But, unfortunately, it is not perceived, and a wall of economic controversy is raised to shut the light out These discussions do not interest me I say simply *Give work to the villagers if not by village industries, by other means; by machines if you like But machines are not making their appearance, and the people continue to suffer from want of work And I claim that work cannot be provided to the rural people except through village industries* But if they want to let things drift on and troubles increase, I can have nothing to say But if they have an appreciation of the gravity of the situation, they should, like wise men make use of what means are available to the villagers and set them to work.

Mechanized industries should not be allowed to compete with village industries, otherwise the latter cannot subsist Famines and the like will continue to raise their head in one or the other part of India every year We must therefore have a permanent solution for this Agriculture by itself cannot support the rural population **We must therefore insist upon village industries.**

Rajaji's Demand

Rajaji has recently raised his voice on behalf of the weavers. In spite of difficulties, weavers have managed to subsist to this day. The mills stand pitted against them They have been weaving (*dhotis* and) *sarees* all along and people like these hand-woven garments, but the mills have now usurped their work Rajaji has demanded that the weaving of (*dhotis* and) *sarees* should be reserved for the weavers, whose number is one for every twelve of the population. They have been engaged in this trade from times immemorial And they have faced enormous odds in their way but they have endured them and managed to get on with a tenacity which is characteristic of our people Rajaji has therefore raised his voice in a just cause and the suggestion he has put forth should be readily complied with Academic quibbling about economic efficiency (i e cheapness etc) should not be allowed to stand in the way.

The Criterion of Cheapness

It is contended that the mill-cloth is cheaper But that is an illusion born of the spell of machine-based economy which has shut our eyes to truth The mills displace thousands from their economic moorings and force them into unemployment Let us charge the cost of the maintenance of these thousands and lakhs of unemployed to the mills and then find out whether the mill-cloth is really cheap It is clear that the cheapness of the mill-cloth is only an appearance

In fact Khadi is not dear It may be that the same cloth which in its mill-made form is priced Rs 15/- only may cost Rs 25/- in Khadi But the excess of Rs 10/ goes to support our village brethren And that is an important consideration On the other hand all the money spent on mill-cloth goes to swell the pockets of the mill-owners

Therefore if Government hesitates applying restrictions on the mills, it is clear that they are incapable of doing anything for the poor although the poor have voted them to power and although they profess solicitude for them And it will be said, not without justification, that the mill-owners have pulled with the Government, and the Government are much under their thumb

The Need of Restrictions on Mills

The Government do talk of providing work to the poor What they have in mind is the construction of roads and canals and such other things But they forget that these things cannot make for permanent or lasting employment For that, there is no way other than that of taking to village industries In the course of a few years we shall have to organize village industries on a countrywide scale Hence restrictions will have to be placed on the mills, although the mill interests have well consolidated their strength Without placing restrictions on them village industries cannot thrive

Some say that we want to develop agriculture in a thorough manner They are welcome to do so But that too cannot be done without proper aids and means And it will be some time before these aids are made available In the meanwhile, the production can be stepped up only through village methods and means We have democracy in our country the Government derives its authority from the people. The people should therefore join in giving a clear call to the

* Post prayer speech at Benares on 10-8-52

Government that they must organize and promote village industries

Unconscious Callousness of Poor Man's Friends

The worker whom I referred to in the beginning was clad in mill-cloth I told him he was a cruel man He must also play his part in this vast effort If those who clamour for the redress of these conditions fail to do their obvious duty, their grieving over the deteriorating conditions in the villages is useless It is evident that if they are sincere in their sympathy for the victims of these conditions they should make use of Khadi and other village products I do not suggest they are consciously callous Perhaps they are not aware of this anomaly But this is even more tragic than callousness For while a known callousness has a chance of eliminating itself through effort and change of heart, an unconscious one may continue for ever

Conditions in Bihar

These conditions are not confined to this or that part of the country Everywhere, at numerous places our people are living a precarious existence between life and death Consider what is happening in Bihar The position in Bihar is a strange one Large stocks of Khadi have accumulated there — Khadi, which was manufactured as a relief measure The Bihar Government must accept the responsibility for its sale and disposal But they are not doing it How are the poor to be helped then ?

No Alternative to Khadi

I ask of those who are not convinced of the utility of Khadi to show me the alternative way Gandhiji had not studied economics but he had seen the poverty of the country with his own eyes and had identified himself with the poor This revealed to him the importance of Khadi I claim that I know my villages and their poverty And like him I have realized that Khadi and village industries are the only means of fighting this chronic poverty I have no fatuous attachment for village industries But I do admit of one attachment — the attachment to the ideal of freedom from hunger and want Every one must get food and clothing And when I find that though the Government talk of mechanized industries, but show no tangible results, I feel I should ask them to be awake betimes and take to village industries And I am sure that the village industries will certainly show them a way out of our difficulties

(From the Hindi report of D M)

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INCIDENCE OF SALES TAX

[The following two statements show the incidence of Sales Tax under the multi-point system as compared with the existing single-point one on a family of 150 to 170 income-group in Bombay City]

Statement I

(Source Compiled from the Bombay Government Labour Gazette and represents the cost during April 1952)

Average monthly expenditure on different items of a working class family (of four members) in Bombay City

Items	Total monthly expenditure	Expenditure on items liable to Sales Tax
	Rs As Pe	Rs As Pe
Food	89 14 5	14 7 0
Fuel and lighting	17 1 5	nil
Clothing	12 5 5	3 2 11
House rent	5 5 11	nil
Miscellaneous	29 5 3	7 6 11
	Rs 155 4 0	Rs 30 0 10

	Rs As Pe
I Amount of tax paid per month under the existing Act	0 15 6
II Amount of tax payable per month under the proposed multi point tax	
A. On the basis of 30% difference between the manufacturer's or importer's price and the retail price	
(i) assuming that there are three stages of sales (the rate of multi-point tax will be 7 5 pies in the rupee)	1 2 9
(ii) assuming that there are four stages of sales (the rate of multi point tax will be 10 2 pies per rupee)	1 8 6
B On the basis of 25% difference between the manufacturer's or importer's price and the retail price	
(i) assuming that there are three stages of sales (the rate of tax will be 7 5 pies per rupee)	1 3 6
(ii) assuming that there are four stages of sales (the rate of tax will be 10 2 pies per rupee)	1 10 6

The additional burden from the multi-point tax will not exceed Re 0-11-0 per month per working class family consisting of four members In Bombay City, even if we assume the margin of profit to be 25 per cent and the stages of sales as four In other words the extra burden will be only Re 0-2-9 per month on a working class person

Statement II

(Source Report on the Survey Into the Economic Conditions of Middle Class Families in Bombay Issued by the Indian Statistical Institute in 1951)

Average monthly expenditure on different items of a middle class family (of four members)

Items	Total monthly expenditure	Expenditure on items liable to Sales Tax
	Rs	Rs
Food	32.98	5.8
Fuel	3 19	nil
Clothing and footwear	8 00	4.0
Rent and electricity	27 95	nil
Services	20 30	nil
Conveyance	3.74	nil
Amusements and Recreations	3 05	nil
Cigarettes, tobacco, snuff, etc	4.[illegible]	nil
Educational expense	1.57	1.5

	10 37 (including doctor's fees)	5 2 (for medicines and tonic)
Interest on loans	0.58	nil
Religious ceremonies and festivals	12 63 (inclusive of fees to priests gifts to temples and dietary articles etc)	4.2
Donations and Charities	1.58	nil
Subscriptions to Associations	0 64	nil
Travels	8.58	nil
Repairs to house, property etc	1.96	nil
Presents	3.08 (presents in cash and kind)	2 0 (presents in kind)
Other Miscellaneous items	18.61	11 7
	178 47	34.2

	Rs	As	Ps
I Amount of tax paid per month under the existing Act	1	1	0
II Amount of tax payable per month under the proposed multi-point tax			
A On the basis of 30% difference between the manufacturer's or importer's price and the retail price			
(i) assuming that there are three stages of sales (the rate of multi point tax will be 7% in the rupee)	1	5	3
(ii) assuming that there are four stages of sales (the rate of multi point tax will be 10 2 pies per rupee)	1	12	11
B On the basis of 25% difference between the manufacturer's or importer's price and the retail price			
(i) assuming that there are three stages of sales (the rate of tax will be 7 4 pies per rupee)	1	6	1
(ii) assuming that there are four stages of sales (the rate of tax will be 10 8 pies per rupee)	1	14	0

The net additional burden from the multi-point tax will therefore be Re 0-13 0 per family even if we assume that the margin of profit is only 25 per cent and the stages of sales are four In other words the additional cost for every middle class person will not exceed Re 0-3-3, as the family has been taken to consist of four persons

Eighth Nai Talim Conference

It has been decided to hold the Eighth All India Nai Talim Conference at Sevagram from the 27th October to the 1 November 1952. The first three days will be devoted to the special Conference of the field workers of Nai Talim and the last three days to the General Conference covering Pre-Basic Basic Post-Basic and Adult Education. An exhibition of Nai Talim will also be organized as an integral part of the Conference

It is expected that the Prime Minister Shri Jawaharlal Nehru will meet the delegates to the Conference on November 1 and also inaugurate the Sevagram Rural University

Workers of Nai Talim are cordially invited to take part in the Conference The organizers will be grateful for an early intimation of your participation in the Conference so that the necessary arrangements can be made

E. W ARYANAYAKAM
Secretary
Hindustani Talimi Sangh
Sevagram, Wardha

THE COMPLAINT OF MANBHUM

(By Bhajahari Mahato)

[The following speech was delivered in Hindi in the House of the People on the 12th July 1952 by Shri Bhajahari Mahato M P (Lok Sevak Sangha Manbhum) from Bihar in connection with the resolution regarding linguistic redistribution of provinces —Atul Chandra Ghosh.]

I am a resident of Manbhum My mother tongue is Bengali I do not know English altogether My knowledge in Hindi also is almost nil. Having got the luck of jail life in the British regime I took the opportunity of studying Hindi to a little extent. Thereafter outside jail I was trying to learn Hindi But the overzealous Hindi fadists having made the situation in Manbhum so disturbed for the purpose of forcibly foisting Hindi on Manbhum that we are now busily engaged in facing the repressions following in its wake, and there is no peaceful situation there for the study of Hindi Though my knowledge of Hindi is very meagre I am trying anyhow to express myself in Hindi as it is our national language I hope you would excuse me for the mistakes I commit in doing so

The question of linguistic redistribution of provinces is very important in regard to Manbhum, as there is going on a reign of repression on this issue We have never seen this question of linguistic redistribution of provinces with an outlook of provincialism We in Manbhum have all along worked with amity towards all the communities and sects We were in the Congress and have built the same in our district And under the leadership of Atul Babu we were working in that way all the while , but we were compelled to quit the Coogress So we have always viewed the question of linguistic redistribution with the outlook of administrative facilities in the light of Gandhiji's teachings and judgment and not with an outlook of provincialism. Yet we ourselves have never raised this matter for we thought that the leaders of India would themselves take steps in this regard But now we are appealing to the leaders that they should not tarry over the question, but should finish it without delay Because the unsettlement of this question has brought about such a situation in Manbhum that if it be allowed to continue longer a revolution is bound to arise amongst the people of Manbhum

Whenever the demand for redistribution of provinces on the linguistic basis is raised, it is attributed to provincialism But those who lay the charge of provincialism are the persons who are endowed with the administrative power and who themselves having thus got opportunities to be in power, indulge in provincialism Our provincial Government is destroying the language of the people of the regions which speak the tongue other than Hindi in order to foist Hindi on them so that those regions may not go out of the boundaries of the State on the question of redistribution on the linguistic basis It itself is thus indulging in provincialism.

It is said that the provinces of Bihar and Bengal should settle amongst themselves the problem of the linguistic question concerning Manbhum and such other places I do not understand how the question may be settled by the complainant and the accused In the matter of Kashmir, the U N O asks Pakistan and Hindustan to settle amongst themselves But the Prime Minister of India says that it is not possible the people of Kashmir would themselves decide their own matter Yet the Government of India is saying like the U N O 'Let this problem of Manbhum be decided by Bengal and Bihar themselves" Like the demand of the Prime Minister regarding Kashmir, we are also demanding that the people of Manbhum be given the right to decide their own future Though our Lok Sevak Sangha had its own decision regarding the principle of the formation of the provinces on linguistic basis It has left the matter to the people of Manbhum for their own decision

The situation of Manbhum is today like that of Pakistan As oppressions are being committed on the Hindus in Pakistan, similarly the Government of Bihar are behaving invidiously towards the Bengali speaking people of Manbhum and are oppressing them like Pakistan It is imperative to settle this issue soon Inquiry should be made to see if the Government of Bihar is discharging its responsibility of administration in Manbhum properly or not When the Government is indulging in provincialism and committing oppressions on the language issue, the administration of Manbhum should be taken from the hands of the Government till the issue of language be settled The Bihar Government has so oppressed the people of Manbhum, that we, the people of Manbhum, are ready to live under any other administration in India, but not under the administration of the Bihar Government, we want to be relieved from it

Note Of the various political parties, which took part in the last elections, my information is that the Lok Sevak Sangh of Manbhum led by Shri Atul Chandra Ghosh was one of the cleanest in its methods Out of 11 or 12 seats, it captured 7 in the Bihar Assembly and 2 in the House of the People and it did this by its shear popularity among the people without any large funds I have known Atul Babu personally for a long time There is no narrow provincialism in him The trouble in the Manbhum is to a very large measure due to the narrow outlook and high-handed methods of the Bihar Government If Bihar wants to retain Manbhum within its boundaries, it must stoop to conquer the Bengali-speaking population of that district by love and just dealing In most of the problems relating to border regions, the impression left on my mind is that the Central Government and the Working Committee have adopted the policy of yielding to the bully among them, or of trying to shelve the question as long as possible. This weakness is bound to injure their reputation

6-8-'52 K. G. M

MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION FOR HIGHER EDUCATION

[The following is taken from the Convocation Address of the Gujarat University Ahmedabad, (21-8-52) by its Chancellor Shri G S Rajpal the Governor of Bombay]

Modern Ahmedabad, as a busy and expanding hive of industry, might be relatively young But its past is long and rich ahki in the pageantry of history and in human achievement That an earlier page in its chapter of fame was written in the Muslim period of India's history detracts in no way from the contribution that its people and the people of Gujarat made to its renown Their shrewdness and foresight in business, their tenacity of purpose fortified by caution, their artistic imagination and skill all held in unison and inspired by a pride in whatever was distinctive in local colour, culture and achievement made this city what it was, what it is and what it will be

Viewed against this historical and psychological background, the establishment of a University of Gujarat was no manifestation of a spirit of narrow regionalism For the same reason, the recent decision of the University to make Gujarati the medium of instruction for graduate classes is no startling innovation, a manifestation of mere parochialism and vanity Although I am ignorant of the language, I know that Gujarati literature is rich and vital and Gujarati, as a language, an instrument of elegant and powerful expression, vivid and subtle and moving in its capacity to depict respectively, scene and mood and emotion To neglect such a language or assign to it a secondary place in any scheme of education in Gujarat, and at any stage of it, would be a gross injustice to Gujarat and evidence of lack of faith in the future of Indian nationalism which drawa its strength from an over-all unity of national purposes as much as from the diversity of its component cultures.

But the impact of Science on language has created a new problem the humanities, which comprehensively describe literature philosophy and art have national or even regional characteristics which evolve best in their native media That beauty is both the test of their quality and a common bond among them, irrespective of the language in which they may be clothed, permits of profound differences of vocabulary and structure But science is universal in a different sense from beauty in its theoretical as well as practical aspects, while laws and principles may be common, the need for a ready understanding among workers in the same branch of science makes a common currency of certain terms an essential of progress I believe that an ingenious and scholarly attempt is being made to derive, from Sanskrit, equivalents of modern scientific terms If this be successful, it will be simple for us in India to adopt them into every regional language

But science is something more than a collection of unusual words. Its content, and the rapid

[illegible] — the number of serious scientific articles published almost monthly in large numbers is evidence of this growth — necessitate both for higher scientific studies and for scientific research capacity to read this literature in more than one language. German English and French are part of the equipment of most advanced scientific students and workers Mathew Arnold called Europe — today he would have included America — a Republic of Letters India has become a member of the new and vigorous Republic of Science mainly through English As languages like Gujarati become media of higher education, naturally the emphasis will be on students acquiring mastery of these languages I have little doubt that, in this University Gujarati will, before long become the medium of post-graduate studies In an article on this University which your Vice-Chancellor has contributed to a popular handbook about Ahmedabad he has described how a person thinks more naturally and creatively in his mother tongue than in a foreign language. As a broad generalization this is true But we must not carry emphasis on this to the point of excluding either the incorporation of foreign terms — capacity for such incorporation or assimilation is proof of the vitality of a language and English is a conspicuous example of assimilative genius — or omitting provision, as on aid to higher studies for teaching some foreign languages, not only English but others as well

NOTES

Sarva Seva Sangh

Arthik Sameta Mandal

The Sarva Seva Sangh has forwarded the following resolution for publication

> As President of the Patamata Conference held on 30th and 31st May 1952 Shri Kumarappa had sent a copy of its resolutions to the Sarva Seva Sangh for consideration. The resolutions asked the Sarva Seva Sangh to call upon the Government to take steps before the appointed date to equitably redistribute land and to fix a ceiling on incomes and in case of Government's failure to do so to resort to non-violent action on the expiry of the stipulated period.
>
> The Sangh reiterates as one of its main objects the establishment of economic equality on the basis of social justice The equitable redistribution of land is indispensable for achieving this object. Shri Vinoba has initiated redistribution of land through non violent technique and the Sangh has by a resolution, undertaken upon itself the responsibility of making it a nation wide movement In accordance with that resolution the Sangh has placed before the country the programme of collecting 25 lakh acres of land during the next five years and it is concentrating all its energies on its fulfilment. In these circumstances the Sangh calls upon the people and all the constructive workers to concentrate their energy on the fulfilment of this programme In the opinion of the Sangh this is the most potent programme for the early realization of economic equality

Sevagram, 24-7-'52 VALLABHSWAMI
(From Hindi) Joint Secretary

Land-Gifts

Upto 10-8-[illegible]

Uttar Pradesh	3,04,370	acres nearly
Other States	35,550	"
Total	3 39 920	acres nearly

D M

BOTH ARE WORSE

Probono Publico from Bombay in his letter to the Editor poses a question which must be answered publicly even though the writer does it without revealing himself At the end of a long letter on drink he asks —

> 'Which is worse — a man who uses alcohol to his own physical benefit and contributes to the State revenue or the man who prepares poison deprives Government of its revenue corrupts the prohibition officers and encourages a new generation of criminals who can afford to spend their time between jails and illicit trade ?"

Evidently the questioner refers to a man who drinks licit liquor and another who takes to illicit drink or the boot-legger I do not subscribe to their description by him However my answer to his queer poser is very simple and it is that both are worse than a man who does not drink and lives a normal life of a good citizen. While the former is to be pitied and rescued from his ill habit in the formation of which the revenue-covetous are guilty, the latter should be brought to book by the co-operative effort of the people and the Government None is good for the normal functioning of a good State in India Again the licit trade in drink by Government must be held equally bad and it should also be stopped if alcohol is a poison which it verily is. The difficulty in men of Probono Publico's way of thinking lies in this that they hold drinking as a normal need to be tolerated, even though it is admittedly a socio-economic evil from which we have to save ourselves Prohibition is not a matter of making men moral by law as is caricatured by these friends It is a socio-economic good which the State cannot but look after Again it is not a measure in losing money but is a sure step for an increase in wealth and happiness of the common man Hence it would be surely criminal for a State to be lured away from this by the easy income from the drink bill of poor and innocent citizens It would be almost as fatal and foolish as killing a goose that lays a golden egg

1-9-'52 M P DESAI

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HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor: K. G. MASHRUWALA

VOL. XVI No. 29 AHMEDABAD—SATURDAY SEPTEMBER 13, 1952 TWO ANNAS

PRIME MINISTER'S CONDOLENCES

[A Telegram to Shri Aryanayakam 9-9-52]

The news of Shri Kishorlal Mashruwala's death this evening comes as a great shock. During all these difficult days he was one of that noble band who was not swept away by passing events but kept true to Gandhiji's message. The country and all of us are the poorer for his passing away and I send you and all our friends and comrades at Sevagram my deepest sympathy and condolences.

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

KISHORLALBHAI

The sad news of the death of Kishorlalbhai will be received with deep sorrow and profound grief by all. That he chose to die in harness regardless of the consequences to his frail body speaks eloquently of the strength of his spirit. We felt anxious about the recent deterioration in his health and had requested him more than once to suspend writing for the *Harijan* until he was well enough to resume it, but he felt that it was the breath of his nostrils and he could not live without it. We had very reluctantly to respect his wishes.

KISHORLALBHAI
Birth: 6-10-1890 Death: 9-9-1952

He was essentially a man of greater reflection than action and yet he was a *dnyanyogi* and *karmayogi* too. He was a consummate rationalist and the rectitude of his thoughts and feelings was remarkable. He had imbibed in him the quintessence of ancient Indian philosophical thought and action and strove constantly to shape and evolve a pattern of thought and behaviour worthy of a brave new world based on the teachings and ideals of Gandhiji, with whom he was very closely associated since 1917. He was an ardent seeker after Truth and had abundant faith in God's mercy which enabled him to bear success and failure, joy and sorrow with serene contentment.

He was gentle in his temperament and simple and abstemious in his habits. He believed in unattached performance of duty. His self-restraint and capacity to suffer were almost superhuman. He gave to life a meaning and significance which makes life on earth a great adventure and does not end with death but persists even beyond. He will be remembered for the nobility of his soul long after the things of mundane life are forgotten. May his soul rest in peace.

MORARJI DESAI

Bombay, 10-9-'52

TO CORRESPONDENTS, CONTRIBUTORS AND OTHERS

The *Harijan* establishment at Wardha will be closed at the end of this month. Hence, all correspondence, contributions etc., relating to public affairs, and all newspapers, periodicals, pamphlets, reports etc. sent to me as Editor of, or in exchange of, *Harijan* papers (all editions) may kindly be addressed hereafter to P. O. Box 105, Ahmedabad.

Wardha 6-9-'52 K. G. MASHRUWALA

ACHARYA *vs* ACHARYA

While Shri Dhirendra Mazumdar regards [illegible] justifiably so the mild demand of Shri Rajaji to reserve *dhotis* and *sarees* for handloom industry as altogether inadequate for the prosperity of villages the Union Commerce Minister, Shri T T Krishnamachari has, according to the correspondent of the *Times of India*, (3rd September, '52), virtually rejected Shri C Rajagopalachari's suggestion to reserve *saree* and *dhoti* production to the handloom industry" The Commerce Minister claims that the Central Government is interested in the progress of the handloom industry but apprehends that it would result in short supplies of *sarees* and *dhotis*" He gives figures to prove that handlooms by themselves would not be able to produce all the *dhotis* and *sarees* which the country needed

In the same speech according to PTI, Shri Krishnamachari said, "that Government looked upon handloom industry as something very important for providing work to the unemployed But the industry had to face certain odds in recent years as handloom weavers thought they could get higher profits and more people turned handloom weavers They made money all the while Now that they find that things had reversed, they blame the Government"

Shri Krishnamachari's logic is rather difficult to understand He regards handloom industry as very important for providing work for the unemployed, provided the unemployed do not take to it when there is scope for it! He forgets that handloom weavers are not produced overnight that if more handloom weavers took to it at a favourable period, it was because they already knew the art but had to give it up for sheer want of favourable circumstances, that during the period they gave it up, they were either unemployed, or employed in an occupation which did not give them adequate returns What does Shri Krishnamachari mean when he says that the handloom weavers" made money all the while"? How long was that "all the while"? Was it at the cost of the mill industry? For a few hundred rupees that the mill-owner allowed the weaver to make, he himself made perhaps lakhs and crores And the handloom weaver supplied the Indian consumer, while the mill-owner planned how to capture the world market after the war If Shri Rajaji's demand is accepted, some thousands more would certainly rejoin that industry and indeed the various rural development workers would be expected to encourage them to do so Since they would be assured of a reserved field, even those who weave cloths other than *dhotis* and *sarees* would begin to weave these and there would be no dearth for *dhotis* and *sarees* as apprehended by the Minister

But this camouflage argument is resorted to, because the Government are afraid to face the combined opposition of the capitalist and factory-labour [illegible] are highly organiz[illegible] although the [illegible] realize that their duty [illegible] or decentralize them as quickly as p[illegible] in the interest of the villages

[illegible] Rajaji's suggestion is a dose of very low potency in that direction The Government should have the courage to face the initial reaction to it And the mill-owners and workers should also read the signs of the times Awakened rural India will not bear this process of being bled white

Wardha 4-9-52 K G MASHRUWALA

CONTROL THE MILLS

(By Dhirendra Mazumdar)

In 1946 when the National Government was formed Gandhiji pressed for control over mills as a first step towards national reconstruction It was clear to him that if the millions of this country were to be given employment mills would have to be progressively closed down and replaced by *charkha* and village industries But the leadership then refused to consider, much less concede, this demand It was obsessed with the splendour of the West Its heart was set on leading India along the road the West had gone It little thought that what the modern West had achieved was of doubtful value Naturally, therefore, it thought it fit to ignore Gandhiji as a practical proposition The leadership thought that it was enough if Gandhiji was given a place in history and dismissed

Six years have gone by Unemployment is increasing at a terrific pace Our leaders are puzzled But their obstinacy prevents them from heeding even now the advice Gandhiji gave in 1946 It is gratifying, however, to find that some people are at last reacting to the compulsion of circumstances and have started talking of *charkha* and village industries But although they talk of these they little realize that *charkha* and village industries can thrive only at the cost of mills. Both cannot exist simultaneously This is inevitable, and is the only correct position to take But somehow they choose to shut their eyes against reality The result is that they fail to see light No wonder then, that they are led to the position that it is not the business of the State to provide employment to all

Of late Rajaji has forcefully reacted to the tragedy that obtains in Madras He has recognized the force of circumstances He has come to the conclusion that handloom must be protected against mills to the extent that the manufacture of *dhotis* and *sarees* should be entrusted exclusively to the handloom. No more should the textile mill compete with the handloom in the manufacture of these varieties This development in Rajaji's outlook is a happy augury. Rajaji clearly feels that no village industry can be saved unless it is protected against the ruinous competition of the corresponding mill But unfortunately Rajaji's thinking is confined but to a narrow compass He is not looking beyond Madras. The

fact is that in Madras the number of *dhoti* and *saree* weavers is so large that no government much less a democratic government, can afford to ignore them for long

Rajaji's is not an ordinary position among the front rank official leaders of the Congress today The Government of India for a time may ignore Sarvodaya workers including Vinobaji, but it can ill afford to ignore Rajaji Our appeal to Rajaji is that he should go a step further and consider whether centralized industrialization can solve the problem of unemployment in this country If he comes to the conclusion that centralized production and employment to all cannot go together and that village industries are essential, then he must know that no village industry can survive by mere words of sympathy or by casual financial aid Among the vast population of India, are weavers the only people who are unemployed? Have our mills not rendered workless and breadless the millions of our spinners paddy-thrashers and *ghani*-men? What does Rajaji propose to do for them? True that the weavers of Madras are organized and vocal, whereas the others lack organized strength to voice strongly enough to disturb the Government But is it for this reason alone that Rajaji will not look at the problem from the basic national angle and will be content to look at it from the mere official angle? We do hope he will not do so

We have no doubt that if Rajaji gives earnest thought to the problem of unemployment in the country as a whole he will arrive at the same conclusion which Gandhiji reached years ago and then he cannot but tell the Government of India that it must reserve the production of food and cloth exclusively for village industries, and slowly squeeze out the mills operating in this sphere Decentralization of the processes of food and cloth production is the only solution Rajaji must know that even if the Government of India accepts his suggestion and put an embargo upon mill production of *dhotis* and *sarees* his object will not be achieved For, in the event of mill-made *dhotis* and *sarees* not being available, the hard-pressed customer will not go in for more expensive handloom *dhotis* and *sarees* rather, he will purchase plain calico, or some printed variety of requisite width and use it as substitutes and the poor weaver will remain where he is today, workless and breadless

Let us face the basic realities of the situation We hope Rajaji will do so If millions are to get bread mills will have to be controlled There is no escape from this

DRINK, DRUGS & GAMBLING

By Mahatma Gandhi

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STRANGE ARGUMEMTS

(By Vinoba)

[After my note *Acharya vs Acharya* was written I received a report of Shri Vinoba's speech made at Bhiwani on the 3rd September I summarize it below —K G M]

Before setting about to plan for villages Shri Vinoba suggested, the Planning Commission office should be shifted to a hut in a village and the members of the Planning Commission should take to village industries for four hours per day, and devote the rest of their time to planning Then alone their plans would become worthy of consideration

Shri Vinoba examined Shri T T Krishnamachari's arguments one by one First, the Commerce Minister had said that the mills produced 170 crore yards, against which that of the handloom weavers was negligible The question was not how much the latter produced, but what they were capable of producing if given an opportunity There were already 25 lakh trained weavers in the country Even if they produced no more than 4 yards per day per weaver, 170 crore yards could be produced in 170 days

Shri Krishnamachari's second argument was that it was not easy to give protection to handloom industry, which was on sick-bed. The other industry could not be killed to save this patient Shri Vinoba said, it was plain that Shri Krishnamachari was not prepared to give protection to a cottage industry against a rival large-scale industry

And yet, Shri Krishnamachari had advanced as his third argument that the Government was going to do something for cottage industries. What was it Vinoba asked Giving a subsidy here and there? Can it help?

Shri Krishnamachari's fourth argument was that, it was no use insisting on the survival of uneconomic occupations They should be provided with other occupations which the society needed This was Vinoba said a strange argument indeed He wanted to snatch away from the villagers' hands their main occupation capable of satisfying one of the most essential daily needs of the people, though he had nothing ready in his hands to provide them with in its place All he had was talk of providing new occupations Vinoba asked him to do so before depriving them of what they had

Incidentally Vinoba remarked, the Congress was no doubt fond of Gandhiji, but most of the Congress leaders were enamoured of Western economics Economics Vinoba said, was not a science like that of Mathematics Rajaji also understood economics quite well, but a shrewd statesman that he was, he first started with decontrol, and then he had taken up the cause of the weavers who formed the largest section of the people in South India He could have demanded that all weaving in mills should be stopped, but he made only the least demand, which, too is being rejected

PERTINENT MESSAGES

(By M K Gandhi)

To Socialists

"Socialists have been visiting me for the last two days I have been telling them the same thing namely, that if they wanted to bring Socialism in India, they should forget personal animosities I ask them to take to physical labour, to develop their moral character by closely examining their personal, private and public life Socialism will not come by arm-chair discussions or platform speeches, but by examining every moment of their wakeful life Your aim should always be clear and perfect, and if in attaining it, you do not observe truth and non-violence in every minutest detail the Socialism that you desire to bring will dash to pieces and not a trace will be left of your existence, like a body falling from the top of a mountain into the valley below This applies equally to the Congress If Congressmen or Socialists do not follow the high principles which their fine designations connote there will be a revolution in the country, opening the gates to Communism I shall not live to see that tragedy, but I caution you to develop your activities carefully and guard so that posterity might not pour curses on you"

(From Manubehn Gandhi's Diary of 7-5-47 as published in *Bhavnagar Samachar* 16-8-52)

"Replying to a French friend, Gandhiji said he felt that a socialist State was bound to come into being in India. He hoped that Indian Socialism would not be an arm-chair but a practical, Socialism The goal must be clear and perfect or else they would be sailing on an uncharted sea and might founder He himself naturally clung to the hope that future society in India would be built on non-violence And only in that case would Socialism become a permanent way of life." (*Harijan*, 18-5-'47)

To Non-Europeans of South Africa

"Sheth Cachhalia, Honorary Secretary of the Transvaal Indian Congress, cabled for a message on the rally which was to take place in Johannesburg of all the non-European races in the Union of South Africa on the question of racial disabilities in the Union The question is most intricate and almost baffling It is intricate enough when confined only to the Indian disabilities but the inclusion of all the races while logically correct is fraught with grave danger if the struggle is not kept at the highest level and is not firmly based on truth and non-violence I want to warn the organizers of the rally against rhetorical display or raising idle hopes and to advise them to carry on their demonstration with dignity and restraint Let no one doubt that the salvation of all the exploited people of the earth and, therefore of the world lies in the strictest reliance on the coin on whose one face is written truth and the other non-violence in large letters Sixty years of experience has taught me no other method" (*Harijan* 18-5-'47)

"Field Marshal Smuts is a trustee for Western civilization. I still cling to the hope that he will not sustain it on the suppression of Asiatics and Africans. South Africa should present a blend of the three

To the people of South Africa, to whom I am no stranger I would say that they should not make the position of their representatives impossible by their unwarranted prejudice against colour The future is surely not with the so-called White races if they keep themselves in purdah The attitude of unreason will mean a third war which sane people should avoid Political co-operation among all the exploited races in South Africa can only result in mutual goodwill, if it is wisely directed and based on truth and non-violence

I have no doubt that those South African Indians who seek to create a division will do harm to themselves and to the great cause of liberty for which the movement of Satyagraha has stood and must stand

To the Satyagrahis I would advise strict adherence to the fundamentals of Satyagraha which literally means force of truth and this is for ever invincible It is a good sign that they have a progressive European group solidly behind them The Satyagrahis of South Africa should know that they have India at their back in their struggle for preserving the self respect of the Indians in South Africa" (*Harijan* 25-5 47)

On Craze for Machinery

An English lady, in a two minute interview with Gandhiji asked

'Europe is at present caught in the maelstrom of machinery Don't you think that India will go the same way? Wherever I go I hear plans of industrialization"

Bapuji You are right The Western wind is blowing hard here at present It will not be wrong to say that at present I am the only believer in village industries There are of course a few colleagues in the Sevagram Ashram who are engaged in experimenting on village industries But they are not even a drop in the ocean a hundred or a thousand among four hundred millions may well be regarded negligible Nevertheless I make bold to assert that India does not need these mills and machinery in the way Europe does and she can save herself from their onslaught if she wills But it is not easy to resist their fascination

(From Manubehn Gandhi's Diary of 6-5-'47 as published in *Bhavnagar Samachar* 9-8-52)

Message to Public Servants

On 8-5-'47 Bapu passed through Patna on his way to Calcutta from New Delhi At Patna the

Bihar Ministers [illegible] to the station to pay their respects to him

The ministers were busy talking with Bapu. The time for starting the train was due The station master nervously entered Bapu's carriage and meekly told him that it was time for the departure of the train, but if Bapu desired he would delay the departure for as many minutes as Bapu wished Before anyone else could speak, Bapu said

"I do not blame you for consulting my convenience instead of duly discharging your right duty The fault lies in the training given to you Why should you ascertain my convenience in particular ? Do you visit every carriage to ascertain if any passenger wants the train to be detained ? If not, you should not have come to me also I am not your superior officer Of course these ministers are in a way But they have not come to see me in their capacity as ministers but as my friends or, better still, as members of my family If they had not come, I could not have taken them to task But as we are colleagues working together for many years it is natural for them to come and meet me here But so must have the friends of many other passengers on this train Please therefore, follow your timetable and whistle off the train at the right moment You should do so, even if the President or the Prime Minister were travelling, unless you had due previous instructions from your superiors to follow a different schedule of timing

"Let this be a lesson to you and the ministers also You need not get nervous at the sight of ministers They are servants of the people Hence you should be rather fearless And ministers also should treat their subordinates as younger brothers and not as servants That is the way for happiness and to taste the blessing of democracy

"Henceforth make no exception for me, but apply the same rules to me as you apply to other passengers I confess that I do enjoy some exceptional privileges in travelling For example, a separate compartment is reserved for me and my two companions This would not be done for all But I accept it as there is no alternative Otherwise everyone would try to enter my compartment Hence I continue to accept this special favour originally provided to me by the British Government

"I have not said all this to censure your conduct and please do not take ill This was an occasion for us all to take a lesson from and if I did not express myself how would you know my mind ? (Speaking in a jovial mood) You know I am a teacher after all and if I see a mistake, I cannot resist the temptation of correcting it

"Now I have given you a few minutes and you can unhesitatingly start the train right off I appreciate your kindness and courtesy, but I could not help saying this thing"

The Station master humbly bowed to Bapu He was too pleased to hear Bapu's admonition, and with a cheer on his face he exclaimed (to the hearing of the crowd)

"How generous and humble Bapu is ! If there were only one such strict discipline-minded officer in every department how greatly would it affect the training, straightforwardness and fearlessness of the servants ? Then we would feel the love for our land and look upon our ministers and officers not as our superiors but as our elder brothers But it is my experience and that of many others too, that if personal comforts of our superior officers are not attended to our careers are ruined Therefore it has become a habit with us much as we do not like it, to attend to their personal comforts This is the first incident I have known of fearlessness and insistence on strict discipline during 45 years of my life Is there any wonder that Gandhiji is called the Father of the Nation ?"

For a little while a complete silence prevailed It was characteristic of Bapu to lose no opportunity of giving a lesson to those who conduct the nation's affairs, and the presence of both ministers and officers was a proper occasion to do it.

(From Manubehn Gandhi's Diary of 8-5-47 as published in *Bhavnagar Samachar* 23-8-52)

ON PROHIBITION IN SOUTH AFRICA

(By M K Gandhi)

(As is well known Gandhiji was strongly opposed to [illegible] discriminatory law [illegible] in South Africa and he put up a relentless fight against them But the following letter written by him from the Pretoria Jail in April 1909 to the President of the Liquor Committee shows when Gandhiji made exception to this, and supported even a discriminatory law as it was definitely beneficial to both the disenfranchised and the ruling communities The letter appeared in the *Indian Opinion* of 10th April 1909 under the caption *Indians and Alcohol*—C K. Gandhi.)

I have seen your letter addressed to the British Indian Association regarding its evidence to be submitted to the Commission I have not been able, my movements having been uncertain to submit my statement earlier, nor has it been possible to call a meeting of the Association to consider the evidence to be given The Chairman and the Acting Chairman of the Association are in gaol The statement therefore I am about to submit represents my personal view only

I have been in South Africa now for the last fifteen years and having almost throughout that period been officially connected with Indian public bodies I have come in contact with all classes of Indians. Since 1903 I have been practising as an attorney in Johannesburg and have held the office of the Honorary Secretary of the British Indian Association

The Transvaal has a population of not more than 13 000 adult male Indians Indians actually resident in the colony since the war have probably never been more than 5,000 in the colony

These are chiefly Mohammedans and Hindus. For the purposes hereof I do not consider the Christians and the Parsis as they form though an important — a numerically small section of the Indian community

Both Mohammedans and Hindus are prohibited by their religions from taking intoxicating liquors The Mohammedan section has very largely conformed to the prohibition The Hindu section I am sorry to say, contains an appreciable number who, in this colony, have disregarded the prohibition of religion

The method adopted by Indians who indulge in alcoholic drinks is generally to secure the assistance of some unscrupulous Whites There are other methods also which I do not care to go into

I am of opinion that the legal prohibition should continue I think however that the prohibition has not succeeded in preventing Indians who have wanted it, from obtaining liquor The only use I see in continuing the prohibition is to let those of my countrymen who indulge in it, retain the sense of shame they have in drinking liquor They know that it is wrong for them both in religion and in law to obtain and drink liquor This enables the temperance workers to appeal to their law-abiding sentiment I draw a fundamental distinction between wrongful law-breaking and a conscientious breach of man-made law in obedience to a higher law Happily those Indians who break the liquor law know that it is wrong for them to do so

I am aware that some of my countrymen — themselves ardent temperance men — see in the liquor legislation one more disqualification based on the ground of colour Superficially speaking they would be right But I believe that this legislation has little to do with colour It is, in my opinion, a recognition on the part of the predominant race that the drink habit is an evil, which while they themselves are yet unable to get rid of, they do not want other races to contract. Viewing the position in this manner, I believe liquor prohibition among the Asiatic and Coloured races to be the forerunner of general prohibition

Whether however, general prohibition becomes an accomplished fact or not so long as the predominant race continue to indulge in alcoholic drinks be it *never* (ever ?) so moderately, partial prohibition such as we now have cannot be of much practical use This, it is submitted, is a forcible illustration of one of the evil incidents of contact between the Europeans and other races And unless those who preach abstinence are themselves ready to practise it all liquor legislation must largely be a makeshift I wish the Commission would see their way to point out to the electors of the Transvaal what a serious responsibility rests on their shoulders. They make it impossible for their representative to pass legislation that is so desirable It is they who must take the responsibility for the breaking up of many a home. I am writing under a full sense of my own responsibility I know only too well how many Indian youths who never knew the taste of spirituous liquors have succumbed after having come to South Africa or the Transvaal

If the Commission desire me to answer any question, I shall be pleased to do so

(*Note* The letter is a typical example of Gandhiji's original and clear thinking

1 Engaged as he was in fight against discriminatory laws, he did not indiscriminately resist every law If the law was in accordance with a moral principle and in the interest of the community concerned, he welcomed it and would not break it even in a civil resistance campaign

2 The Whites have pleaded that they did not want coloured races with them in order to protect their civilization from contamination.

Gandhiji showed that total abstention from drink, which the Hindu and the Muslim religions enjoined upon their followers was a great principle which even the White races and followers of other religions might accept with advantage to themselves The Whites moreover, as the ruling community had a duty to do so since Hindus and Muslims of South Africa, who were free from these vices were contracting them from their rulers.

3 All in the European culture is not gold, and in the Indian culture dirt and dust Hence, the prohibition law even for Indians alone, being essentially good, should be retained, as some day it may be expected to be extended to the Whites also. Even though unsuccessful, it was useful as a constant reminder to the breaker that he was going against both law and his own religion That he cannot own and do it openly is a restraint in itself

4 So long as those who run the administration are given to drink, prohibition laws will most probably fail Nearer home, this means that it is essential that every public servant and legislator must be entirely free from drink habit, if prohibition is to be made a success — K G M)

Errata

In the article "*The Subject of Fertilizers II*" (*Harijan*, 30-8-'52) for item No 11 please read the following

Sewage Irrigation for Sandy Soil

Dr Pillai and others (Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore) observed that "on the basis of nitrogen content the sewage of the major Indian cities was equivalent to 1 70 000 tons of ammonium sulphate or 35,00,000 tons of farm yard manure per annum Experiments of the authors had shown that the type of soil most suited to *sewage irrigation* was *sandy soil* Sewage grown vegetables were variously infected with bacteria . However, fodder and forage crops were ideally suited

HE DIED IN HARNESS

Just when this issue is almost ready to be sent for the press the local news Agency phones to say that Shri Kishorlal Mashruwala, the editor of this paper, breathed his last at Wardha at 5-45 p m The grief at hearing this sudden and very sad news is too much for me to pen any lines about the great soul that departed from our midst yesterday However, as there is some time for the issue to be printed, I must write a few lines even to share with the readers the grief of this sudden bereavement

Shri Mashruwala was 62 when he died Those who knew him know how delicate he was in his health He had asthma for about 40 years last He lived a life of friendship and charity to all, he, as if, befriended this his illness as well, which had been his constant companion for almost the whole of his life He bore with it and fought against it heroically In spite of this illness he led a life full of action which was to him a call of *Dharma* He guided and conducted various institutions established by Gandhiji, he joined all the fights for freedom and courted jail in the national cause, all through his arduous life he devoted himself to various constructive activities, and he wrote so many books on philosophy religion, education, social reform, etc full of original thinking He in his writings interpreted Gandhiji in a manner that evoked attention and admiration even from the Master On the day of his demise at 5 p m he finished an article for the *Harijan* and was just resting when he felt some uneasiness and within a short time he fell down And that was the last of him

For the last few months he was asking to be relieved of the burden of the editorship of the *Harijan* papers so that he might quietly retire for the rest of his time on earth, whatever was left for him. The Navajivan Trust decided that he should be relieved as soon as possible and wrote to him a week ago that he could retire any day he chose In a letter received only two days back he wrote to the Manager saying that he proposed to be free by the end of this month, and he gave detailed instructions to the Manager regarding necessary desposals in his office and the staff

Who should take charge of the papers after him was being discussed with him by the Navajivan Trust A proposal was mooted that I should be given the charge. In reply I was saying both to the Trust and to Kishorlalbhai that the burden was too great for me In one of his letters to me he said in reply, in words of the Gujarati poet Narmad, that if it came to it I should take courage to shoulder the burden.

"दाहोल सरीन बधो कलेह ते आगे।"

And when he learnt that the Navajivan Trust, after thoroughly going into the matter, came to decide that I should be asked to take charge, he wrote in his reply which reached the Manager on 5-9-'52, "You have decided well May Maganbhai succeed in his work" These blessings from him [illegible] dear precious urize for me they will be [illegible] of strength and inspiration in my new work

At this moment when I am called upon to take up the work of editing the great *Harijan* papers of Bapu, I am reminded of the following famous lines of the great poet Kalidas,

क्व सूर्यप्रभवो वंश
क्व चाल्पविषया मति ।

What a small man I am for this great venture! But I am not speaking here about my new duty and well may I leave it at that with a request for the blessings of the elders and for constant help and co-operation of all friends and co-workers as also numerous readers of this paper

As I said above, Kishorlalbhai was preparing to retire from the editorship To that end he sent an announcement to "Correspondents Contributors and Others" which the reader will find in this issue When this is out, not even he had imagined that he would be retiring but quite in another manner To him old age, disease or death were no terror a great philosopher and seeker of Truth as he was, he had grown to be above these matters of human sorrow and misery In him we have lost a great and original thinker and an ideal good man of God The whole of Gujarat and the vast family of the servants of the people which Gandhiji built up in our land mourn him as having lost one of their own kith and kin May God give courage to Shrimati Gomatibehn Mashruwala to bear this her great bereavement May she be consoled at the thought that we all share her grief May the pious and devoted life of Shri Kishorlalbhai be our constant light and inspiration. Such never die,

10-9-'52 MAGANBHAI DESAI

(From the original in Gujarati)

GOD'S HEMLOCK

(By V G Deshmukh)

Out of a turbulent sea,
Tempestuous, rash
Gods churned out
Alas! a deadly poison!
It was pink and dreary wine,
Creator's worst genius at play!
Red with the blood
Of battered heads,
Pink with the blood-shot eyes
Of weeping wives,
Snatching the rose
From children's cheeks,
Devil's tears collected,
Or is it the sahva
Of concentrated, dark
Slithering deadly snakes
From the nether world?

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COMMUNITY PROJECTS

[illegible] and devoted reader of *Harijan* [illegible] that for the benefit of readers I should [illegible] the publication of articles on "Com[illegible] Projects in India" by Shriyuts Kaka [illegible] Kripalani, Kumarappa Brothers, Nirmal Kumar Bose Pyarelalji, S N Agarwal, Shankarrao Deo and others including myself

The subject is undoubtedly important and the desire of the writer to know the views of the eminent writers named and unnamed is understandable But I regret that the publication of so many articles in *Harijan* whether in a special issue or one after another is itself a difficult project Most of them have already published their views in various papers An enterprising publisher can usefully collect them and publish them in a book-form or the editor of some magazine may take up the correspondent's suggestion and bring out a special issue inviting these and others to write afresh on this subject

As for my own views, I must confess I have not a clear mind yet I have not visited and am unable to visit and examine personally any of the centres that have been started already Indeed I have been contemplating an early retirement from public life and am preparing myself for that Among those who have visited the Etawah and other projects range from warm admirers at one end to bitter condemners at the other, and I do not know whom I should accept The draft outline does not raise before my unimaginative hrain a clear idea of what is going to turn out in execution For the present it looks like what used to be said of the Chinese engineers, who having been asked to bore a tunnel through a mountain began to do so from both the ends, but having miscalculated ended in boring two tunnels instead of one! Since many more sets of engineers than the Chinese could employ are anxious to undertake boring tunnels through the mountain ranges of our society it is quite possible that if all are able to persevere till the end, we might have a hundred tunnels instead of only two!

Though this remark might appear satirical, let not the reader imagine that I speak in despondency or disgust I regard this, apparently a chaotic state of ideas, an inevitable stage in our development Provided we all work selflessly with the sincere desire to make our people happy and prosperous and advanced spiritually as well as temporally, we shall ultimately come through right even if bungling and tumbling Ours being the homeland of *rishis* and *munis*, we — their descendents — cannot but have a multitude of theories and opinions. We must take ourselves as we are and strive according to our nature and hope for the best

It seems I can render better service by not offering to be one more tunnel-borer, but may simply watch [illegible] are doing offering a helpful suggestion [illegible] here and there if possible or else keep [illegible] except where a moral or basic principle is involved Accordingly, let me offer a suggestion about the name "Community Project" I have received a complaint resenting the unnecessary introduction of this foreign name to a plan meant for India's villages It is by itself suggestive of the inference that the whole idea is taken from U S, as if Indians had never thought of the planned reconstruction of India's villages A part of the mistrust against this scheme is no doubt due to this foreign nomenclature Instead of popularizing an Indian word and introducing it in the English language, why should new English words, which are not even technical terms of science be sought to be put into Indian languages? What is sought to be achieved through the Community Projects is the planned reconstruction of India's political, social and economic life by organizing groups of villages It is an extension of Gandhiji's idea of *Samagra Seva* in the Constructive programme A name like *Gram-kalyan* (ग्राम कल्याण) or *Dehati Navajivan* (देहाती नवजीवन) or *Firka Vikas* (फिरका विकास) *Karyakram* (कार्यक्रम) might have made the people look upon and examine the projects with a different mental attitude Due respect should be paid to the new awareness of independence and sense of self-respect and self-consciousness of the people

Wardha, 1-9-'52 K G MASHRUWALA

Leprosy Organizers' Course

Due to unavoidable circumstances, the Second Leprosy Organizers Course will start from *the 1st of November 1952* instead of 2nd October, 1952, as previously announced

P O Nalwadi, M B DIWAN
Wardha (M P) Secretary
Maharogi Seva Mandal

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A Plea for Robust Self-Reliance

Reg No B3092

HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor MAGANBHAI P. DESAI

VOL XVI No 30 AHMEDABAD — SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 20 1952 TWO ANNAS

OUR GRATITUDE

We have been receiving letters and telegrams from relations, friends workers and institutions from all over the country expressing their sympathy and condolence in our bereavement It is almost impossible to acknowledge individually each letter or message We are therefore constrained to express our gratitude to them all through the newspaper columns The feeling that our grief is widely shared by so many will lighten our sorrow and give us courage and strength to bear it We realize it is difficult to be consoled but we must bow to God's will May God give us all strength to bear the sorrow with fortitude and inspire us to work with greater zeal for Bapu's ideals to which the late Shri Mashruwala had dedicated himself

GOMTIBEHN MASHRUWALA
(Mrs K G M.)
NILKANTH MASHRUWALA
(K G M's Nephew)
KANTILAL MASHRUWALA
(K G M's Nephew)

A GOOD CAUSE NEVER DIES

A good cause never dies If we have faith in the worthiness of our cause, we must refuse to feel downhearted because God has chosen to put our faith to the test by gathering Kishorialbhai into His bosom It speaks volumes for the courage and devotion to the cause of Shri Maganbhai Desai that inspite of his preoccupation with other duties he has agreed to step into the breach and take up the editorial responsibility of the *Harijan* weekliee We can only wish and pray for all strength to his elbow and strive to do our bit by offering him our wholehearted and unreserved co-operation It was a great dream — the dream of realizing the pattern of non-violent society in India and thereby point the way to the world which Gandhiji dreamt and has left with us to realize It is too great a dream for any individual's unintegrated will or effort. It calls for collective sacrifice on the part of all who share that dream Let the puny self therefore perish so that the dream might live

Valmiki Mandir, PYARELAL
New Delhi, 15-9-'52

CLOTH-MILL *vs* HANDLOOM

[The following report of a Press Conference addressed by Shri Rajaji on September 8 at Madras is taken from the *Hindu*, Madras, of 9-9-52.]

"The question of reservation of the manufacture of *dhotis* and *sarees* to the handloom industry is not a question of yardage, but of human families whose care is the obligation of the State Government and therefore, of the Central Government ', stated Mr C Rajagopalachari at his Press Conference today reiterating the justice of the stand taken by the Madras Government in this matter

"My demand on behalf of the handloom weavers that *dhotis* and *sarees* should be entirely reserved for this cottage industry" the Chief Minister said, ' has been opposed publicly by the Minister for Commerce and Industry, Government of India, during his short stay in Madras This opposition is welcomed by the mill-owners of Bombay and Ahmedabad and the piecegoods merchants here Some persons have been much concerned over the personal aspect of the matter. It is not necessary for anyone to come to our assistance in maintaining our mutual goodwill and friendship Mr Krishnamachari has said enough about it

Only Sound Solution

"We are entitled each to defend our policies. I am convinced that this reservation, as I have proposed, is the only proper just and economically sound solution for the conflict that has risen between the unprotected handloom industry and the long-protected mill industry We are concerned not with private feelings but with the merits of the handloom cottage industry and its present position arising out of its dependence for yarn on the mill industry and the competition of the mills in a field which was entirely the monopoly of the Indian handloom all through the ages up till recently The mills have plenty of scope to produce cloth that could be tailored and could be used otherwise *Dhotis* and *sarees* are peculiarly Indian and could give adequate employment to the five million people engaged in the handloom industry. The total number of people engaged in the weaving section of all the mills in India would be much less than one lakh of workers Actually, it has been calculated that they would be only 60 000 The number of men, women, and children depending on the handloom in Madras State alone

is, I think, five millions The question is not a question of yardage but of human families whose care is the obligation of the State Government and therefore of the Central Government also

A Practicable Compromise

"I am afraid the Union Minister made some error in his statistics, but nothing much hangs on that argument You may take it that the mill production is round about 4,000 million yards per annum The handloom production may be taken to be round about 2 000 million yards per year most of which are *dhotis* and *sarees*, whereas mill production of *dhotis* and *sarees* has not been even upto 50 per cent of total output *Dhotis* and *sarees* have been a good field for exploitation for mills only in recent times I would call it pilfering of pattern from the handloom, to which the mills are not entitled Considering the under-employment prevailing among millions of handloom weaving families who cannot switch over to any other employment such as a handful of people in England or Scotland could manage to do it is really ridiculous to talk of the handloom weavers of India going over to other occupations It really amounts to a policy of allowing one million families in Madras or three times that number all over India to be wiped out of existence This will not happen Human beings do not allow themselves to be wiped out Problems will be created in the meanwhile which Governments will not be able to solve peacefully I wish to avoid this and have suggested a fair and practicable compromise which could be smoothly worked.

Industry Cannot Be Allowed to Die

"We cannot allow the handloom industry to languish and die That is the equivalent of the policy underlying certain statements made on this subject. It is absurd to go abroad for marketing the handloom cloth instead of providing for handloom weavers what is due in their own country within whose social conditions and tastes and manners, their avocation has grown. It has been stated that there will be a cloth famine if *dhotis* and *sarees* are reserved for handloom cottage weavers This is a groundless apprehension A few months ago the Handloom Weavers Society in Madras had Rs 4 crores worth of *dhotis* and *sarees* on hand which they could not dispose of and which they wanted the Government to buy Does this indicate a cloth famine?

"If any one says that people took to handloom on account of a boom, it would be quite wrong Nobody takes to handloom weaving unless he is to that avocation born No one can learn to weave crores worth of cloth simply by way of speculation It is because he is a weaver by birth and is trained to do it from his early infancy that he weaves cloth. The mills with their machinery and paid labour and their extraordinarily strong organization can produce 4,000 million yards of cloth other than *dhotis* and *sarees*, which can be used up for all requirements against nudity and which can also be exported and easily marketed abroad

A Deepavali Gift to Weavers

The whole of the argument against my proposal arises out of want of imagination I do hope that the Minister at the Centre will make up his mind and induce mill-owners of India to make a Deepavali gift to the handloom weavers this year It will be a memorable step towards peace, stability and prosperity and God will bless it and make it fruitful"

The Chief Minister was asked whether the public could afford to bear the high cost of handloom cloth He replied ' The public and the weavers have a way of adjusting themselves The public cannot bear the starvation of the weavers either"

When he was asked whether it was not a fact that mills reserved a certain percentage of their output to *dhotis* and *sarees* at the request of the Government the Chief Minister said that when the Government asked for that, they could also demand the stopping of production of *dhotis* and *sarees*

Replying to further questions, the Chief Minister said that the Madras Government and the Union Minister had discussed this subject and were entitled to discuss and consider further all its pros and cons Probably the Union Minister allowed himself a little loud thinking when he was put the question by businessmen "There is no question of my replying to Mr Krishnamachari. I was presenting my case again because the public have been disturbed over a trifle Whatever the Government may do or may not do the Government here or at Delhi, let us buy only handloom *dhotis* and *sarees* for the next Deepavali and not any *dhotis* or *sarees* made in mills"

NOTES

"Mahatma"

Four handsome volumes of this biography of Gandhiji by Shriyuts D G Tendulkar and V K Jhaveri have already come out They give an year-to-year account of Gandhiji's public activities, with copious extracts from his writings, speeches etc They also abound in photographs, interesting cartoons, and facsimiles of some of Gandhiji's important writings The writers seem to have for the present restricted themselves to giving a factual narrative without their own comments thereon. Possibly they propose to do so after completing the whole factual life-story

The volumes will be important for students and producers of smaller biographies of Gandhiji, and as a reference book to trace particular subjects Being in the form of a *de luxe* edition only, they are too costly (being Rs 25 per volume) for ordinary workers and small libraries But they should certainly be found in the collections of the rich and in large public libraries I hope they are finding their patronage wherever the English language is spoken and Gandhiji is studied through English. The fourth volume brings Gandhiji's narrative to the end of 1938

Wardha, 1-9-'52 K G M

Uttar Pradesh Land-Gifts

Till the 13th of this month the figure of land-gift in Uttar Pradesh is 3,10 063 acres The number of donors is 11 842 Of the land received 7,590 acres were distributed among the landless.

ATHEISM AND COMMUNAL UNITY

In his book *At Theist with Gandhiji** Shri Gora says:

"Pandit Sundarlal speaking at the marriage function revealed to the guests a particular remark that Bapuji made to him when they both had met at Delhi at the time of the recent communal riots. Bapuji wished the communities turned atheists if that served to stop communal hatred and riots. This remark illustrated again that Bapuji evaluated principles not so much by their intellectual or sentimental content as by their practical results. He was not averse to atheism if it tended to civilize humanity.

A friend felt some doubt about the accuracy of the remark attributed to Gandhiji and desired me to obtain its verification from Pandit Sundarlalji as it was likely the friend said that Shri Gora who does not know Hindi in which the speech could have been made, might have failed to get the correct import of Gandhiji's remark.

I wrote to Pandit Sundarlalji and this is his reply.
—K. G. M.]

I have just received your post-card of 25-8-'52. I do not know what Shri Gora has written in his book. It is not possible to remember what I said in my speech in 1948. But so far as I remember I had a talk with Bapu on this subject only once and it was in Delhi. I have related it to others also on several occasions. I believe in my speech at Sevagram in 1948 I must have repeated the same talk. I produce it below.

It happened in 1924. Bapu was staying at Maulana Muhammadali's. The well-known Delhi Hindu-Muslim riots were just over. And Bapu had gone to Delhi in connection with them. While Bapu was there, distressing news of communal riots at Multan and Kohat also reached him. Bapu was deeply grieved over the news. The conversation I am reproducing below related to the day previous to the one on which he announced his intention to go on a 21 day fast. I am writing the words—mine and Bapu's from memory but to the best of my recollection.

It was afternoon. A young friend of mine from Aligarh had come to meet me. He expressed a wish for Bapu's *darshan*. Bapu was at the moment sitting alone in a long room adjacent to the central hall. The door happened to be closed though not bolted. Accompanied by my friend I opened the door. Bapu turned and looked at me. I saw that he looked very much excited: distress and sorrow was writ large on his face. I felt that it was not proper to go in and disturb him and so shut the door and tried to return. But he called out my name twice or thrice from inside. And though I tried to excuse myself he insisted and called me in. I went with my friend, and we two silently sat down before him. After one or two minutes' silence I again motioned to go out with my friend. Bapu asked: "What brought you? Anything you wanted to ask me?" I said: "This friend of mine from Aligarh desired to pay his respects to you. Now that we have had *darshan* we may go. I have nothing to say in particular."

* Navajivan, Ahmedabad. Price Re 1-0-0. Postage etc. 0-12

And we moved, but Bapu again asked us to sit down. His face still wore the same perturbed and overwrought look. It appeared as though a furnace was smouldering inside his mind. I could see that he was profoundly disturbed over the news from Kohat and Multan. There was another pause of silence and then the following conversation:

I: Do you think you could bring Hindus and Muslims together in this way?

Bapu: I have not followed what you mean.

I: Do you think you could bring Hindus and Muslims together in this way?

Bapu: What are you driving at? I have not understood it.

I: (for the third time) Do you think you could bring Hindus and Muslims together in this way?

Bapu: Oh, now I see what you mean. You are referring to our talk in Juhu—is it not?

I: Yes, that is it.

Bapu: Why ask me? I am prepared to say that it were far better if they all turned atheists. God will not be effaced merely because of their disbelief. But let them first become men. But none listens to me. You are by no means insignificant creature but yet, do you think people will listen to you? Kabir and Nanak did their best to wean them from their ways. But the world goes its own way.

His face showed that his sorrow and excitement were growing. He stopped. Then for two minutes, there was again silence. I did not make a reply. Then I touched his feet and left along with my friend. I remember that when I came out I told both Maulana Muhammadali and Hakimji (i.e. Hakim Ajmal-Khan), "It seems the old man is going to drop a bomb-shell, though I cannot say in what exact manner." I had been stunned, and Maulana Sahib and Hakimji too, were equally stunned with what I told them. Within 24 hours after this, Bapu had announced his 21 day fast.

The talk at Juhu to which Bapu refers in one of his replies above concerned a controversy between me and him. While I held fast to Kabir's teaching that in place of the different sectarian religions there should be one universal religion founded on man's unity, Bapu said that the religions could go on only they should come together on the basis of mutual respect for one another, that is *sarva-dharma-samabhav* (i.e. equal regard for all religions). You know the difference between his views and mine on this subject.

I do not infer from this that Bapu would have welcomed 'Atheism'. But here is what he said. His words and the excited state of his face remain imprinted on my mind to this day. I have narrated the incident on several occasions.

Allahabad, 27-8-'52 SUNDARLAL

HARIJAN

Sept. 20 1952

A PLEA FOR ROBUST SELF-RELIANCE

It may fairly be said that we are now fast entering into an era of our national reconstruction on almost all fronts It is a very welcome sign of the times We may well congratulate ourselves for entering on that phase without any appreciable loss of time It shows the vitality of the inner urge for progress which Gandhiji strove to infuse in us as a people We are on the brink of a second revolution in our country — a social and economic revolution which we badly need and which thanks to Gandhiji, we are so silently but surely led to

With the free Constitution of our land beginning to function this great movement is now on and we have to see that it goes aright and on proper lines In this connection there are portents evil enough to warn us One of this is what may be said the 'Westward Ho' now followed by the Eastward Ho! I refer to the alarming number of our people — students, publicists, and others from various ranks and sections of our people — almost hankering to go to England and America and now to China — to lands outside India, presumably for light and guidance I do not for a moment suggest nor do I believe, that going to foreign countries is bad or not necessary As an old adage says for knowledge one may go to Land's End even What I mean to draw attention to is the pathetic faith with which we run westward and eastward.

The first revolution that we went through was a self-reliant movement under the over-all guidance of Gandhiji Not that we were so arrogant or self-satisfied as not to look to other lands for help or guidance It was always welcome But we knew that ultimately what counted most was what we thought and did ourselves and on our own Going a-begging was altogether out of question We were so occupied with the great task before us — and it was tremendous — that there was no time to spare It was a 'do or die' movement not only for Gandhiji but thanks to that great moral dynamo it became so for our whole people as well It was in those days that Gandhiji refused to be drawn away to Europe and later to America even though invited by its people The memorable words with which he replied the pressing invitation may be well quoted here —

"I frankly confess that when I first tempted myself seriously to entertain a European invitation apart from my keen desire to see M Romain Rolland face to face I had no idea of seeking help for India in her fight for freedom, but I had a desire to deliver the message of non violence Not that I do not need all the help I can get from outside for my country, but I do not believe in a begging expedition for that purpose That aid will come when we deserve it and then it will come without the asking I therefore flattered myself with the belief that if I went to the West I should be able to interpret true non-violence to her by word of mouth But the more I ponder over the thing, the more unworthy I appear to my self to be I need greater preparation and greater self-purification to make me a worthy vehicle for the transmission of the unbroken message of what appears to me to be the only way of reaching Truth which is God For the time being therefore the friends in the West would pardon me for my inability to visit them personally The wish is there capacity is wanting' (*Young India* — January 31 1929)

It was such heroic self-reliance and faith in our strength that moved the great mass of our people and brought us near Swaraj The second revolution which we enter now and which is more serious needs such robust self-reliance even more We must have faith in ourselves — in our great destiny It is educative, almost ennobling It alone can draw out the very best from us Hence the question of questions today is, have we got it? Do we see that what of it we had under Gandhiji's leadership is preserved and consciously fostered? I fear the cry of 'Outward Ho' seems to be gathering pitch and volume creating a sense of vacuum and idle expectancy in us This is dangerous Therefore, the following warning that Shri Louis Fischer uttered to us the other day in Bombay should be taken to heart both by the Government and the people sooner than later

> 'Where a country needs a social revolution and undergoes one it will have no interest in a remote revolution in Russia China or anywhere else India needs such a social revolution — an Indian type of revolution If you do not have such a revolution you will find an interest in a remote revolution, which will have no relation to the mentality psychology and history of India and which will destroy the very essence of India' (*Times of India* — 7-9-52)

May this spirit of self-reliance be with us in our march to real — cent per cent Swaraj, which we are now out to achieve May the spirit of the Father of the Nation be our light unto the path

9-9 '52 MAGANBHAI P DESAI

The Next Issue

We propose to publish the next issue of the *Harijan* as a special issue in memory of Shri Kishorlalbhai I hereby invite all friends and admirers of late Shri K G M to hasten to send their tributes to him in time for the issue of 27th September

12-9-'52 JIVANJI DESAI
Manager

SATYAGRAHA IN DEMOCRACY

A P T I message of 26th July reported that Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant Chief Minister of U P, said that "Satyagraha had no place in a democracy", and that "democracy could function only if there was scope for intellectual conversions through arguments and discussion Satyagraha went against this process and encouraged disrespect for law which would undermine the very foundations of a Democratic State"

I received correspondence asking me how I felt about this I felt that it was an unhappy utterance and prepared a note thereon One of my assistants suggested that before publishing it I should verify if the report was fair to Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant I acted upon it and sent to Pantji a copy of the note I had prepared In the meanwhile, Shri Vinoba also took notice of the report in one of his evening speeches D M's report of the speech is published in another column.

I have now received also Pantji's reply It too is reproduced at another place Both the letter and Vinoba's comments should dispel any doubt on the subject, so far as fundamental principles are concerned The P T I report is rather unhappy, as on account of its being torn from the context, it creates the impression that according to Shri Govind Ballabh Pant Satyagraha has lost its function in a democracy

Let me now give the note which I had prepared Though originally it looked like a criticism of Shri Pant's observation happily it has become a summing up of the principles attaching to the method of resistance called 'Satyagraha irrespective of the form of Government

Satyagraha — insistence on truth — does not depend upon the form of Government It is a moral duty and not a right and hence can never become out of place Even if it needs to take the form of individual or organized non-violent civil resistance of an unjust law or order or of non-co-operation with a general or particular evil or of a resort to fast a *satyagrahi* cannot avoid it even in a democracy If under the high-pressure of power or numerical majority, or riches, the intellect of those who are in a position to redress the grievance has been dulled or their hearts hardened some form of Satyagraha is the only non violent remedy for awakening and sharpening such intellect and for softening the heart, Satyagraha in this sense is a form of direct action As such it has to be taken after attempts of bringing about "conversion through arguments and discussion and other legal remedies have failed It has not to be taken with a light heart and in haste whatever be the form of Government and in a well-governed democracy, there should be few occasions for resorting to it But it cannot be entirely ruled out in a proper case.

Wardha 26-8-'52 K G MASHRUWALA

SATYAGRAHA AND DEMOCRACY

In his post-prayer meeting at Banaras on 5-8-'52 Shri Vinoba commented as follows upon a recent statement of Shri G B Pant, the Chief Minister U P, that Satyagraha had no place in democracy

"When I read the statement, I did not think it necessary to comment on it For it did not give me an impression that Pantji was discussing there the fundamental principles of the Satyagraha philosophy or laying down its limitations. I took it only as a reaction to the misuse of that weapon

"For some years last, particularly after the demise of Gandhiji, the term, 'Satyagraha' has been indiscriminately employed for all sorts of protests They were Satyagraha only in name. Some of these were prompted by ulterior motives some to get demands not always justifiable granted under pressure I know cases in which for slight reasons and without exhausting other channels of redress people had hastily resorted to fast unto death" I remember at least one, after Gandhiji's death in which I had to intervene and dissuade a friend from it Thus when a word is misused or abused the adversary takes the term in its wrong sense and expresses himself against it Hence, it is those who have misused this weapon that have given a wrong connotation to the term 'Satyagraha' with the result that, those who wanted to denounce that misuse, have denounced it in general terms so as to make even genuine Satyagraha repudiated Therefore I did not and should not take such denouncements seriously

"Satyagraha is a force of love and if some one said that there was no room for the force of love in democracy it would mean that there was room for hatred in democracy But none would accept this and none would also desire so

"But I must confess that nowadays Satyagraha has degenerated into a threat and it has produced its due reaction A true Satyagraha would quickly touch the hearts of all, nay, it would hit its target as assuredly as the arrow of Rama* But it requires the purity of Rama to wield this precious weapon If an impartial and devoted servant of man finds an injustice being perpetrated and after trying all ways of peaceful persuasion with goodwill and love to open the heart of an evil-doer is unable to do so he is entitled to offer and it becomes even his duty to offer Satyagraha, with feelings of anguish and compassion in his heart No social order can deprive him of this right Rather the more enlightened a social and political order is the more favourable would be the conditions for exercising it

* The arrow of Rama is a simile meaning that it never misses its aim. 'Rama never hit the same target twice and never gave an assurance twice'—is the legend behind this line.

"But it must be conceded that in a democracy which is responsible to public opinion and is based on elections there cannot be frequent occasions for resorting to Satyagraha, in the sense of an intensive and final weapon It would have to be only rarely employed

"For example though I cannot rule out Satyagraha altogether for the vindication of the right of the poor on the soil yat, with the best of motives it would be a wrong step on my part if I were to say today that I would observe fast until all the landless get land The reason is that I should first create a necessary atmosphere, win the sympathy of the people for the cause secure as much land and from as many people as possible and work for it with the faith that I will get it I should not allow and do not allow myself even to think of the steps which should be taken if I did not get it But if anybody asks me to a discussion whether I ruled out the possibility of Satyagraha on this issue I reply in the negative But if even I were to do it now, it will be a wrong step But if a person whose intentions are not above suspicion whose sincerity is doubted, who has not rendered any remarkable service to the people resorts to Satyagraha, it will not be Satyagraha but *duragraha* (unreasonable obstinacy) And since the term Satyagraha is employed the adversary can say that there is no place for the so-called Satyagraha in democracy But if he puts forth this assertion on the fundamental principles of Satyagraha he should say that one who indulges in such Satyagraha is not a Satyagrahi

"Once a woman came to me and declared her intention to go on fast as a protest against the payment of compensation to landlords which she regarded as wrong. I told her that her fast would be unjustifiable I cannot say whether I could convince her or not but I know that she gave up the idea

Some people hold — and I agree with them — that payment of compensation is wrong Of course Zamindars would have to be provided with means of livelihood If they have nothing left But it is wrong to pay compensation to those who already have sufficient means of livelihood Gandhiji had asked all to be trustees of their property which means none should be entitled to compensation But your Constitution provides for payment of compensation Therefore it is necessary to create public opinion — i e not of the landless but of the landlords And this is what I am at present working for I ask them to donate their compensations and I accept them But if anyone were to go on fast against payment of compensation it will be a coercive act Thus fast is not a weapon which can or may be used so easily Every force requires a right person and a right occasion to use it and if a weapon of high power is used in a wrong manner and by a wrong person, it will prove ineffective It will also be wrong to diminish the efficiency of a great weapon by its wrong use.

'I have explained this at such length, because though a person going on fast apparently does not harm others and uses no violence on any one, is still guilty of violence Indeed, at times he causes more violence than the violence of physical weapons All this is misuse of Satyagraha And Pantji's remarks are just a reaction to it

But if it is put forth as a fundamental principle I would say that the opinion is incorrect For the whole life of a man wedded to truth is a Satyagraha He has to practise it at every step in his life And occasions may arise for him to resort to Satyagraha of the intense form But it is desirable that they should be quite rare Society should not give men of pure character an occasion to practise severe austerities — and Satyagraha is one such severe form of austerity The words of the saints should be sufficient to awaken the people to their sense of duty Society should not trouble them and invite punishment on itself

But if a democratic government does a grave injustice the hearts of the persons at the helm do not melt, and righteous men feel that a great injustice is done Satyagraha may surely become necessary and I say that no one can rule out such Satyagraha And I do not think Pantji holds otherwise"

(From Hindi) D M.

SATYAGRAHA AND DEMOCRACY

(By Govind Ballabh Pant)

I had referred to the question of Satyagraha and Democracy on one or two occasions during the course of discussions in our Legislative Assembly here In connection with Satyagraha I had then made it clear, and had left no room for doubt on the point that in matters of conscience — on spiritual issues — one is always entitled to offer Satyagraha But, for a democratic set up I had also stressed the importance of settling political differences by argument and persuasion As far as insisting on truth and combating falsehood is concerned there can be no two opinions about it nor can it be suggested that one should not stick to truth Indeed, every one must be truthful But considering everything it seems undesirable that law should be defied over public issues which involve questions of truth, untruth or conscience The country has adult franchise now and the administration is in the hands of the representatives of the people If Satyagraha is to be resorted to or threatened every time there is a difference of opinion then public opinion does not receive the respect that is due to it It has become almost a fashion these days to talk of Satyagraha on every conceivable occasion There is talk of Satyagraha when a proposal is put forward to raise prices to cut down losses on the sale of foodgrains There is talk of it also when taxes are proposed instead for making up in part the losses caused by selling foodgrains below cost price There is repetition of similar talk whenever any tax is sought to be levied for financing schemes of national uplift Some people express-

ed their intention only recently to offer Satyagraha even for getting cow slaughter banned For other matters too whether minor or major the threat of Satyagraha has become a commonplace affair these days it would, no doubt be a matter of conscience if one were forced to offer Satyagraha in a case where the issues are clear, and the Government's stand is patently untenable and where before any recourse to Satyagraha the pros and cons have been examined in an impersonal, detached and dispassionate manner and all other remedies have been exhausted He who decides on Satyagraha should have a clear conscience and open mind his judgment should be detached, and his decision should be unbiased But in the midst of political partisanship how many are there who can or will act in this manner? Democracy would lose much of its significance if in the name of Satyagraha every one were to take it as his unfettered right to incite the masses, as much as possible against the system of Government established by the people's elected representatives in a democratic State, in order to belittle and resist the law of the land in a concerted manner This is not how wholesome activity can be carried on on the political plane Judged in this manner I daresay, that according to your standard even if Satyagraha in the existing circumstances were justified on any one particular occasion, it will be found improper in ninety nine cases out of a hundred I do think that but small can be the number of people who would employ the weapon of Satyagraha without attachment or personal interest only after a dispassionate analysis of things and after all other measures have proved fruitless There would, however, be far too many who, from ulterior motives, would create confusion and difficulties in public life by abusing Satyagraha Mahatma Gandhi had also laid emphasis on the exacting conditions one would have to fulfil before resorting to Satyagraha and, if I am not mistaken, he had, on more than one occasion, thought that it would have been best if it were confined to him alone He had, perhaps also indicated that one could qualify for Satyagraha only after rigid self-discipline What he said on October 3, 1947, at his prayer meeting is no less applicable today According to the *Delhi Diary* * published by the Navajivan Karyalaya, he had observed

> "Today, he was getting news of Satyagraha being started in many places. Often he wondered whether the so-called Satyagraha was not really *duragraha* (obstinacy) Whether it was strike in mills or railways or post-offices, or movements in some of the States, it seemed as if it were a question of seizing power A virulent poison was leavening society today and every opportunity for attaining their object was seized by those who did not stop to consider that means and ends were convertible terms"

Please correct me if I am wrong

(Translated from Hindi from a personal letter to the Editor)

* Price Rs 3 Postage etc as 12.

FOREIGN AID

[illegible] warning is noteworthy by reason of [illegible] of the writer Mrs Kathleen Green [illegible] educated nationalized and married [illegible] and her husband came down to [illegible] identify themselves with Indians She [illegible] many friends now and has closely observed [illegible] effect which the colour of the skin [illegible] minds of our people in general I think [illegible] analysis is accurate It is [illegible] which we share in common with [illegible] being the reason of her having [illegible] — K G M]

Dear Sir

I would like to add a few words concerning the [illegible] Shri Gulzarilal Nanda's letter has shown that there is no economic or political strings attached to the U S aid Personally I am convinced that the Government is just [illegible] us [illegible] our independence as the people [illegible] There is however one important point which is much neglected in this kind of consideration

There still exists in India today the attitude of the 'superiority of the white face' This is particularly apparent among our intellectuals, our Government officials and city people Unfortunately it has also penetrated the minds of our villagers This attitude may take the form of absolute admiration or fear or even hatred The counterpart of this attitude is lack of confidence in ourselves We have achieved our political independence we may even be able to achieve our economic independence in the next few years But without mental independence, without self confidence political and economic independence have no foundation Being invisible and abstract, this factor is always neglected in our thinking

Foreign aid may be helpful and necessary some day but at this moment mentally we are not ready Only after we have self confidence can we receive the U S Aid as help from a friend, not a saviour Without this self-confidence we regard people as superior to us not as equal to us. In order to achieve this self-confidence we must in the beginning rely on ourselves to solve our problems The energy of the people has to be mobilized, the spirit of sacrifice, self-denial and enthusiasm has to be created (Ordinary people are capable of having this spirit as we know from our own experiences and the experiences of other countries) Having created this spirit, in the midst of our work, we can readily accept foreign aid when it is necessary Only by demonstrating to ourselves that we can build a new society with our own hands first, are we in a position to receive foreign aid Lacking this experience, this atmosphere, the unhealthy admiration for America will be accentuated by this Agreement, Because our people can't help being impressed by the "beauty" and efficiency of American equipment, the knowledge of American experts and their American way of doing things etc. There may not be economic and political slavery

[illegible] the Agreement but what about men-[illegible] And worst of all if we can't judge [illegible] how lively are we not likely to end up [illegible]ying the American economic and political pattern blindly

Commerce College KATHLEEN GREENE
Wardha, 28 8-'52

QUESTION-BOX

Gandhiji and the Bicycle

Q Was Gandhiji used to ride on a bicycle? If so when?

A Yes, in his younger days he was In Durban he used it regularly I understand In Sabarmati Ashram to the best of my knowledge he used it only once, namely to reach a labour meeting in time He never used it in Wardha, so far as my knowledge goes The reference to Wardha in a newspaper, of which I have received a cutting without the name of the paper, is obviously a mistake for the above-mentioned meeting There was no question of "a frantic search for a taxi, or a private car, or a gharry", at Sabarmati The fact was that a friend's car from Ahmedabad was expected to arrive and take him to the meeting, but somehow did not turn up in time and Gandhiji did not wish his programme to be held up for want of a car A photograph of his cycle-ride may be seen in Vol II of Tendulkar and Jhaveri's *Mahatma*, p 408

Wardha, 9-9 '52

Soya-bean Emulsion

Q Is there not the same danger in the use and propagation of soya or groundnut emulsion or *payas* (so-called soya or groundnut milk) as in the case of hydrogenated oils which we are objecting to? Or say, will it not be used to adulterate milk and curds (i e of cows, buffaloes and other animals)? If so, should we not insist on its colouring? Will it not, like the hydrogenated oil, be harmful to cattle-breeding and dairy industry?

People of China and Japan mostly use these emulsions. May we then assume that it *is* a perfect substitute for milk?

It is said that vegetable and fruit diet is an ideal diet to help *brahmacharya* and *ahimsa*. If soya-bean becomes easily available, will you advise observers of *brahmacharya* and *ahimsa* to abjure milk and ghee?

A If the preparation of vegetable emulsions becomes an industry, that is, if they are manufactured and canned in factories and sold in markets, it will surely be as harmful as *vanaspati* I understand that Mysore experts are actually engaged in exploring this possibility Hence the risk is certainly there But if people prepare and consume the *payas* and its *jamavat* (curds) at home it stands on a different level In that case, there is a great difference between *vanaspati* and *payas* Just as there is no competition between groundnut oil and ghee similarly there need not be any [illegible] between *payas* and milk [illegible]

The question of colourization [illegible] only if *payas* is sought to be made on an industrial scale For in that case milk-men in cities and towns may adulterate genuine milk with this product The home-made *payas* has a bit different colour, odour and taste As for odour and taste, they manifest themselves even in the cow or buffalo milk when fed with the oil-cakes of these substances If a small quantity of *payas* is mixed with larger quantities of milk, the colour of the former may become indistinguishable Hence the question of colourization may arise It will not harm the cattle or dairy industry only if *payas* is not made an object of commerce

We cannot liken our conditions with those of China and Japan Being non-vegetarians, they get all the milk nutrients from meat, fish and animal proteins

It is difficult to determine the precise effect of milk on sex-impulse All that we can say is that milk and ghee are animal products also that those engaged in the cattle-breeding and dairy industry frequently come under the disturbing influence of sex acts of animals at an impressionable age This cannot be helped Even otherwise, they are not immune from such impressions, because these are frequently going around in nature Efforts have to be made to maintain purity of mind in spite of such influences

One cannot definitely say that those who take vegetable diet exclusively, even abjuring milk and its products, are immune from passion Sex is a very subtle impulse and to a certain extent associated with age, and what we consume through our eyes ears and skin touches also Diet regulations and discipline in self-control are helpful in overcoming it But a proper diet alone will not eradicate passion As a Hindi poet has said, "A *sadhu* living in a forest cave, wearing bark of trees, living on fallen fruits and leaves, and sleeping on bare ground may be harassed by sex passion" But diet is a helpful factor and may not be ignored

Wardha, 1 8-'52 K G MASHRUWALA

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One of Our Rare Workers

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HARIJAN

16 Pages

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)
Editor MAGANBHAI P. DESAI

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1624

TRIBUTE OF LOVE AND REVERENCE

When I issued the notice for a special number in memory of late Kishorlalbhai I had some lurking fear in me whether it was not a very very short notice As a matter of fact, it was a notice of at best 5 days only But happily enough my fears have turned out to be groundless I may literally say that tributes from all sides are pouring on me all these days. The tribute of love and reverence that Kishorlalbhai has won from the hearts of all is simply overwhelming And it is coming forth from the tallest and the smallest of us Right from the ailing Rashtrapati convalescing at Simla down to the common reader, all write to me to unburden themselves of the grief at the loss of and to bear testimony to their love for one whom they came to regard as their own whether they saw him in flesh and blood or no It is this magic charm in the personality of Shri Kishorlalbhai to which Shri Rajaji bears witness in his beautiful words, 'a great fountain of *amrita*'

I may add here my own personal tribute as the manager of these papers As readers know, K G M was doing his work from Wardha. A printer and publisher knows what mental worry it can be if the weekly copy is not in time. As the printer and publisher of Gandhiji's papers, who did his work from wherever he would be in India, this was surely no new experience for me But my wonder and gratitude is that Shri K G M 's copy was most regular to reach me I may say a practical and wise, loving worker that he was he had made my worry his own, and never had I an occasion during the course of the last four years of his editorship to worry on this count. I have very many sweet memories of his brave and truthful editorship mellowed by a serene perception of the other man's view which he never forgot to see wish to know and appreciate

At the end, I only ask to be excused for not being able to include all matter that, as I said above poured on me I thank all who, even at short notice responded to my request and sent their tributes in time for this issue I thank God that I could organize this issue as a spontaneous tribute of love and reverence to K G M who is no more with us in flesh and blood May his soul be ever with us to cheer and guide us, as he used to do in life

23-9-'52 JIVANJI D DESAI

A PERSONAL SHOCK

Shri Kishorlal Mashruwala was associated with Mahatma Gandhi from almost the beginning of his work in India after his return from South Africa He had by practical experience and actual work and close association acquired a deep insight into the teaching and philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi Subject to a most distressing form of asthma from his early days, it was a matter of wonder how he was able to put through so much work It was his strength of will and devotion to duty which kept him harnessed to his work till the last moment of his life in spite of the serious handicap from which he was a life-long sufferer. After Mahatma Gandhiji's death he was looked upon by many as a representative and repository of his philosophy and principles and many turned to him for advice and guidance in moments of difficulty and trouble He was always at the service of such ardent enquirers The amount of work required for editing the *Harijan* was itself tremendous He practically conducted it single-handed and on top of that the amount of private correspondence to which he had to attend both in connection with the Paper and for advice was very large If one wants an example of how weakness of the body can be conquered by the strength of will, one cannot find a better example than that of Shri Kishorlalbhai This was of course the result of prolonged training to which he had subjected himself The void created by his passing away will be difficult to fill. For one thing, there are not many who have had the good fortune and the privilege of that close association which he had with Gandhiji But mere association has not in all cases produced the result which was so very visible in his case He never hesitated to take upon himself physical burdens which a man in his health finds it necessary to avoid if possible. His study of philosophy had prepared him for a clear appreciation and understanding of Gandhiji's views But he was not only an intellectual enthusiast but a practical person who practised in life what he appreciated and approved in thought To me his departure at this moment has come as a personal shock on account of the very close and dear relationship which we had formed and it is difficult for me to imagine at the moment how I shall feel when I visit Bajajwadi and miss him. I can only hope that the light that he was keeping burning through the columns of the *Harijan* will continue

to burn bright and inspire those who have always looked up to it for help and guidance

Simla, 20-9-'52 RAJENDRA PRASAD

A GREAT LOSS

I should like to pay my tribute to Kishorlalbhai He was one of the straightest and truest of our old comrades Whether one agreed with him in any matter or not, it was a comfort to know that he was there, a sentinel watching events and giving his views without fear or favour His passing away is indeed a great loss both personally and in the national sense

New Delhi, 19-9-'52 JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

IN MEMORIAM

I look upon Shri Kishorlal Mashruwala as my Guru He was friend, philosopher and guide We first saw each other when we were both students in Wilson College in the first decade of this century He was two years younger than me and was junior in college. Later I was a solicitors' articled clerk and so was he Then we lost touch until I met him in the Vile Parle Satyagraha Camp in 1930 Our relations became very intimate in jail I read his book *Jivan Shodhan* and had long discussions with him which gave me great mental satisfaction This relation continued to the end His clear and logical mind, fearless and impartial judgment stoic indifference to pain his equanimity and love of humanity convinced me that he had attained a very high degree of evolution He wrote his last letter to me on the 12th August, 1952 Before I left Bombay on the 26th June, I went to Wardha on the 20th June 1952, and saw him I feared that would be our last meeting but my affection and respect for him cannot be affected by his death He had conquered the fear of death

London, 19-9-'52 B G KHER

KISHORLALBHAI

Emaciated and frail as Shri Kishorlalbhai Mashruwala was — he weighed scarcely more than 70 pounds for these last so many years — it was a wonder to many how he managed to live For over two decades, if not more, it was a perpetual struggle against disease that Kishorlalbhai had to wage And it was a war on two fronts that he had to fight all the time — his own war and the nation's Because, during all these long years, while battling for his very existence, Kishorlalbhai fought, as cheerfully and as valiantly as any of his comrades, in the fight first against foreign domination and, then, during the last five years or so against the poverty, both moral and material that prevailed in our midst after the attainment of independence

This miracle, as it were came about because of the spiritual strength that Kishorlalbhai had built up and was constantly adding to Among poets, artists, scientists, statesmen, philosophers, instances will be found in history of individuals who not only rose superior to their environments but gained in spiritual stature the more intensively they struggled on the physical plane One of those rare individuals was Kishorlalbhai, who by a systematic course of study and training and by the exercise of self discipline equipped himself to rise from strength to strength in the realm of the spirit We often labour under the misapprehension that a rationalistic outlook on life disqualifies one from achieving spiritual advancement How misconceived such a belief could be is evident from the success attained by Kishorlalbhai, thorough-going rationalist that he was

What distinguished Kishorlalbhai in his relationship with Gandhiji, from the rest of Gandhiji's co-workers or disciples, was this very same rationalistic approach that Kishorlalbhai adopted in relation to all matters of thought or action If no iconoclast Kishorlalbhai was indeed no hero worshipper — he was not of those amongst us who merely inspired by our reverence for an individual seek to emulate his thought and action The esteem and affection which Gandhiji had for Kishorlalbhai arose from Gandhiji's appreciation of the test of pure reasoning by which Kishorlalbhai judged all lines of thinking or practice — and a thin hedge divided the two — for which Gandhiji stood from time to time In that sense, Kishorlalbhai, among Gandhiji's co-workers was one who least identified his personality with Gandhiji although, as all India knows, he stood nearest to Gandhiji in spirit

In a recent broadcast tribute to Kishorlalbhai, reference was made to his contribution to literature. Though Kishorlalbhai could have disowned any claim to being recognized among the *savants* who have enriched Gujarati literature, both in volume and range, but more so in quality and depth Kishorlalbhai can stand comparison with the most eminent figures in the recent literary history of Gujarat. That he never wrote for effect but still succeeded in exercising influence on thought is one of the merits which, to my mind, distinguishes him from the literateur who may often command a wide reading circle

Rationalism, to Kishorlalbhai, seemed synonymous with the quest for truth which has inspired in the past and fortunately still continues to inspire ardent spirits This search bred in Kishorlalbhai an intense feeling of humility, which was a characteristic that governed his conduct in the field of thought and action It was this humility that made him tolerant and considerate But it was not these qualities alone which endeared him to all those with whom he came in contact It was the spirit of love and affection which he developed, in his pursuit of truth, — *ahimsa* in action in a sense That reduced the distance between him who had attained spiritual heights and us of the commoner breed who now mourn his loss, personally and as a nation, as one of the wisest and most understanding leaders of thought of his times

21-9-'52 VAIKUNTH L MEHTA

BABU KAKA — OUR FRIEND

With his passing away Babu Kaka as Shri Kishorlal Ghanashyamlal Mashruwala was affectionately called, has thrown a numberless hearts into deep grief Rich and eloquent tributes, spontaneously being paid to him, testify to the high place he occupied therein Our country is painfully realizing that in his death it has lost a crystal-like journalist, sincere worker, erudite scholar, genuine Gandhite, genius of thought, serene philosopher, true seer as also the jewel of a man More capable hands are there to draw upon these and other charming facets of the diamond that he was to show to the world how great and good he was So I need not and will not dilate upon them. But there is one aspect of his life which has impressed me more than either or all of these viz, of his being the *Babu Kaka* of us– constructive workers And it is in that connection that I pen these few lines as a mark of my reverence to the departed soul

Bapuji was Bapu to one and all; but he had always to tackle such dreadful and pressing and greater problems of the country and the world as would frighten an ordinary worker who would, therefore, not dare draw upon Bapu's valuable time Then there is Vinoba Except of late when he has begun going round the country, not many workers knew him personally and even those who knew him were and are terrified by his profound and vast learning and stupendous austerity and hence could not freely go very near him. These two apart, Babu Kaka was the one person who, of no mean calibre himself, could be safely and easily approached and to whom every one would lay bare his heart There are 'little incidents' in daily life on which we quarrel or nurse a grievance against one another In our Ashrams and constructive work institutions we also suffer from this malady which has resulted not only in the absence of that oneness of heart among the workers which Bapu dreamt but also in the lack of a united and co ordinated drive on their part in post-freedom India Babu Kaka was the only man who was open alike to everyone, either on the top ranka or below, equally trusted by all and highly respected everywhere, Most of his valuable time was spent in correspondence connected with these little incidents His voice commanded reverence and his judgment was happily taken as final He tried to heal every wound and very often he healed it completely, As the proverb would have it, Gandhi and Vinoba might be the best tailors in the world or in the country, but for the constructive workers Babu Kaka was the best in the street He talked to us as our brother, father or guide or rather as our dearest friend of long and mature acquaintance, with whom one could not dare hide anything And his decision was almost always correct, appealing and practical as also elevating both parties None returned from him dejected or poorer or downhearted Hundreds and thousands of constructive workers will bear with me when I say that but for Babu Kaka their life would have taken a different and perhaps unhappier turn Also I have no doubt in my mind that his departure is a challenge to all constructive workers in general and those stationed at Wardha or Sevagram in particular. In fact, Constructive Work, as we who claim to be of the Sarvodaya proclaim it is on trial In the course of a long and touching letter, dated 26th May 1952, Babu Kaka wrote to me

> 'I believe that if constructive workers will not develop real non-violence humility and patience a also fellow feeling and friendliness amongst themselves If every worker gets arrogant and vain and will go on countenancing the evil of carelessness or disregard about others and taking them as worthless or less learned than himself the entire constructive work will be shattered into pieces

It is a warning which we can ignore only at our peril Babu Kaka is no more in our midst to settle our mutual quarrels and little differences But if we are true to him or to the cause we must rise to the height of the occasion and behave as Babu Kaka wanted us all to be — Man and nothing but Man May God give us the necessary character AMEN!

Allahabad 20-9-'52 SURESH RAMABHAI

HIS WAS A DEDICATED LIFE

Shri Mashruwala has gone from us to stay for ever in our hearts I wondered reverentially how he worked on despite his chronic ill health Continued ill health makes one ill-tempered This is usual with ordinary men But he was extraordinary and he remained unruffled all the time although his task had always been a heavy one I desired latterly that he should take rest irrespective of what happened to the *Harijan* I wanted him to come to me and stay at Sodepur so that I could take up a good deal of his editorial burden — using him only for consultation But even that could not be arranged Now God has taken him away while in harness, in spite of his desire not to die like that God willed it otherwise and it was fitting that a philosopher-worker died while on duty

His was a dedicated life He was saved miraculously while he was a little child. He was sleeping in a room next to a wall which collapsed suddenly and fell on the cot he was sleeping on He was taken for dead and under the debris Nobody knew however how a servant of the house had taken him away a moment before The servant himself was in a delerious fever and could not say how and why he took away the child to his bed in another room just before the accident

His parents read in this event the Master's hand and dedicated him to Lord Krishna — the household deity Ghanashyam and named him Ghanashyam-das And Ghanashyam-das, known as our Mashruwala, has lived a life of dedication He has left not only Gomtibehn but also a large family in us to cherish his memory as a source of solace and inspiration

My *pranams* to him again and again

Sodepur, 20-9-'52 SATISH CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

A GREAT FOUNTAIN OF AMRIT

An angel has gone back to his place. Grief is Gomtibehn's and for the rest of us left behind. For him the peace that was his right has been awarded How and why should we grudge it? Let us bear our grief in prayers and humility

Tears alone befit the occasion, words fail to express even in part what feelings even do not fully express

Gomtibehn knows how great Kishorlal's affection was for me Lakshmi and Devadas We have lost a great fountain of *amrit* in him

I did not realize that it was fact and not an ugly dream when I read the news I had to read it over again and look round so as to accept the fact as fact

My love to all who grieve.

Madras 10-9-'52 C RAJAGOPALACHARI

SHRI VINOBA'S TRIBUTE

"Although Kishorlalbhai had been suffering from asthma for the last 25 years, his ordeal during the last few days was most severe During the past two or three years his trouble had become aggravated and he desired to be relieved of the responsibility of conducting *Harijan* People were also thinking of giving him relief It was God however, who came to his rescue I acknowledge the benevolence of the Almighty I had been in correspondence with Kishorlalbhai recently In a couple of letters he wrote last month he discussed such matters as a man's condition during his last moments and the definition of one who had realized God. That is how his mind had been working of late. Doctors advised him to take rest but they said that there was no danger to life in the near future It is however evident from his letters that Kishorlalbhai had thoroughly prepared himself for the inevitable He was not taken unawares, he departed performing his duty to the last

"It has been my good fortune to be in the company of good and righteous people But I have never seen any other man who had to put up with such acute physical pain day after day. People grew anxious whenever his attacks of asthma come on, but he battled with the disease night and day, and when relief came he was all smiles That was indeed a noble sight. He looked upon his body as separate from his self As a public worker and editor he had many an occasion to criticize others, but he never failed to admit his own mistakes I have nowhere else found a man so utterly free from ill-will or enmity (*nirvair*) as Kishorlalbhai He was a free and frank thinker When and if he ever differed from Bapu, he did not fail to say so He gave frank expression to his feelings without fear or favour. But at heart he had pure and balanced affection for all

"It is believed of men who have attained self-realization that when they transcend even the ideal state, they also enjoy full physical health Bapu too had said this, and I also felt likewise But Kishorlalbhai's example shows that there are some great souls who are able to regard the bodily frame as something distinct from their true personality It is not easy to describe a person as a completely self realized man. Kishorlalbhai never claimed to be one He was humility personified But when I analyse my innermost feelings I cannot but confess that he answered to the description of one who has attained the state of self-realization (*atma-jnani purusha*)

"We have just recited the verse तस्मात् त्यजेत् हि यश्चंयंत् भूतिकाम । He was a true example of the *atma-jnani* to whom the *Upanishads* call upon us to offer obeisance God has now recalled him I do not know whether there is anyone among us followers of Bapu who can keep the group together and look after them as he could I however hope and pray that some portion of the love and kinship his heart was filled with may be vouchsafed to us

Damodar used to prepare and send summaries of my speeches to him at Wardha I never looked into them and had authorized Kishorlalbhai to alter or improve upon any sentence as he pleased I do not see to whom I can now turn with the same confidence in the domain of thought.

"It is good that God has taken him back But what about us who survive him? We should emulate Kishorlalbhai's example and engage ourselves in the service of God

"If there was anybody who had identified himself heart and soul with the *bhoodan-yajna* it was Kishorlalbhai. Although he was far away at Wardha his very existence continued to lend strength to the movement That strength is not lost to the cause It has become a perennial part of it He was physically so weak and ill, and yet he worked so hard The *Gita* refers to *karma* in *akarma* (action in inaction) Kishorlalbhai was a living example of it If Bapu exemplified *akarma* in *karma* (inaction in action), Kishorlalbhai illustrated just the opposite True, he was not inactive, he spoke and wrote and discussed But he could not stir about or organize movements In this his body failed him But even in this inactivity there was great achievement In his ailing body was manifested the spirit of a great *yogi* He never budged from his convictions I sometimes wonder how it is possible to realize absolute fellow-feeling and sense of unity with the humblest of creatures His presence then stands vividly before my mind's eye

The passing of a great *sadhak* (spiritual aspirant) so deeply devoted to God like Kishorlalbhai is a sacred occasion for us After returning from Sarnath this morning I thought of Buddha the whole day and now at night we have this news We do not always perceive the greatness of men near us as we do of those far away Kishorlalbhai was a soul of the same category as Buddha"

(From *The Hindustan Times*)

A BEAM IN DARKNESS

So, Kishorlalbhai has joined the galaxy of revered names which included Maganlal Gandhi, Jamnalalji Mahadevbhai and finally Gandhiji himself They all lived up to the ideal of the *karmayogi* envisaged in the Gita — performing their duty even with their last breath It is a consummation which every Satyagrahi must aspire to but which is given to very few indeed to realize Those who had witnessed the agony of physical suffering which was Kishorlalbhai's lot of late, wondered at the will power and unconquerable spirit which enabled him to transcend his physical disability and gave him his serenity and equipoise which nothing could disturb For a considerable time past his life had become a veritable bed of torture But as the physical frame wore away more and more, the spirit within seemed to feel freer and freer and gave to the near-burnt-out candle's dying flicker the brilliance and sparkle, which obscured from many the sad reality behind it In a letter to a friend written a few days before the end, he wrote

> ' I am almost at the end of my life and have been losing interest in worldly matters Perhaps the way I still write strong articles might make the readers think that even if my energy is waning, my interests are as keen as ever But I think that it is the life-long habit and my intellectualism that are responsible for this apparent contradiction Inwardly, I am sick of all activities and want to retire "

One of the everlasting regrets of Kishorlalbhai was that he could not go into physical action on account of his ill health and serve the cause as a field worker But he circumvented that disability by investing his thought with all the intensity of his being so that his thought became almost like an act

His writings became a synonym for vigour and clarity of thinking But even more precious than the crystal clearness and incisive vigour of his thought was the charity and breadth of outlook which inspired it I do not know of any of Gandhiji's associates barring Vinoba Bhave, who has realized in his life the quality of *ahimsa* as Kishorlalbhai had done It made him the cementing bond and unifying force in Gandhiji's wider family after Gandhiji's death. I am afraid, we shall all miss it more and more as time passes. We need to cultivate his catholicity of outlook, and charitableness, his equipoise and detachment, his humility and self-effacement and above all his unattached integrity more than ever

Though many knew Kishorlalbhai, comparatively few, I am afraid, had had the privilege of knowing Gomtibehn, his brave and faithful helpmeet who shared in full the penance and renunciation on which his life was forged She is of the stuff of which heroines are made, Coming from a rich, cultured family, she did not find life easy when she first came to Sabarmati Ashram, to live with her husband under the canvas, where dogs claimed priority over the inmates as diners But she persevered and refused to look back and Gandhiji made her, along with three or four other Ashram ladies, to write their experiences in Navajivan to serve as an example to other women. I have known of very few instances of such harmonious merging of husband and wife in a great common cause as was exemplified by Kishorlalbhai and Gomtibehn It made their home an abode of purity, penance and peace I have no doubt she will bear the loss that God has sent her with fortitude and faith When the true history of India's non-violent freedom struggle comes to be written, the contribution made to it by the brave women such as Gomtibehn, Durgabehn (Shrimati Mahadev Desai), Kashibehn and others with Kasturba Gandhi at the head — whom Gandhiji had filled with the power of the basic Ashram disciplines, will be accorded a fitting place None of them were "educated" in the sense in which the expression is generally understood these days, but it is my firm conviction that on our capacity to evolve that type of womanhood depends India's destiny and her future place in the world

Kishorlalbhai's demise brings back to my mind the words of advice which Gandhiji uttered to the workers and members of the staff of Santiniketan after Gurudev's demise No single individual, he said on that occasion, could take Gurudev's place — Gurudevs were born only once in an age — but if they all resolved to put the cause first and themselves last, they would to a very large extent be able collectively to fill the void created by Gurudev's passing away Kishorlalbhai's life was a living example of the practice of that precept May it serve as a beacon light to us all.

Valmiki Mandir, PYARELAL
New Delhi, 15-9-'52

THE GREAT TORCH-BEARER

It is some days Shri Kishorlalbhai left us to bear the loss of his sad demise. Kishorlalbhai's life was one great endeavour at search of Truth in its sublimest form His great philosophic knowledge and wisdom were always at the service of the nation, through Bapu in his life time and directly since Bapu's death Bestowed with a clear vision he in his own simple and unassuming style held up the torch of Gandhian teaching and Gandhian way of life for us to follow An unswerving votary of Truth, an outstanding representative of that fading community of Indian Rishis, and a great servant of the downtrodden humanity, he will be remembered by Indians for his humble but steadfast loyalty to a social order based on Truth and Non-violence.

Rajkot, 28-9-'52 U. N. DHEBAR

WHAT INDIA STANDS FOR

[During a recent meeting with an American friend who is on a visit to India I found him very critical of India's foreign policy He dubbed it as "opportunist" In India, on the other hand it has been assailed by a certain section on the ground of being "too Idealistic" Both the criticisms are contrary to facts There might have been mistakes and errors of judgment in the execution of our foreign policy but so far as the fundamentals of that policy are concerned no one can point a finger at it. By her unacompromising adherence to moral values in the sphere of international politics and by consistently throwing the weight of her influence on the side of world peace India has set up a record of which we can all be proud While speaking on India's foreign policy resolution at the recent session of the All India Congress Committee at Indore Maulana Azad gave a very lucid exposition of our foreign policy which will repay a careful perusal It is reproduced below with slight abridgment. —PYARELAL]

Referring to India's foreign policy, Maulana Azad said

War was no solution of disputes between nations. Justice and peace were the yardsticks by which India judged every international issue It was necessary that every country should explain its foreign policy, particularly when there was a fear of a world war It was also important in view of the fact that India had attained a new status

There was some misunderstanding in India and outside about the basis of their foreign policy There were suggestions that she should follow a policy of narrow self-interest and align itself with either of the two Power blocs

But when the peace of the world was threatened and humanity was on the brink of destruction, pursuing such a policy would be selfishness of the meanest type

"Pursuing such a policy India would not have been able to maintain its prestige and respect in the world Our foreign policy cannot rest on such foundations

"Unfortunately the U N appeared to have become an arena of power politics between two blocs If India had wanted to follow a policy based purely on self-interest and not on principles, she could have done so very easily But such a policy would have meant deviation from her principles and the future would definitely have given its verdict against her"

The other alternative was to follow a policy based on strict neutrality In the context of disagreement between the two Power blocs in the U N , it would have been a cheap method of keeping out of the conflict India would have had to seal her lips on vital problems

"India did not accept this suggestion on the ground that it was repugnant to the moral stand taken by her

"To remain neutral is to avoid responsibilities that have devolved on us as an independent nation and to shut our eyes to the realities of the situation This would also mean that a country following such a policy is afraid of one or the other Power blocs"

India's foreign policy was not based on narrow, opportunist [illegible] selfish interest or on strict neutralism The impression that prevailed in some foreign countries that India was neutral was inconsistent with facts

India is not neutral and cannot remain neutral Our past history cannot permit us to follow such a policy devoid of any moral foundations"

The policy pursued by India was independent of any Power bloc but was not neutral She had firmly refused to align herself with any of the two blocs Her policy was to consider each question in the international sphere on its merits She would continue to take an independent view and keep her mind and intellect free of any prejudices or fears.

The test laid down in considering each issue was whether it would strengthen the chances of peace or lead to war

"That is the fundamental position Whatever the consequences India cannot forsake such a policy The fact that it pleases or displeases any Power will not be and cannot be a consideration in deciding our attitude on any international issue

"Truth and justice constituted the balance in which every issue in foreign affairs had been weighed by India and would continue to be weighed If India thought that on a particular issue, justice was on a particular side, she declared so without hesitation"

Referring to the issue of China's recognition by the U.N the Maulana Saheb proceeded

India had pressed it because she thought it was the only course consistent with justice whether anybody liked it or not. The question was one of fact and on that basis there could be no dispute that the new Chinese Government deserved recognition

India's stand on the recognition of China had not been liked by certain Powers The U N had also not accepted it, though the question had been pending for three years

The U N had committed a grave error in not recognizing New China If China had been accorded recognition earlier, events would have taken a different shape

India's appeals based on the Chinese warning against the crossing of the 38th Parallel in Korea had gone unheeded When India made those appeals some people laughed at them General MacArthur said his armies would be able to finish the campaign within three or four months Events had proved that such assumptions were greatly mistaken

"On the Japanese treaty issue also India has pursued an independent policy When it was found that the treaty was not consistent with the principles laid down by us, we did not hesitate to make another treaty"

These instances should make it clear to foreign countries that India was not pursuing a

neutral policy, but an independent policy based on truth and justice.

When issues are raised which affect the very existence of the human race how can India remain aloof and follow a policy of neutrality ?

If India had secured respect and dignity in the international sphere during the last five years it was because of the policy pursued by her in refusing to be involved in any Power blocs or to remain neutral

During his recent visit to Paris, the Maulana concluded he was told by certain diplomats how they were unable to express freely and frankly their opinions on certain issues because such opinions might not be liked by certain Power blocs They respected India because she voiced her feelings without fear or favour

GOD HAS RELIEVED HIM

In Kishorlalbhai (K G Mashruwala) we have lost one of our best, truest and most humble-hearted comrades, whose rare qualities we shall all sorely miss

Though we had known one another for 27 years, it was during the last two years that I had had the pleasure of being in close contact with him through regular correspondence

In the last two or three months I had seen in his letters clear signs of the coming end, and for that reason had been writing to others saying we *must* relieve Kishorlalbhai of his burden But we were not in time and God has relieved him in His own way

How much Kishorlalbhai was yearning for that relief can be seen from his letters Referring to the death of his sister-in-law last July he wrote —

> "I hope it will be my turn now to take leave"

And on the 9th of August last, he wrote in the plainest possible language

> I am almost at the end of my life, and have been losing interest in worldly matters Perhaps the way in which I still write strong articles might make the readers think that even if my energy is waning my interests are as keen as ever But I think that it is the life-long habit and intellectualism that are responsible for this apparent contradiction Inwardly I am sick of all activities and want to retire '

That we had Kishorlalbhai with us as long as we had is thanks to his utterly devoted and self-effacing wife Gomtibehn How much the world owes to silent, unknown, devoted wives, no human computation will ever be able to show But God notes down their every selfless act Let us too try to realize the debt we owe to Gomtibehn and pray God that He will bless her with fortitude and peace

Pilkhi MIRABEHN

A TRUE "BRIDGE-BUILDER"

Readers know Shri Ralph R Keithahn of Gandhi Gram Ambathurai S I R On learning of the passing away of Shri Kishorlalbhai from our midst, he sends ' a brief word about a very precious friend " and desires that it be shared with the readers of the *Harijan* I gladly do it '

> ' Shri Kishorlal Mashruwala has been a friend of friends to several of us for many years He has rendered unique and outstanding service since the death of Bapuji in particular There has been great need that we should come to understand one another and grow into a vital working team. Too many of us have been too critical of one another as well as of others We have not trusted our own work enough We have relied too greatly upon mere talk It was Mashruwalaji who constantly helped us to see the good in various types of experiments and to appreciate the sincerity and devotion of others He was a true bridge builder We must not forget this aspect of the unique service he has rendered if our work is to grow strong and all of us are to be more closely knit together
>
> In these days when all too often we look to our own selfish needs or opportunities it is wise for us to remember that our 'big brother' worked until the end with a very frail instrument He was not strong Almost everyday he had to face the handicap of not only a weak but a diseased body And yet he carried on hour after hour with a selfless spirit — with marked dedication It is such a spirit that all of us need — one of selflessness and one of complete consecration. We can render our tribute to this great companion of ours if we also will grow in a brotherly spirit towards one another and will render our service more selflessly '

All will agree that "in these days all too often we look to our own selfish needs or opportunities", that ' too many of us have been too critical of one another as well as of others", and that all of us need to be more closely knit together, and "grow into a vital working team" In a sense, one may well say that this is no new message for us that it is a truism But as is usual with such great truths, it needs to be repeated to the ever forgetful man That this was the trick with which Bapu built up our people, we now see very clearly And that was what Kishorlalbhai always strove to draw our attention to Let us heed to that undying voice, in doing which we will be paying tribute both to the Father of the Nation as also to Kishorlalbhai

18-9-'52 MAGANBHAI P DESAI

ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE'S TRIBUTE

The following resolution was passed at the Indore Session of the All India Congress Committee on September 13

' The All India Congress Committee expresses its deep sense of grief at the demise of Shri Kishorlal Mashruwala who was one of the noblest sons of India During all these difficult days he did not allow himself to be affected by the heat of the moment and kept burning the light of Gandhiji's message The country is, indeed poorer for the loss

The All India Congress Committee conveys its heart-felt sympathies to the bereaved family '

HARIJAN

Sept. 27 1952

ONE OF OUR RARE WORKERS

(By M K Gandhi)

[On various occasions, specially during the years when Sjt Kishorlalbhai worked as the President of the Gandhi Seva Sangh Gandhiji spoke and wrote about him in the *Young India* and *Harijan*. The following is a collection from it.]

I

Kishorlal Mashruwala is one of our rare workers He is indefatigable He is conscientious to a fault No detail escapes his vigilant eye He is a philosopher and popular writer in Gujarati He is as good a Marathi scholar as he is a Gujarati scholar He is singularly free from race, caste, or provincial pride, or prejudice He is an independent thinker He is no politician He is a born reformer He is a student of all religions There is no trace of bigotry in him He avoids responsibility and publicity And yet there is no man who having undertaken responsibility would discharge it with greater thoroughness than he It was with great difficulty that I succeeded in persuading him to become President of the Gandhi Seva Sangh His industry and single-minded devotion brought the Sangh the importance and usefulness it has shown In utter disregard of his health (I count this no merit but a demerit in a public worker), he made himself available to all seekers at all times No wonder he became indispensable to the Sangh With infinite care he produced a constitution for the Sangh which can be used as a model by any such organization.

I mention these details not to glorify Kishorlal He needs no glorifying I mention them for my own satisfaction and

(From *Harijan* March 2, 1940 — From the article ' The Right Step ')

Most Thoughtful and Silent Worker

In another place will be found a substance of the observations made in the columns of *Navajivan* by Sjt Kishorlal Mashruwala He is a worker of long standing and was up to recently Registrar of the Gujarat Vidyapith, and it was only due to illness that he was obliged to relinquish the post He is one of the most thoughtful among the silent workers we have in India. He weighs every word he writes or utters I mention these qualifications of his , for I am anxious that his reflections should not be dismissed out of consideration as so many writings nowadays have to be.

(From *Young India* May 26, 1927)

II

K. G M and Parliamentary Programme

The President, (of the Gandhi Seva Sangh) Sjt Kishorlal Mashruwala, could not possibly reconcile himself to the resolution, passed evidently at Gandhiji's instance and after the lead given by his speech to the effect that the Sangh should permit such members as it thought fit to go to the legislatures He passed sleepless nights over it conferred with friends and came to the conclusion that he could not be at the head of a Sangh which, in his opinion, was about to launch on a risky moral adventure It was all well to say that truth and non-violence were our creed but how could one strictly adhere to them when one had to engage in wordy duels every day issue manifestoes and resolutions about the language of which one could never be sure ? And had not the Sangh work enough that it should think of adding one more item, and a risky item to its programme ?

The Sangh members pleaded with him in vain At last the matter came to Gandhiji. He too argued with him not with much success But Nathji intervened and said If Gandhiji would ask him not to resign he might not do so

" Well then " said Gandhiji " since there is still some room in your mind for doubt about your position, I must take the responsibility of asking you not to resign I am clear that your position is wrong But I should not have asked you if there was no doubt in your mind that your position was right But since I see that there is the doubt I must give the word "

' I shall obey your word,' said Kishorlalbhai, " but I confess I will carry on the work more or less like an automaton "

That finished the matter for the moment but when at the meeting of the Sangh Gandhiji took the chair and proceeded to explain how he had been able to persuade Sjt Kishorlal not to resign Gandhiji broke down after he had announced the decision and could not proceed for a few seconds So great was the value he attached to the strength of Kishorlalbhai's conviction, so deep was his love for an associate whose attachment to love and truth was a matter of pride to Gandhiji

(From the Weekly Letter — *Harijan* May 8 1947)

III

Kishorlal's Fears

Having explained to you how I have succeeded in persuading Kishorlal not to press his resignation, I shall now try to dispel his doubts and I want you to help me in doing so His doubt and his fear are that the parliamentary programme always rouses passions and makes one forget himself and so one naturally forgets truth and non-violence The only thing that separates us from the brute with which we have much in common, is the capacity to distinguish between right and wrong We often lose even that and reduce ourselves to the condition of the brute I grant that the parliamentary programme is likely to rouse one's passions and exposes one to great temptations But shall we shirk it just because of this reason ? Should we not resist them ? But Kishorlal says, " Having steered clear of these all these years why invite these troubles upon ourselves ? We have enough work to do and we may not add to it "

He also objects that the Congress resolutions do not always express the truth Now this is

unfair, for our resolutions express what is in our minds For instance, the Congress resolution says that we want to end this constitution Up to now we have been saying that we should not go near a thing we want to end We have up to now insisted on the boycott of legislatures schools, courts, etc which we wanted to end This doubt is not only in Kishorlal s mind but in many other minds We are thinking of the language of the Congress manifesto in the drafting of which many like Pandit Jawaharlal, the Sardar and Rajendra Babu have had a share The operative part of the A I C C resolution was drafted by me

Now, have I infringed truth in drafting that part of the resolution, or have I written in a language which is inconsistent with the Congress manifesto ? I can truthfully tell you that I see no untruth and no inconsistency A Satyagrahi is sometimes bound to use language which is capable of two meanings provided both the meanings are obvious and necessary and there is no intention to deceive anyone The language of the Vedas and the Gita often yields several meanings Tulsidas' Ramayan has verses which often yield several meanings Neither the authors nor the interpreters and commentators were untruthful The Congress resolution is undoubtedly framed to satisfy two groups Office acceptance is not obligatory One who thinks it inconsistent with the object of ending the Act will naturally not take office If those who go to the legislatures are pledged to truth and non-violence, fearlessness and selflessness, and if they were to accept ministerships on our terms we could win Swaraj and make the present constitution give place to our own Jawaharlal does not think so That is a difference that is fundamental between him and me In the same way he believes in the inevitability of class war and doubts the possibility of conversion of capitalists No doubt capital is lifeless but not capitalists who are amenable to conversion And yet with these different beliefs we work together Jawaharlal works with his colleagues in the faith that he will convert them to his view one day And his colleagues expect by association to convert him

But assuming that there has been no untruth so far says Kishorlal, what if he discovers untruth or violence being practised in future by the members of the Sangh who are pledged to truth and non-violence ? My reply to him is, 'You may then smash the Sangh and give it a decent burial' 'Who am I to do so ?' he asks I say to him, 'You have every right to do so as the head of the Sangh, it may even be your duty to do so The Sangh must not exist if its members propagate untruth or violence'

(From *Harijan* May 8 1937)

IV

K. G. M.'s Credo

Kishorlalbhai our President, who is more ill than I has prepared a long and well thought out address He has dealt at great length with our mutual misunderstandings, bickerings, our refusal to understand and bear with one another and so on, and asked whether our faith is anything worth, if it does not reflect itself more and more in our daily lives Do we feel that we are marching further forward every day towards our goal ? Do we feel that we are more non-violent today than we were when we met a year ago ? Have there been fewer occasions when we gave way to irritation and anger ? Such questions we have to ask ourselves again and again For the way of non-violence and truth is sharp as the razor's edge

(From *Harijan*, April 2, 1938)

Kishorlal Mashruwala has rightly dwelt at length on the principal implication of *ahimsa* viz, that the *ahimsa* in us ought to soften and not to stiffen our opponents' attitude to us, it ought to melt him, it ought to strike a responsive chord in his heart If the function of *himsa* is to devour all it comes across, the function of *ahimsa* is to rush into the mouth of *himsa* In an atmosphere of *ahimsa* one has no scope to put his *ahimsa* to the test It can be tested only in the face of *himsa*

(From *Harijan* May 13 1939)

V

Expanent of Ahimsa

To write a treatise on the science of *ahimsa* is beyond my powers I am not built for academic writings Action is my domain What I understand according to my lights, to be my duty and what comes my way I do All my action is actuated by the spirit of service Let any one who can systematize *ahimsa* into a science do so — if indeed it lends itself to such treatment In the event of my inability the correspondent has suggested three names in order of preference for this task Shri Vinoba, Shri Kishorlal Mashruwala, Shri Kaka Kalelkar The first named could do so, but I know he will not Every hour of his is scheduled for his work and he would regard it as sacrilege to take a single moment therefrom for writing a *shastra* I would agree with him The world does not hunger for *shastras* What it craves and will always crave is sincere action He who can appease this hunger will not occupy his time in elaborating a *shastra*

Shri Kishorlal has already written an independent treatise * If his health permits I know he would like to write further It may not be correct to call his work a *shastra*, but it may be said to be very near to one In his present state of health however, I do not think he can shoulder the burden and I would be the last person to lay it on him Like Shri Vinoba he too does not allow a moment of his time to be wasted Much of it is given to help solve the personal problems of a large circle of friends The end of the day leaves him utterly exhausted

(From *Harijan*, March 3 1948)

* *Gandhi Vichar Dohan* (in Gujarati).

A GREAT APOSTLE

The passing away of Shri Mashruwala removes from out midst one of the greatest apostles of the Gandhian era

He was a life-long invalid ridden with chronic ailments and weighed around seventyfive pounds all his life. Yet he filled innumerable roles in the India that was made by Gandhiji, and that which is still in the making

He was among those nearest and dearest to Gandhiji to be compared only with the late lamented Mahadev Desai, and his opinion was always held in the highest esteem by all in the country His counsel was sought after by most constructive organizations and institutions in the country, and was regarded as next only to that of Gandhiji

On many a grave issue his word weighed more with Gandhiji than that of most others, and if ever a difference arose between the two the Mahatma was unhappy He would not rest, would even defer action till they could see eye to eye

He was acknowledged worthy, years ago, of presiding permanently over a countrywide organization — the Gandhi Seva Sangh in which most of the greatest of our country's leaders took pride to serve the country s cause under his guidance His utter humility made him and his countrymen oblivious of his greatness

A writer endowed with a rare balance and with a charity reminiscent of Gandhiji he was one of the greatest exponents of the Gandhian way He expounded the Master's message and teachings with incomparable zeal and devotion. He brought sunshine to thousands and a spirit of kinship to innumerable workers seekers and correspondents His books (over a score mostly in Gujarati) are to be found and are read reverentially in every Gujarati home, and his name is a household word Many of his books are translated and are read all over the country

After the passing away of Gandhiji, Shri Mashruwala filled the editorial chair of the *Harijan* He revealed himself as the worthiest successor His best and most intimate friends marvelled at the powers he disclosed, and the readers could not distinguish K. G M from M K G writings He wielded his pen with a candour and a humility that defied description

During the last few weeks he could not spin for some time a practice which he hardly ever missed for a day for nearly 35 years of his life. He could not wield the lightest wheel, still he continued to wield the pen for the *Harijan* till 45 minutes before death He literally wore himself away — he died in harness

That he lived so long was a marvel That he could work and what a monumental record! — was nothing short of a miracle Hundreds of homes and institutions all over the country are bereaved, thousands upon thousands of workers and seekers in the cause of truth, peace and freedom mourn his loss May his memory continue to inspire us.

Kausani, 12 9-'52 SWAMI ANAND

[Swami Anand sent the following condolence message to Shrimati Gomtibehn]

Blessed be mother who bore him Blessed be you his life-long companion who ministered unto him to the end We bow you while you bow to Divine Dispensation

Kausani 10-9-'52 SWAMI ANAND

TRIBUTE

The news of Kishorlalbhai's death gave me a severe shock but caused no great surprise. Despite his heavily handicapped physical frame, he continued to labour continuously from day to day till the very end The end however, came rather abruptly We had been writing to each other at fairly frequent intervals His last letter reached me just on the eve of his death

While Gandhiji lived Shri Mashruwala had become a great interpreter of his philosophy His writings on a variety of subjects are familiar to the people of Gujarat He was well known for a penetrating intellect and a great clarity of thought and expression in all that he said or wrote We admired him for that but we venerated him for the high quality of the life he lived — simple noble, full of human sympathy and utterly dedicated to the principles and ideals which he had accepted as a result of his long association with Gandhiji There were many occasions which gave evidence of the great reservoir of moral and spiritual strength which he possessed

Shri Mashruwala was one of the diminishing band of Gandhiji's co-workers who filled in part the big vacuum which was created in the life of the country when he was snatched away from us Shri Mashruwala has made a tremendous contribution as editor of the *Harijan* It was a great burden of responsibility and I have witnessed the enormous pains he took to scrutinize and assess all the vast material which reached him before giving any of it a place or making his own comments in the columns of the *Harijan*

I am thinking at the moment of the void which his death has created.

New Delhi 20-9 '52 GULZARILAL NANDA

A LOVABLE PERSONALITY

Shri Kishorlalbhai was an able exponent of Gandhian way of life God has taken him away from our midst when we needed his services most Inscrutable are His ways Although he was in failing health for many years past he never spared himself I remember the occasions when he went to Bengal villages His exposition of Gandhian way and his lovable personality endeared him to all the constructive workers They all remember him to this day It would have been impossible for him to achieve what he did but for the silent and ungrudging services of his devoted wife Gomtibehn May his spirit bless us and may we show our reverence to the noble departed by following the footsteps of the Great Master Mahatma Gandhi in the services of the toiling millions!

Calcutta 22-9 '52 PRAFULLA CHANDRA GHOSH

THE STILL SMALL VOICE

It required great courage to take up the task of the *Harijan* where Gandhiji left it. Yet Kishorlalbhai shouldered it bravely to the end. He sought in all humility and in the spirit of Gandhiji to guide his readers in the way of truth and non violence One will miss his writings greatly They were always scholarly and fair, and appeared to come straight out of the heart They expressed honesty of purpose, sincerity of thought and earnest and careful study His criticisms bore no malice. On the other hand, they were always offered with deep sympathy and understanding It is unfortunate that at this time when there is so much partisan thinking the still small voice which spoke through him above the din of controversy, so clearly and uncompromisingly and without fear or favour, is silenced

What struck one above all else in Kishorlalbhai as a person was the dominance of his spirit over his frail body He was skin and bone, bedridden most of the time and hard of breath owing to asthma and yet there was always laughter in his eyes and a winsome smile on his lips. His body was worn and exhausted, but never his mind which was always fresh and as vivacious as that of a child His spirit seemed to have triumphed over his body and held it in subjection In this respect he was a great example and inspiration to many.

BHARATAN KUMARAPPA

INDIA'S POLITICAL CONSCIENCE

Kishorlalbhai has left us just when we needed his mature and mellow wisdom. There are many political parties in India, and each has its leaders and its exclusive claims to wisdom. But there is a wisdom which is non-partisan and yet which holds good for every party Such was the wisdom of this frail, unassuming man — unbiased, penetrating, full of humanity and charity It was for this reason that men of different views and warring politics betook themselves to Bajajwadi to seek his guidance and advice Ha had become India's political conscience

Kishorlalbhai has been rightly praised as a brilliant interpreter of Gandhiji's life and teachings But, to my mind, he was much more bo was himself an original thinker Truth and non-violence were to him living principles the application of which to tha ever-present and ever-changing problems of life was not a task of mere interpretation but of bold and fundamental thinking His passing away thus creates a void that will never be filled But the fact that thousands of selfless workers throughout the land will continue to draw inspiration from his dedicated life gives an assurance, in some measure that his high mission will be carried on.

JAYAPRAKASH NARAYAN

AN EVER VIGILANT LIGHTHOUSE

Shri Kishorlal Mashruwala bore long a painful ailment patiently till he slipped away from amongst us. In spite of his illness and heavy work he always greeted his visitors with a winning smile which made his guests feel comfortable in the presence of sickness.

In his passing away the country loses a beacon of Gandhism thought that was sending out, like an ever vigilant lighthouse, periodical rays of light and leading in the encircling gloom. He was a permanent feature of Wardha, its pilgrims will now miss the one dependable landmark for their guidance and consultation.

Our heart goes out to Shri Gomtibehn — his widow and other relatives in this irreparable loss

Wardha, 20-9-52 J. C. KUMARAPPA

MAHARSHI KISHORLALBHAI

Much has been said and much more shall still be said by way of well-deserved tributes to late Shri Kishorlalbhai, the *Maharshi* in the real sense of the term.

No words of eulogy tribute or appreciation, however sonorous or fittingly appropriate, will certainly be ever enough to give the exact idea of the true love and tremendous respect that the millions in our country had and still have, in their hearts for him No words will ever truthfully re-echo or reflect the deep sorrow and the sense of some irreparable loss with which their hearts are filled on his passing away

As a philosopher in general and as a student interpreter, follower and preacher of Gandhian Philosophy in particular *Maharshi* Kishorlalbhai had established for himself both a revered name and an unparalleled rank of repute

A scholarly writer, the *Maharshi* was both unique and superb as a journalist of sterling quality In journalism he distinguished himself in respects more than one But what was unique or more or less exceptional about him was this that, as the Editor of *Harijan* papers, he was not influenced or guided away in his selections of the contributions by the names of the writers if, and because, they were considered amongst luminaries, prominent somebodies or eminent nobodies. His only criterion of selection was the worth of the contributions received for publication, not the writer

When will the day dawn when this illustrious example set by the *Maharshi* will be followed here and abroad ?

His श्रद्धा — faith — in Gandhiji and his teachings was अनन्यवी and विवेकपूर्व — intelligent and rational, absolute but not blind He dedicated himself to his Master's cause — the cause of Sarvodaya — with indefatigable vigour, and yet in absolute humility with this song in his heart that the Father of the Nation lived worked and died for —

न त्वहं कामये राज्यं न स्वर्गं नापुनर्भवम् ।
कामये दुःखतप्तानां प्राणिनामार्तिनाशनम् ॥

May the Soul of *Maharshi* Kishorlalbhai rest in peace and may the Almighty give us the strength and courage to follow in his noble footsteps !

Bombay, 20-9-'52 VITHALDAS MODASI

A GREAT BLOW : A GREAT CHALLENGE

Kishorlalbhai's death came as a big shock to us yet it was not unexpected He had been ailing for many years It was sheer will power which had enabled him to carry the burden that he had When I saw him last in the first week of July I got the impression that he would not be with us for long I met him for the first time in 1925 when I was visiting Wardha during my college vacation I was given a room in the same compound in which Kishorlalbhai was staying He had an attack of asthma during the night and his early morning cough sounded most distressing I did not step into his room thinking that he was too ill to be disturbed but, to my great surprise I saw him go through a full day's routine This was repeated from day to day, week to week, month to month, year to year till the very end.

There was a tenacity of purpose and a determination which enabled him to overcome obstacles physical or otherwise Looking at his frail body one could hardly imagine the storehouse of energy and the fire that were hidden in it He was a man of deep learning and strong convictions He combined with these a deep devotion His loyalty to Bapu was unique But he could stand up against him firm as a rock if he felt convinced that there was a real cause for disagreement For that was also what he had learnt from Bapu Bapu encouraged people to think for themselves and helped them in their gropings and their growth

The fighter in him was thrilled by Bapu's call to action And in constructive work he found the secret of generating the power of non-violence and Satyagraha He was one of the few people who really understood that true politics can only be raised on the solid foundation of constructive work and he lived up to his belief He was a regular and conscientious spinner His contributions to the conferences on basic education and meetings of the Charkha Sangh and the Village Industries Association etc were of the highest order After Gandhiji's death, like the rest of Gandhiji's associates, he felt forlorn but, like a true disciple that he was, he found consolation in continuing what Gandhiji had left unfinished Many of us had felt the need of continuing the *Harijan* and yet for different reasons none was able to shoulder the responsibility. Kishorlalbhai came forward and took up the burden in spite of his failing health His writings bore the hallmark of his own innate non violence, nobility of character and universal friendliness and goodwill Pettiness, egotism or malice were foreign to his nature An unworthy sentiment or thought could not flow from his pen His loftiness of outlook was only matched by his penetrating intellect and balanced judgment. He made *Harijan* into a rallying standard for Gandhian thought and a power and influence in the country far beyond its actual circulation.

For o[illegible] he had been asking his friends to relie[illegible] of the responsibility of running the *Harijan* weeklies A few days before his death he wrote to Shri Pyarelalji that he had decided to go into complete retirement and rest for one year at the end of that period, he would decide what to do next But God had ordained eternal rest and relief for him, sooner than he had expected or anybody suspected

With Kishorlalbhai has dropped away another gem from Bapu's inner circle For those who belong to Bapu's family, the bleakness of life increases with the passing away of each stalwart And so does the challenge that faces us and Bapu's India

Delhi, 22-9-'52 SUSHILA NAYAR

IN AFFECTIONATE REMEMBRANCE

The hand of death has once again dealt a cruel blow to us in the taking from our midst a dear and valued comrade

Ever since I came into close touch with Bapu, I had the privilege and pleasure of knowing Kishorlalbhai It would be difficult to come across a more humble and more devoted follower of Bapu's ideals than him Since humility, Bapu taught us, was the first step towards finding the path of non violence, Kishorlalbhai had certainly made this virtue a boon companion He was a voracious reader a keen student a thinker, with intelligence and understanding far above the average. He was frail in body but strong of mind and heart. Ill health had been his lot ever since I can remember him and yet I never once heard him complain even when his suffering was acute, as it often need to be

Having imbibed Bapu's teachings and his way of life, no one followed it with more meticulous loyalty than Kishorlalbhai He was by nature ascetic in temperament and he never relaxed austerity even though in the opinion of some of us, he needed more comfort for his frail body

It used to be one of my unfailing joys to hear from Bapu of how he drew people to himself and it was wonderful how he remembered his first contacts with those who later became his devoted followers Of Kishorlalbhai he once said to me "Kishorlal is a rare being To be staunch and utterly loyal to his beliefs is a virtue which is inborn in him' I know how greatly he valued his opinion and any questioning that came from Kishorlalbhai received from Bapu the consideration that was this disciple's due But Kishorlal was never one unduly to take Bapu's time He realized how selfish most people were in this regard and spared him as few of us did.

To edit *Harijan* after its Founder Editor had been called to leave this earth was an immense task I doubt if anyone else could have carried this burden as efficiently and as unostentatiously as Mashruwala did He had a facile pen but editing means, as we all knew, endless vigilance and hard work For Kishorlalbhai it meant the exercise of enormous will power in order to over-

come or, as one may put it, forget his physical infirmity Further it was no easy task to keep burning the torch of Bapu's teaching and fearlessly to criticize his colleagues in whose hands were the reins of governance But then he was a man of iron will and determination as also of boundless courage

A true disciple of Bapu and a good soldier of non-violence has been taken from our midst We are much the poorer for his passing as indeed is the world for men like Kishorlal are not born every day It is well with him as it must be with all who have lived truly But it is human on our part to miss him and to mourn his loss One by one those of our generation who had the rare privilege of being in Bapu's inner circle are passing into the Great Beyond May it be given to each one of us to be as true to Bapu as Kishorlalbhai was He has left a fragrant memory and a lovely example and he will live in our hearts for all time May his soul rest in peace! And may God grant His special comfort to Gomtibehn — that silent and loving companion and helpmeet of Kishorlalbhai — to whom our hearts go out in sincere sympathy

20-9-52 AMRIT KAUR

THE HOLLOWS SHALL BE FILLED

The one thought that filled late Shri Mashruwala's entire being during the last few months of his earthly existence was to contribute his utmost in creating throughout the country, the atmosphere and the will among the 'haves' to respond willingly and generously to Vinobaji's appeal to part with a fifth of their lands in favour of the have-nots' Next to Vinobaji himself, none in the country advocated the cause of Bhoodan with greater earnestness than did Shri Mashruwala His writings in the *Harijan* journals week after week, his vast day to-day correspondence — almost to the last hour of his life all bear ample testimony to this

The prophet of old spoke of the 'mountains to be levelled' and of the hollows to be filled' In our own time and clime the former was accomplished by the Iron Man of India and the process is being further completed by his successors through legal and other measures

But the task of 'filling the hollows' had been destined for the lean Apostle in loin-cloth who is walking the earth of India today, and in whom the millions witness the Father of the Nation resurrected His way unlike the temporal is the way of Love and he has been walking the villages, even as did Tathagata Buddha — 'the wisest and the greatest man of the East', twenty five centuries ago Delivering his message of love and goodwill, he is calling upon the 'haves to restore to the 'fifth brother' his birthright by way of a voluntary offering so that 'the hollows may be filled' and there be no 'weeping and wailing and gnashing of teeth

Vinobaji calls upon the 'haves to realize the ignominy of claiming or clinging to rights and privileges that belong to a dead age The only living right according to him, is the right to work to labour and sweat, for the conquest of every day This is the Law And none but the aged the ailing or the babe shall violate it save on peril of stagnation decay and death

It was for the country-wide propagation and triumph of this message of Vinobaji that the late Shri Mashruwala expended the last ounce of his energy

One of the last contributions of his gifted pen has been his vision of future India contained in his reply to a member of the Planning Commission who approached him to be enlightened on the subject of a new orientation of our country's land policy which may reinstate her 'have-nots' on well-laid and secure foundations in respect of the lands on which they toil away their lives This classical document may be regarded as something like Shri Mashruwala's last will and testament calling upon the framers of India's future to fill the hollows' wisely and expeditiously

Thus Shri Mashruwala championed the cause of the 'have-nots to the end of his life He was the greatest bulwark of the Bhoodan Movement He has left no heir save his nation It is unto everyone who loved him to exert himself, to his or her utmost for the speedy triumph of Shri Vinobaji's Bhoodan-Yajna There can be no greater homage or memorial to Shri Mashruwala's memory than this

SWAMI ANAND

AN APPRECIATION

Last year I spent about 3 hours at Sevagram with Shri K G Mashruwala whom I had been longing to see for years I found in him a man of unbounded kindness and courtesy, possessing a wide and intimate knowledge of men and things I believe he was one of the last of the group of Gandhiji's true disciples who could write, speak and act with the same force and sincerity as the Mahatma did About a month ago the Reading Room Committee of my School had recommended, as a measure of economy, that we should stop subscribing for the *Harijan* I said, Not till K G Mashruwala is the editor" And now I feel one of the best memorials to the loving memory of its Founder and Shri Mashruwala would be to make the *Harijan* one of the vital instruments for spreading Gandhiji's Message of Love Truth and Non violence

M C BENSON

A BRAVE SOUL

Being out on tour I can pay my tribute to Kishorlalbhai in time only by sending brief telegram Kishorlal Mashruwala held aloft Gandhiji's banner through the *Harijan* with ability and firmness Even in Gandhiji's time he was often availed of by the former for stimulating full consideration of his own views Kishorlalbhai was universally fitted for supplying this stimulus Readers of the *Harijan* during last four years had ample evidence of this. He was a brave soul which fought bravely for the truth as he saw it on the spiritual plane while fighting exasperating malady of the body on the physical plane His brave fight is a rare example to all of us

Marland 24-9-'52 JAIRAMDAS DOUTARAM

A GREAT PILGRIM

[illegible] seldom comes across greater contrast [illegible] body and spirit Frail, awkward and un-[illegible] tive, his body housed fearless soul known for clear vision unshakable firmness, rational approach and even temper Not without reason that Gandhiji chose him President of Gandhi Seva Sangh He was a great pilgrim who always walked in the light of his conscience

Ranchi 22 9 52 R R DIWAKAR

CONDITIONS FOR ECONOMIC EQUALITY

(By M P T Acharya)

I have read the aims and objects of the Arthik Samata Mandal While I agree that inequality of incomes is one of the causes of conflict among members of society and therefore of its disintegration so long as individual ownership and responsibility remains, there will be inequality of incomes The very idea "incomes" implies some kind of money incomes and trade If individual ownership remains or is wanted — whether in land or instruments — there must be and will be trade and inequality of incomes Wide or narrow disparity of incomes will create the same problems and conflicts for Nature is not alike with individuals or things to make their incomes equal. Individual responsibility and ownership produces or generates the idea that oneself is not justly rewarded while another gets more than his just reward Of course individuals want private ownership but then they must be told that there cannot be equality of incomes and justice and if they want equality of incomes it can only be through the society or collectivity, where all put their knowledge and work for the benefit of the whole society and receive from it security of living from birth to death Then individual incomes trade and money will be abolished That people do not want it, does not mean we should not tell it, but tell them what they want even if it is impossible of achievement on their terms We would then be telling an untruth to please them At least we would be giving them a wrong advice

Of course inequality of incomes will be abolished only in a decentralized society But decentralized society does not mean there should be no co ordination of economics on a country-wide scale on country-wide agreement If there is no agreement, there would be conflict Hence we should bring a country-wide agreement

Inequality of income can be abolished only in a family where all things are for the benefit of all — without any price, without any wages and without any money and any exchange We should put the country on one family basis the country as one family All will be taken care of by the family from birth to death in return for the services and knowledge placed by them at the disposal of the society If that is impossible, inequality of income will remain Is it necessary to tell it from housetops ?

The Bolshevik way is to make the Bolshevik party the proprietor of all things and the patriarch of all society That is parasitism of the Bolshevik party which can only be centralist We want democracy at all places without any patriarch — all as common owners

The Arthik Samata Mandal seems to have taken for granted that in the truthful and non-violent society there will be Government (from a Centre) law-making, elections to distant parliaments, army, police, prisons, magistrates and supreme courts responsible to a Centre Trade, currency wages and prices and interest, rents, profits, taxes, — all as now here or as in Russia or China If these exist, we will be encouraging parasitism, even with equality of income on a par with producers who have to maintain them For an equalitarian society, we must abolish all unnecessary work even unnecessary writing and record keeping We must have goods economy — not money and market economy Record keeping is necessary only for a thieves' society When a man works, he must know he is working not only for others but for himself also If his work is bad or evil for others it will be bad and evil for himself He cannot get anything before others also get it. That is the only equality we can have without conflict We want only technical work

For this purpose, we cannot have divided ownership in which each has to purchase from others what is needed for production All available things must be available for production without purchasing or hiring Otherwise production will have to wait till the purchase can be made All works today have to wait because there is no money (means) to purchase necessary ingredients.

Money is the most centralized and scarce thing, being kept restricted All works can be started only when money can be got Nobody will accept decentralized currency

Those who talk of decentralism and money are blowing hot and cold in the same breath

There can be no equitable exchange Every exchange requires paying more than the cost price — so that to pay one more than it cost him one must get more from another and he must also get more than that from someone else Thus a whole chain of parasitism is established That is done through exchange If I receive only my cost price, I cannot purchase anything and cannot eat or purchase anything more than what I produce

With the economic set up or paraphernalia we know there can be no equality of incomes nor truthful or non-violent society Unless we tell the people plainly what is the truth, we cannot set up a non-violent society We cannot organize them with the present set-up

It is no use to appeal to Government whose interests are opposed to non-violent non-exploitative society It is the people who will have to take possession of all things by Satyagraha and run it themselves

Many more things can be said about the problem but these are essential

PROHIBITION IN MADHYA PRADESH

Readers know that the Madhya Pradesh Government had instituted a committee of inquiry to go into the whole question of the State policy of prohibition and its administration and results. Unlike the Bombay State Prohibition inquiry (the report of which is out now) which was aimed at going into the question of administration and how to make it better serve the purpose of prohibition the M P inquiry was to be a 'fact finding committee' to inquire into the various aspects of the policy of prohibition and to make recommendations regarding them". The terms of reference were so wide as to include even the scuttling of prohibition ' which clearly indicated that it (the M P Govt) wanted recommendations which would enable it to facilitate drinking ' (*Harijan* — 12-7-'52 p 164). The Committee's report is out now and the M P Legislature had free discussion on it the other day and the Government is considering it with a view to revising its policy of prohibition, if it is so needed.

The report is not unanimous. Of the five members including the Chairman four sign it and the fifth member, Shri Kodanda Rao submits his ' Separate Report" which almost wholly differs from the Majority Report in its findings on most of the material points of reference, but however queerly enough, both the reports agree to scrap the basic policy of prohibition enjoined on the State by the Constitution of India, in favour of what they style as " the system of Individual Rationing". On going through the Report I was reminded of the Civil Disobedience Committee of the Congress of 1922-23 which almost sabotaged the very aim of its appointment. However, to be just I must note that Shri Kodanda Rao, in his Separate Report (shortly written S R hereafter) has very ably and successfully argued some points against the Majority Report for which he deserves congratulations. He categorically locates the difficulty of the experiment of prohibition in M P in the following words:

> "The conclusion seems irresistible that enforcement of the law was feeble discriminatory and demoralising that Government did much to discredit the law and that if there was a considerable reduction in the consumption of liquor in the dry areas,* it was not primarily due to the enforcement of the laws by Government and the administration but to the general law-abiding character of the people and to the economic factors, already discussed ' (S. R. p 48— para 28). Public support was strongly and consistently in favour of prohibition in M P" (S R. p 54— para 30). But it was almost nullified by ' the disappointing experience of its operation.

From this one may naturally expect that the recommendations of the Committee should rather emphasize that this appalling state of administration must be set right in the interests of prohibition and offending persons pulled up and brought to book. But unfortunately the Committee does not do so. The reason seems to be that the Majority Report does not believe in prohibition and it thinks the step is against human nature and is based on the " mis-conception of the social and religious traditions ' of our country since ancient times. The Separate Report is not so bold to say so nor so learned to go into such questions of ancient history and culture of our people. It appears to believe in the need of prohibition but it takes note of the difficulties before it and says —

> ' The alternative is to extend prohibition to the whole State and abolish excise. It will be in consonance with the policy of the Prohibition Act of the mandate of the Congress and the country and above all the Directive Principle of the Indian Constitution. Nevertheless we do not recommend its extension to the whole State" (Why? Because it finds that.) " The present Government and the administrative high command do not seem to be keen on it. What little zeal they may have was inhibited by the directive of the Government of India. the administrative high command never believed in prohibition and have had a cordial contempt for it. It is administratively impossible to replace the official high command with another set of officials vowed to prohibition. If the best is not good enough and if salt hath lost its savour what next? (S R p 70 para 4)

This, in a nutshell is where prohibition stands in M P. The Government of that State has to decide its next step under these conditions. The main questions that arise for it may be shorty put down below:

1 Can or should the State go back on its policy of prohibition? Is it not bound by the Directive Principle of the Constitution of India which categorically says that " the State shall endeavour to bring about prohibition ?"

2 Can temperance or ' individual rationing' which is another name for it replace prohibition, according to the Constitution?

3 What to do about the administrative high command ' which may with impunity kill Government policies?

4 Will temperance mend matters any way? Can it fulfil the aims and intentions of the Constitution? Has it not been a failure all along from that point of view?

5 Can liquor be a matter of rationing like food and raiment? Can the State provide for it when it is enjoined "to bring about the *prohibition* of the consumption, except for medicinal purposes, of intoxicating drinks?"

These are some of the main questions that face the Government and the people of M P. The answers to them are clear. The State cannot go back upon its own policy of prohibition and traduce itself as also the Constitution of India. What ever it may decide must be in no way against or in lieu of prohibition, which only can be State policy in India, but it must be a step, however small in that direction. To that end it must continue the dry area with stiffened enforcement, put the wet area under prohibition by having a permit system based on medical grounds, and

* The reader may note that there are two areas in M P a dry and a wet one. The dry area is 70 643 sq miles and comprises 1/3 of the State with a population representing about 48 per cent of the total

[illegible] five industrial areas like Katni etc [illegible] prohibition The erring officials should [illegible] deal with Shri Kishorlalbhai's suggestion in his article 'Drink and Prohibition' [illegible] 52) that officers who cannot do [illegible] should be removed from Government [illegible] Government institutions, was probably [illegible] such experience about erring officers It [illegible] worth while for the Government of the M P to make such a discipline necessary among its officers who might be called upon to discharge duties under the Prohibition Act A suitable pledge might be devised, which every officer should take It will help raise their morale in the eyes of the public which wants to see prohibition succeed Can their Government fall them? It is hoped the legislature in M P will see that prohibition is not allowed to be scrapped by the dubious and dangerous device of 'liquor rationing' which is the same old drink policy with a fresh name

12-9-'52 MAGANBHAI P DESAI

GREAT EXPONENT OF A DECENTRALIZED SYSTEM

What attracted me most in the late Kishorlalbhai was his great humility and his impartial love for all who came in contact with him He had the rare gift of being completely free from a sense of self (अहंकार) and, therefore, he never developed any prejudices His genial smile and friendly advice were there for all who went to him

2 It was the same quality of his mind which helped him to carry on unceasingly his physical and mental efforts in spite of the handicaps of poor health and made him accept with perfect equanimity the mistakes he had committed. I particularly recall how he confessed in the *Harijan* after Gandhiji's release that he realised that he had erred in advising that removal of rails in the 1942 movement could be non-violent action

3 To the very last he was espousing the political and economic implications of a decentralized system His last letter dated 2nd September, 1952 was on this very subject He strongly objected to the conception of a Welfare State in which the Government does everything for the people He pointed out in his own powerful style it is much better to live as we have lived from the birth of humanity till now in some sort of a struggle for existence than be just comfortable well kept animals by a small powerful group of our own species How true and yet with what compelling speed we are going fast towards such a pass!

The fact is that we are in a hurry and we lack the faith and confidence that a decentralized approach which is bound to lead to slow material development will be ultimately in the best interests of the country

In his departure the Nation has suffered a great loss, as his unbiased opinion of men and matters was a pointer in a right direction.

22-9-'52 R K PATIL

GANDHI AND MARX
By K G Mashruwala
With an Introduction by Shri Vinoba
Pages viii+112 Price Re 1 8 Postage etc As 5

MIRACLE OF SOUL-FORCE

The news of the sudden death of Pujya Kishorlal Mashruwala came as a great shock to all of us. I had the privilege of being in close contact with him ever since 1946 when I came to Wardha to participate in the work of the Gandhian institutions I always regarded him as a miracle of soul-force Though very weak and frail in body with continuous attacks of asthma he possessed an indomitable will and determination which defied all physical limitations Shri Kishorlalbhai kept his inner light always pure and steady in spite of many storms that passed over the country in general and the Wardha institutions in particular He never allowed himself to be swayed away by passing gushes of emotions He possessed a very critical but balanced sense of judgment over various problems facing the country He always kept an open mind and did not believe in crystallized thought Although he was one of the closest associates of Gandhiji he had the rare courage to differ even with Bapu on certain issues He was, thus an institution by himself

We have not only lost a distinguished and brilliant interpreter of Gandhian thought but also a noble father friend and philosopher Although he is no longer in our midst, his life, work and writings would continue to shed light on our path amid encircling gloom

Wardha 22-9-'52 S N AGARWAL

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HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)
Editor: MAGANBHAI P. DESAI

VOL. XVI No 32 AHMEDABAD — SATURDAY, OCTOBER 4, 1952 TWO ANNAS

'SATYAGRAHI'

The above is a photographic reproduction of a wood carving by Mrs Willemina Ogterop 2108 Sattuck Avenue, Berkeley 4, California, U S A. In her enclosing letter she writes "among my first attempts in wood carving I tried this portrayal of Gandhiji's principles I am 70 years old so you must make a little allowance I did not aim at any likeness of Mahatma Gandhi himself just Satyagrahi on the march against violence of weapons bombs etc ' The reader will note weapons of various types are pointed against the small band of Satyagrahis and a bomb is laid on the ground The Satyagrahis are supposed to be led by Gandhiji

The carving shows how Gandhiji's heroic ideas have moved discerning and sensitive souls of the world

Mrs Ogterop deserves commendations for this visible and personified representation of the idea of War Resistance

Wardha, 8-9 '52 K G MASHRUWALA

SATYAGRAHA
[NON-VIOLENT RESISTANCE]
By Mahatma Gandhi
Pages xvi + 406 Price Rs 5-8-0 Postage etc As 15
NAVAJIVAN PUBLISHING HOUSE
Post Box 105 AHMEDABAD

NEITHER BOUNTY NOR PROTECTION

Shri T T Krishnamachari during the course of a Press Conference at Delhi on 11 9-'52 has replied to Shri Rajaji's representation for protecting the great handloom industry His reply amounts to saying that he could neither protect the weaver by restricting *dhoti* and *saree* production of the mills nor give him bounty to reduce his cloth prices However he declares to "appoint a high powered committee to examine comprehensively the various aspects of the textile industry covering the mills, powerlooms and handlooms." The committee "will have fairly wide terms of reference" It must be said that this does not in the least meet the urgent question raised by the Madras Chief Minister A committee is neither a reply nor a proper way to solve such an urgent question. As Shri Jawaharlalji said the other day at Indore, "usually committees were appointed which went all over the country for six months and produced nothing" Such democratic devices to do nothing or to postpone and if it can be to confuse and confound fateful but uncherishable tasks is too well known to mislead any one. Shri Krishnamachari may well have the luxury, at Government cost, of having such a democratic device But is that even needed any way ? Mr M Somappa President of the Madras State Handloom Weavers' Co-operative Society, discussing this point, is reported to have said at Bellary as follows

> "There was no need for a fresh fact-finding committee as all necessary facts and figures about the handloom industry had been collected by the Fact-Finding Committee on handlooms in 1942 the All India Handloom Board in 1946, and the Handloom Standing Committee of the Cottage Industries Board constituted in 1948

(*The Times of India* Dak Ed, Sept 20 1952)

Hence it is in the interests of the Government as well as the people that Shri Krishnamachari might better not parry the question raised by Shri Rajaji, but try to meet it in the bold way in which it is raised

And the question is, as Shri Rajaji so well put it "not of yardage but of human families whose care is the obligation of the State Government and therefore of the Central Government" The argument of the cheapness of mill-cloth is no answer to that, because it must be realized now that this so-called cheapness is at the cost of so

human n[illegible] power ed[illegible] I admit such [illegible] lines in regard [illegible] is it ought to [illegible] times we are in [illegible] I not shut our [illegible] It is necessary that Government [illegible] into them and revise its textile policy [illegible] view the fact that its chief and first [illegible] people is to see that they are immediately employed in the great industries of feeding [illegible] clothing our people, that they are here [illegible] assured of honest work which is bread [illegible] It is not a question of merely clothing [illegible] but of finding out how best to produce [illegible] for ourselves so that we have full employment and no rivalry between the man and the machine It is also necessary on the part of the [illegible] industry that it should not stand in competition with the millions of hungry families and [illegible] away their daily bread from them It is [illegible] that on this vital issue of our economic [illegible] industrial reorganization the Industry and [illegible] Ministry of Industries are almost of one voice, [illegible] obviously their interests are not and [illegible] not be alike We should understand that [illegible] is a place for village industries in our [illegible] economic set up it is here The claims [illegible] handloom and the *charkha* also are first [illegible] must be squarely met If control over [illegible] industry is any way necessary or helpful [illegible] economic life it is here and in this manner [illegible] should realize that the main [illegible] done for our people today is not setting [illegible] new industries here and there, but [illegible] concerted effort to remove the collo[illegible] employment that stalks our national life [illegible] to misery starvation, death and [illegible] The Commerce Minister's refusal either [illegible] protect the handloom is, therefore [illegible] the wrong direction

[illegible] 52 MAGANBHAI P DESAI

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PROHIBITION AMONG THE ADIWASIS

I have [illegible] the report of the working of the Bombay Dry Dist for the years 1947-48 1948-49 [illegible] I do not propose at present to write about it but pick up one thing from it that is important in another sphere

As the [illegible] knows the Dangs is a separate district in Bombay State and is a hilly jungle tract inhabited by the Bhils Varlis etc who are collectively called the Dangis They are (according to 1941 census) 40 918 souls inhabiting their home area of about 600 sq miles In a way, it may be said they live a life of their own and come in contact with our 'civilized' world through trade and commerce in jungle products which are the main source of their labour and livelihood

Bombay is a tract of Bombay State it came under its prohibition law and this measure was introduced in that area as well The Bombay Administration Report noted above devotes a special paragraph (para 103) to report the results of this experiment It is reproduced below, even to show how learned theories arrived at in some manner are falsified by the reality of actual practice and positive human behaviour I mean the assertion of the learned anthropologists" to which the paragraph below refers at the end

> The most astounding progress was made in the [illegible] of Prohibition A Dist Prohibition Officer for the Dangs was appointed in September 1949 He organised a Kshetriya Sabha consisting entirely of Dangis and a Pakshik Patri Incessant propaganda was carried on through these and other agencies such as Students Prohibition Committees and welfare centres The Collector of the Dangs (Shri K T Satarawala IAS) describes under his progress report for the month ending 31st October 1949
>
> I have so far not mentioned Prohibition in these reports but it is to be noted that after the award of [illegible] to them appeared as deterrent [illegible] illicit distillation cases have ceased since the [illegible] of August 1949 (The sentences were a fortiori the minimum prescribed by law but in Dangs it was a very heavy sentence and if it [illegible] jail outside the Dangs I feel now that [illegible] sentence was extremely heavy) I have made inquiries about this total disappearance of illicit distillation or any Abkari cases during the past week and have come to the above conclusion
>
> Again in the report for December 1949 he observed as under
>
> Prohibition offences have almost disappeared I feel that this can be considered as something of a major achievement in this Dangs, which was well known for its drink habits This is also a tangible proof of the fact that Dangis are amenable to instruction and if directed properly they can be brought into line with the inhabitants of other districts to a remarkably short time.'

Indeed the success of Prohibition in the Dangs disproved completely the assertions of learned Anthropologists that the social life of the Aboriginal Tribes is indissolubly linked up with drink and that to deprive an Aboriginal of his drink is almost equivalent to in[illegible]

9-9-'52 MAGANBHAI P DESAI

A FORGOTTEN INCIDENT

The curtain has long been dropped on what was a couple of days' notice minor incident and would by itself had drawn no interest but for the importance of one of the persons involved. I am referring to the unprovoked and gratuitous attack on our beloved Premier's secretary some months back by a lunatic or at best a person who for the time being was deprived of a sane mind. I [illegible] some grievance he had been harbouring in it added to by a disappointing and perhaps to that deranged mind an irritating reply.

The culprit did not so far as I remember give any adequate reason for his mad act and so, as in all probability like a hundred other cases decided in Delhi that day was sentenced to a long period behind the bars. Naturally the incident was forgotten after the papers had been read and thrown into the waste paper basket. I too had done the same but was reminded of it by a discussion with a friend who did not appear quite happy with the result of the Swaraj we have attained. Again the matter had slipped out of my mind and again it was revived on reading a small note on the duties of a Governor by Gandhiji reproduced in *Harijan*. That paper did not leave my table, nor did the matter go out of my mind till I had written to its Editor.

We have discussed the matter by correspondence and some enquiries have been made and it is felt that there are a few points arising out of the incident that require the attention of the authorities and may be shared with the general reader.

The first point that arises is whether every person and there must be millions of them who has a grievance or a desire must as a matter of right demand and get an interview with the Head of the State (President or Governor) minister or other high officer. Gandhiji in his duties of a Governor has beautifully summed up by saying that a Governor should so live that he should be approachable by the humblest of persons. Gandhiji of course qualifies that the Governor needs protection from the public gaze so that it does not interfere with the efficiency of his work. It is physically impossible and even absurd that such interviews must be granted to all and sundry who demand them. But at the same time it is necessary that they must know why they cannot get them and it is equally necessary that some agency and means must be provided to listen to them and wherever possible grievances should be heard, removed or at least palliated.

In the old days life and the machinery of Government were simple and it was not difficult even for Emperors to give public audiences. The complaints too were not many. But in modern times there is such a phenomenal increase in routine, red tape and complication of rights and duties and most of all the question of hunger and employment has become so stupendous, that there must be millions of people seeking jobs, [illegible] to list [illegible] only when [illegible] officers that [illegible] highest. If [illegible] provisions [illegible] plants are [illegible] pathy the [illegible] person [illegible] to higher authority will be obviated [illegible] officers too by so listening to various persons will know the real state of affairs in the district and while affording relief in individual cases will be able to evolve rules and modify existing practices whereby the number of complaints etc will get lesser and lesser.

Grievances usually arise out of injustice and injustice mostly arises out of corruption. That is the great question before the country and the Government and that is what is leaving the common man so dissatisfied with the Swaraj we have. This is a large and general question and Government administrators and the Planning Commission are anxiously considering the matter and things are bound to improve and we the common men have to exercise the same patience and lend the same co-operation that we expect from the officers.

This was by the way. Whatever may be the general consideration there is of course no justification for the mad and crime under consideration or another that followed it a few weeks later in an attempt to set fire to the Houses of Parliament. In both the cases the culprits were harbouring some grievance and wished to draw attention by creating some shocks. They did succeed for the time. But the matter should not stop there. It would be wise to examine the culprit through sympathetic officers and find out the real nature of their grievances and the motives that incited them to the crimes. If possible they may be given pardon or remission. But the more important thing is that the repetition of such acts must be avoided if not made impossible. Precautions for safety of persons and property should are and will be taken but these cannot be sufficient. It is equally necessary that the machinery for administration of justice, disposal of petitions, appeals and grievances etc should be placed on an honest, more efficient and what is most important sympathetic basis. When mattention or dereliction of duty of subordinate officers comes to the knowledge of superior officers, they must take notice so that parties are satisfied and the subordinates are called upon to be more careful.

NIRANJAN PRASHAD

AN ATHEIST WITH GANDHI
With Introduction by shri K. G. Mashruwala
By *Gora*
(G. Ramachandra Rao)
Pages 55 Price Re 1 Postage etc, As 3

HARIJAN

Oct. 4 1952

GANDHI JAYANTI

We are in the midst of the Gandhi Jayanti celebrations We will be celebrating the birthday of the Father of the Nation on 2nd October, according to the Christian calendar This is fast growing to be an annual feature of our national life We as a people should forge a common way of celebrating it without any distinction of caste or creed race or region How shall we do it ?

For years on it used to be a Khadi week Gandhiji wished us to celebrate it not as *his* Jayanti but as *Charkha* Jayanti The week used to be a national Khadi Stock Clearance Week all over the country It helped this great industry of the poor and the unemployed to secure a new year of cheer and hope During those days buying Khadi was, to many of us, almost an expression of love for and gratitude to Gandhiji and the great national cause of the service of the poor And this it should still continue to be Why should not all celebrate the Gandhi Jayanti in that way and with greater reason ? Khadi needs such loving help still The Government has not still seen its way to adopting it as our immediate way to full employment and removing poverty Again now it is no more a political emblem, as some mistook it to be then More than ever, it is today the emblem of freedom from idleness and unemployment which we have to secure still Therefore let us continue to respect it in free India as well It is still the livery of freedom now in a much more true and befitting manner

But there is a deeper meaning and significance of the Gandhi Jayanti also It is an yearly reminder to us of the great truths that Gandhiji taught us and wished us to live for Shri Vinoba is concretely drawing our attention to it by his land-gift campaign- Gujarat has decided to celebrate the Jayanti week as a Bhoomi-Dan (Land-Gift) Week One may well have honest difference with this way of solving our land problem But it should be noted that this difference is not fundamental but is only of the nature of a doubt whether people will give land to the extent of solving the entire land problem This is a difference over which there need be no worry, as fundamentally all agree that the way is truly Gandhian that it paves the way and prepares the group mind for ushering a new era in the solution of our land problem Really speaking it is a call to all the haves to realize their duty to the have-nots of our people It is a call on them to realize betimes what they owe in trust to unto the last " of our nation. Shall we discharge that trust in a peaceful and democratic way ? Or shall we be blind to this writing on the wall ,that the *Status Quo* [illegible] tained that we are in the midst [illegible] revolution urging our masses o[illegible] destiny , that it is in our own in[illegible] well as the interest of all others to we[illegible] this before it is too late , that the alternative to this is abject surrender to the violent and a-social forces of Fascism or Communism denying to us the democratic way of life to which we are wedded under the leadership of Gandhiji ? The Gandhi Jayanti reminds each of us of giving our very best which we hold in trust for all It is a call on those that possess land to share it with the landless, those that possess wealth to honestly use it in the interest of the people, and on those that possess the riches of the mind to share them with the people by giving them in the tongue of the common man It calls for a total effort on the part of us all to cheerfully submit ourselves to what otherwise is bound to overwhelm us sooner than later The first shall be last and the last shall be first is not a mere spiritual dictum but is also a doctrine in social dynamics as well. History tells us that it comes true either through a violent breakdown of an arrogant or unmindful society or by a peaceful way of benevolent and responsible social sense of duty or *dharma* " unto this last " among us operating as a great moral and spiritual leaven in our body politic Gandhiji stood for the latter way May we remember our duty to follow it and thereby give our best tribute to him who led us from bondage and slavery to freedom and fullness of life

13-9-'52 MAGANBHAI P DESAI

A MESSAGE TO MEN EVERYWHERE

[The following message' was drawn up by a small group of American and English members of the World Conference of the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers) which met in Oxford England from July 28 to August 6 this year The message springs from experience of the discussions and fellowship of the conference and was widely welcomed among the Friend present the last three sentences have been incorporated with slight rearrangement into the conference official message to Peoples Everywhere This full text has been sent by Horace G Alexander who was one of the Friends who helped in the formulation]

The human conscience is perplexed and afflicted by the pervading pressure of power exercised by men and nations The weak are impotent the strong dictate No claim of national interest or class loyalty can justify the crushing of human personality There is an arrogance which identifies self-interest with virtue and deafens men to the needs and voices of others outside their class or nation Men strive for security in a world where security cannot exist The more we cling to security the less secure we feel , the more we cling to armaments and economic privilege the more frightened we become How shall man be released from his besetting fears and the prevailing sense of futility ?

To risk all may be to gain all Men have cheerfully ventured all and risked death and

starvation for many causes There can hardly be a greater cause than the release of man from the terror and hate that now enslave him Each man has the means of his salvation within himself He can say 'No' whenever he feels himself compromised We call on all men to say 'No' to the war machine and to all immoral claims of totalitarian power, wherever it exists and whatever the consequences may be The price of peace may be as great as the price of war but in the long run there is no other way to break the vicious circle

We call on all men to act by the courageous non violence which alone can overcome injustice, persecution and tyranny This is the power that can save the world We call on all men to say 'Yes' to every effort to bring the kingdom of Heaven, the kingdom of One World, to this earth Let us join together throughout all the world to grow more food to heal and prevent diseases, to conserve and develop the resources of the good earth These are among the tasks to which in humility for our share in the world's shame and in faith in revolutionary love, we call our own society and all men everywhere Let us unite to glorify God and enjoy Him for ever

A TRIBUTE TO K. G. MASHRUWALA

The death of Shri K G Mashruwala removes from our midst a personality deeply respected for its outspoken and candid criticism of men and things viewed in the light of Sarvodaya Philosophy

Indeed he supplied the missing link that joined us, after Gandhiji's passing away, to all that Gandhiji stood for He was a very rational and a matter of fact advocate of the Gandhian way of life

Those who have read carefully his series of articles on Gandhi *vs* Karl Marx or those on the problem of vegetable ghee could not have failed to realize how well he had mastered the art of his Master (Gandhiji) of clear thinking and dispassionate analysis He did not like the pomp and the publicity with which Gandhiji's sacred ashes were consigned to the numerous waters in India and strongly condemned that neo-idolatry in connection with the Mahatma who could do without it, all his life

We all looked to him after Gandhiji's demise to keep us on the path that led to the Gandhian conception of a non violent society based on truth and justice But alas! now that he has left us to seek that path unaided, we shall do well to ponder deeply over his writings during the last five years and strain every nerve to bring about a transformation in our lives for which he lived and died receiving his own inspiration from that of the Mahatma

May his soul rest in peace

Panvel, 23-9-'52 M K SAHASRABUDHE

A GANDHIAN MENTOR

I never saw Kishorlalbhai personally even though I always looked up to him for advice and guidance in moments of doubt and conflict With his passing away my long-cherished desire of seeing him will ever remain a dream of sorrows I still had the privilege of vindicating my views by writing letters to him His untiring efforts to fulfil the cravings of an ordinary citizen like me, for replies to letters written to him were a rare virtue

Although separated by distance, his letters did bring home food for thoughts, and indeed appealed to me as coming from a great thinker of fundamental truths and principles As my humble tribute to the memory of the great soul I cannot do better than reproduce a free English rendering of one of his letters which conveyed to me his answer to my query whether it was becoming for China or India to ape Western customs and ceremonials in political parties and diplomatic receptions

Lalji Kunj Khar
Bombay 25 — 1st Jany 52

Bandhuvar

Your letter with the enclosed cutting of your letter to the *Statesman* is to hand How can China alone escape from the advancing tide of fashion and indulgences which is so speedily and constantly creeping over the world? The human mind is not only rational but also sensual As such there is a continuous conflict between idealism and a craving for indulgences It is high time for us to find a way out and to save our motherland from being engulfed by this advancing tide

Thanking you,

Yours sincerely,
Kishorlal Mashruwala

KSHITINDRA KUMAR NAG

10/1A Indra Roy Road,
Calcutta 25

A LESSON FROM KISHORLALBHAI'S LIFE

To give good counsel even to those with whom he fundamentally disagreed was the habit which Kishorlalbhai learnt from Bapuji and which he practised successfully in his life This liberal and tolerant attitude of the mind is the dominant feature of the Gandhian way of life which is democracy whole and simple We grow Gandhian by following Kishorlalbhai's example

GORA

FOR K G MASHRUWALA'S BIOGRAPHY

Shri Narahari Parikh has kindly undertaken the work of writing the late Kishorlalbhai's biography I therefore request all who have in their possession useful letters written by or helpful biographical anecdotes concerning the deceased, to send such material to the Biographer at an early date at the Swaraj Ashram, Bardoli, District Surat As we contemplate to expedite the work, the above information should please be supplied without any loss of time

24-9-'52 JIVANJI D DESAI

INDUSTRIALIZE AND PERISH

[illegible] following passages are culled from Sir [illegible] B. Gregg's *Which Way Lies Hope?* an excellent [illegible] book which has been recently brought out by [illegible] —V. C. [illegible]

I

[illegible] industrialism no matter under what aspi[illegible] to have some specific results which raise great [illegible] Take the matter of water—that essential of all [illegible] following information is from *Water for Your* [illegible] Arthur H. Carhart.

[illegible] gallon of gasoline (petrol) takes 7 to 10 gallons [illegible] manufacture. One ton of viscose rayon [illegible] 1,000 gallons of water in its process of making. [illegible] synthetic rubber takes three times [illegible] bleach ton of paper made in modern paper [illegible] 50,000 gallons of water in the making. [illegible] World War II [illegible] about 200 [illegible] the United States making about 10,000,000 [illegible] paper. That means 5,000,000,000 [illegible] When it comes to life mills a ton al[illegible] 10,000 gallons of water in the bleach [illegible] gallons in the dyeing process. The mann[illegible] gallon of refined white sugar calls for 7 [illegible] gallons of water are needed to make [illegible] A ton of soap needs 300 gallons [illegible] When an airplane engine [illegible] from 50,000 to 125,000 gallons of [illegible]

[illegible] steel-mill [illegible] of all [illegible] much water [illegible] But by modern [illegible] 000 gallons of fresh water are required [illegible] single ton of finished highly finished form [illegible] major [illegible] a modern steel smelter [illegible] of the finished [illegible] cooling [illegible] 2,800,000 gallons of water a day. Steel sheet mills [illegible] much water for cleaning of the sheets [illegible] the Bethlehem Steel Corporation and Spartan [illegible] Of course [illegible] water is contaminated in these processes to make [illegible] human [illegible] for agriculture [illegible] 10,000,000 [illegible] 41,853,000 [illegible] That is a total [illegible] [illegible] cultural [illegible]

[illegible] for an industrial [illegible] underground [illegible] in agriculture or industry [illegible] California, U.S.A., has [illegible] for its uses that the [illegible] as much as 8 feet in [illegible] Long Beach, California, pumping up [illegible] pulled down the sub-surface level of [illegible] sea level and salt water has begun [illegible] that part of the sea coast. In the San [illegible] California in 1910 there were a [illegible] wells used mostly for agricul[illegible] pumping wells. Pumping [illegible] feet in 1915 to 134,000 in 1[illegible] gallons of water fell about 5 feet per [illegible] feet. The Valley [illegible] using millions of dollars [illegible] pipelines and [illegible] was needed for irrigation [illegible] wells sunk, some going [illegible] 1,100 feet. In 1939 these wells were supplied [illegible] 100,000 gallons [illegible] per day, by pumping. [illegible] demands of irrigation [illegible] 1945 these [illegible] were supplying [illegible] water level [illegible] feet below sea level [illegible] water that is [illegible] below sea level. As a result the ground [illegible] gallon of sea water. Also in [illegible] level of the surface of the ground fell [illegible] inches per [illegible] mountaintop to 16 feet. At [illegible] lucky far away [illegible] demands on [illegible] Water is seeping [illegible] that water into the [illegible]

In [illegible] of the ground for [illegible] places lowered the level [illegible] several hundred feet, and the cost of [illegible] has been to get [illegible]

THAKKAR BAPA MEMORIAL FUND

Total collections up to the end of August 1952

[illegible]	Total Collections		
	Rs	as	ps
[illegible]	1 110	6	0
[illegible]	651	0	0
[illegible]	19,598	12	0
[illegible]	217	10	0
[illegible]	9,460	0	11
[illegible]	1,790	13	0
[illegible]	[illegible]	4	0
[illegible]	174	0	0
[illegible]	176	8	6
[illegible]	7	0	0
[illegible]	1,889	10	3
Madhya Bharat	22,231	8	11
Mysore	1,102	0	0
Nagpur Vidarbha [illegible]	6,805	11	0
Punjab and PEPSU	744	4	11
Rajasthan	252	6	0
[illegible]	5,038	7	0
[illegible]	205	0	0
[illegible]	737	0	0
Uttar Pradesh	769	4	0
[illegible]	410	0	0
Vindhya Pradesh	821	12	0
[illegible]	10	0	0
Total	Rs 1,16,296	14	9

D. RANGAIYA
Working Secretary

DRINK AND DIRT IN BANARAS

In his post-prayer speech at Banaras Vinoba appealed to the people to make a concerted effort to wipe out the drinking evil and to select this holy city as the first place for it ban

Proceeding further he said The other day I had referred to the dirt on the either banks of Ganga as well as in the special parts of this great city This matter is now under discussion and I had also a talk about it with the Municipal authorities

The Whole Country Should Discard Drinking

"Likewise I also point out to you another evil which pains me always I myself have seen liquor-shops near about the *ghats* (bathing places) of Ganga They are in other parts also Although I have heard that the U P Government is willing to bring about Prohibition It wants to enforce it in some districts first and later on extend it to others But I have failed to understand why Banaras has been excluded in view of the fact that it is being enforced in some districts as a first stage I have many other things in my mind about Prohibition All I wish is that Prohibition should be made applicable to every province and the whole country at large The Constitution has made a special provision for it But the Planning Commission took no note of it I therefore prevailed on the planners that we have to deal with this problem very systematically and effectively Happily they all have agreed

Planned Scheme

'The U P Government has introduced Prohibition in some of its districts Even this piece-meal introduction should be in accordance with a carefully laid plan What is possible in Madras and Bombay should be possible in other States also. I do know that the implementation of Prohibition has not achieved cent per cent success in those two States But we cannot deduce therefrom that we should not undertake the good work that is being done there

Begin from Banaras

'But where should we begin it from ' There should be a method of doing it and I believe they must have thought over it But I am at a loss to know why Banaras has not been brought under its orbit As such I am impatient for its introduction throughout the country But I mention Banaras because it is one of our holy places Shastras say that sins perpetrated elsewhere are washed away in the holy places But where should they go to wipe out their sins committed in the holy places ? Hence it passes my comprehension why Banaras was not chosen as a spot for its implementation

"However, let bygones be bygones I urge that Prohibition must be introduced in Banaras without delay The people of Banaras must think over this and discuss it at every place They must insist that Banaras must be got rid of this evil. In a democratic age people have to express their opinions without reserve It is not that sharp [illegible] wanted [illegible] the tongue [illegible] must speak [illegible] corner [illegible] the [illegible] Banaras [illegible] looks [illegible] birth- [illegible] I neither [illegible] as Pro I don

Life Not Wholly Individualistic

But I observe that the people are, as if it were in a deep slumber Else how can this dirt and the evil of liquor traffic ever exist on the bank of the holy Ganga ? But it does For people think what concern have they with this dirt ? They commit no nuisance and take no liquor themselves and so, they think their duty ends there But I tell you that your duty does not end with your own abstention We cannot lead an individual life Ours is a social life — life in the midst of a society In society the sin of one affects the whole

Hence it is necessary that the social conscience should get awakened It is not enough if one personal life is chaste People commit nuisance on the bank of the Holy Ganga and then take a dip in her waters and feel as if they had made some permanent arrangement for the two needs of the body Recently on the day of the lunar eclipse three lakhs of people had thronged to take a dip in the waters of the Ganga What a nuisance they must have made on the bank What a horrible spectacle it must have been How could it have pleased any ? It is a mistake to believe that such bath in the Ganga can bring salvation

Faith with Discrimination

' A faith not based on reason or discrimination cannot live one Faith has a definite place in the human life but it must be attuned with discrimination Faith obtains in every thing but it should be a righteous faith *(sattvik shraddha)*,' says the Gita Only if it is coupled with discrimination is fruitful With liquor shops running on the right hand, and our prostrations on the left and our eyes shut to the nuisance that is committed on the banks how can we ever hope to attain purity ? While we cannot see the hell going on around us can we expect to reach the gate of Heaven ? Hence we must deeply investigate the bases of our faith This is no religious faith but sheer folly I do not wish to shake anybody's faith but I want you to understand your duty without shaking your faith The scriptures have declared that drinking is one of the five major sins This is a wonderful utterance One major sin is drinking which the other is adultery If one co-operates with these sins one perpetrates a third major sin Not only is drinking a major sin but co-operation with it is also a major sin I ask citizens to be awake '

(From Hindi) D. M

SCAVENGERS' LIVING CONDITIONS INQUIRY REPORT

"Human factor is of greater importance than the economic factor" This is the spirit in which the report of the Committee appointed by the Government of Bombay "to study and inquire into the living conditions of sweepers and to suggest ways and means to improve their present condition of work and to fix their minimum wages" is framed The Committee was presided over by Shri Kaka Saheb Barve, the indefatigable Harijan Sevak and president of the Maharashtra Harijan Sevak Sangh

The recommendations and suggestions made by the Committee are the result of close and detailed inquiries made by the Committee Not being satisfied only with fixing the pay and describing present conditions of sweepers and scavengers it has tried to suggest permanent solution of the lamentable method of cleaning latrines etc that is in vogue at present Condemning the present universal practice of removal of night-soil by hand and carrying it over head, the Committee has suggested the introduction of improved type of receptacles in latrines and use of small wheel barrows for carrying it through the streets It has also suggested the provisions of anti-chamber in latrines According to the Committee the removal of night-soil by human beings should be discouraged as far as possible and so it has suggested the use of flush latrines wherever possible introduction of aequa privies and *duttans* and pit privies and bore-hole latrines also The system of providing trench latrines and other Ashram type of latrines is also to be encouraged The aequa privies appear to have been successful in Nasik City and also in Ratnagiri The Committee has advised the local bodies to make proper use of night soil for turning it into manure and has given detailed suggestions for it

The Committee has deplored the general tendency on the part of the Local Authorities to neglect the housing condition of their employees and suggested to Government that they should be vigilant in the matter of enforcing the laws made by it Meanwhile it has suggested the payment of house rent compulsorily to all employees where housing is not provided The rate of rent suggested ranges between Rs 10 p m (in Bombay) and Rs 2 p m in Gram Panchayats According to the Committee every member employee of the family is to get house rent separately on a reduced rate in case there are more than one employee in a family

For fixing the pay and D.A of the employees, the Committee has adopted the scale sanctioned by the Pay Commission as a basis e c p 30 + 35 D A and suggested the same for Corporations and Borough Municipalities Looking to the burden that is likely to fall on Local Authorities of smaller size i e District Municipalities and Gram Panchayats the Committee has suggested the scale of [illegible] 0 respectively with uniform D A at Government scale Special unclean allowance in graded scale ranging between Rs 7 and Rs 2 p m is also suggested for those who do the work of removal of night soil The special city allowance sanctioned by Government for Bombay and Ahmedabad of Rs 5 and 3 p m respectively is also recommended

All other amenities of service rules etc as applied to class four servants are also recommended

The Committee has not failed to tackle the vexed question of amount of work Members of the Committee took actual test of work being done by employees in certain places and has definitely suggested fixation of hours of work Five hours of work have been suggested for those doing the work of removing night-soil and urine and the period of seven hours with reasonable rest is suggested for those doing sweeping work

The Committee has further suggested to do away with unequality of scales of pay between male and female employees doing the same kind of work and has suggested certain checks on dismissals and fines in order to give the employees some chance of hearing and appeal

The Committee has called upon Local Authorities to do justice to this neglected class of public servants who are rendering useful and essential service to society, even by bearing additional burden

The Committee has also recommended the appointment of a special officer in each division under the Divisional Director of local authorities to look after the welfare of these employees and also to see that the local authorities are alert to their duties towards these people.

It has at the same time advised the employees and their advisers to concentrate equally on duties as they do on their rights

P L. MAZMUDAR

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Study of English

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HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)
Editor MAGANBHAI P. DESAI

VOL XVI No 32 AHMEDABAD—SATURDAY, OCTOBER 11, 1952 TWO ANNAS

A HEROIC STRUGGLE

Elsewhere will be found a remarkable article on South African Civil Disobedience struggle that has appeared in *The New Statesman and Nation* under the caption "Gandhi's Mantle"

It was in May 1946 that an Indian Deputation from South Africa waited on Gandhiji at Valmiki Mandir Bhangi Colony, in New Delhi to discuss with him the situation arising out of further disabilities that were proposed to be put upon them on top of the Pegging Act The deputation was headed by Sorabjee Rustomjee son of late Pars Rustomjee and included such veteran Satyagrahis trained under Gandhiji as Mr Christopher Gandhiji had before that opposed the Indian community inviting the natives to join them in a united anti White front For, that would have been exploiting the natives by the Indian community for its own ends The natives had a far bigger stake than the Indians in Africa but were not yet ready to launch a struggle for it. But a great awakening had come over them of late Gandhiji had therefore no hesitation in advising the Indian deputation to join the common anti-White front "Yes we should associate with Zulus and Bantus etc It means you take them along when you have developed the power of non-violence One day the black races will rise like the avenging Attila against their white oppressors unless some one presents to them the weapon of Satyagraha But if you allow yourselves to be overwhelmed and swept off your feet it will be their and your ruin"

When the present struggle was started some had doubts whether it would be on strictly non violent lines because of some persons with alleged communist leanings being involved in the leadership Manilal Gandhi was one of the doubters. With great insight he decided that the most effective contribution he could make to the cause was to purify the atmosphere of the danger of violence through self-purification, and accordingly he launched on a twenty-one day fast. It must have been a source of the deepest satisfaction to him as to all friends and sympathizers, that his worst fears have so far been belied In a recent letter to a friend he wrote that he was amazed by the extent to which both in method and in spirit the people had observed non-violence 'He said," the friend writes "that his father's spirit was at work in the situation '

Non-violence often works in a mysterious way But for Bapu's spirit, Manilal himself probably would not have been prompted to go in for a self-purificatory and all purifying fast It dramatized for all Gandhiji's spirit which he strongly felt at work within himself

"What is happening clearly enough is," wrote *The New Statesman and Nation* some time back, "that the three principal non-White communities—numbering some four-fifths of the population of the Union—are learning to use their power of numbers and to use it intelligently So far, they are not using it more than a fraction of its possible strength But what a few thousands can do today, a few tens of thousands can very well do tomorrow When that happens, the Whites of South Africa will be forced at last to make their choice—either to bring down their world in chaos or to concede to their non-White fellow-countrymen the elementary rights and privileges of human beings"

Valmiki Mandir,
New Delhi, 6-10 52 PYARELAL

"GANDHI'S MANTLE"

The wheel set spinning by Mahatma Gandhi has come full circle Forty five years after Gandhi used Satyagraha to protect the interests of Indians in the Transvaal and Natal passive resistance returns to South Africa And it returns with a weight, prestige and promise of effectiveness which cannot be ignored even by its most arrogant enemies among the Whites Since the end of June this year when the national organizations of the Africans, Coloureds, and Indians in the Union opened a joint campaign of non-violent resistance to racialist laws and regulations over 3 000 non-Whites have gone to gaol for deliberately defying one or other of the many rules of racial segregation The courts have awarded fines many have refused to pay steadily, the gaols are filling up, and the flood of volunteers shows little sign of abating On the Government side there is talk of using the lash But the movement goes on even if it were checked now, it has already succeeded well enough to set an unforgettable example for the future

Few or no incidents of violence have marred this campaign That is a tribute to the leadership of the three non-White communities—a leadership which, in political terms, stretches from

Right to Left and takes in almost every current of independent non-White opinion. So true is this, indeed that the authorities have now found it necessary to arrest Dr James Moroka, the moderate and 'non-political' president of the African National Congress, whom they seized not at some political meeting or mass demonstration, but in his quiet surgery in the Orange Free State town of Thaba Nchu.

It might be thought that the Nationalists would take thought in good time before this movement grows to overwhelming proportions or drives them into the fatal exasperation of using violence against non-violence. But there is no sign that the Nationalists are taking thought. That they are deeply embarrassed is clear from the threats of whipping which Swart, the Minister of Justice is throwing about. But their general attitude is well enough shown by the words of the Johannesburg magistrate when sentencing non-White leaders to compulsory labour sentences of six months in the case of Dr Dadoo the Indian leader, and of four months in those of Mr Kotane, Mr Marks, and Mr Bopape, three African leaders. Arguing the case under the so-called Suppression of Communism Act the magistrate said: "It is common knowledge that one of the aims of Communism is to break down race barriers and strive for equal rights for all sections of the people, and to do so without any discrimination of race, colour or creed." Since the Union of South Africa was "fertile ground" for such 'Communist propaganda' there must be legislation to "suppress Communism." This legislation might make 'a serious inroad on the liberty of the subject" but its object was clear: "It is to stop at the earliest possible stage the fomentation of a feeling of hostility between European and non-European.' This is a good sample of the topsyturvy nonsense which passes for logic in White South Africa. Having equated Communism with the struggle for equal rights — the struggle, that is, for racial harmony — the magistrate could then go on to say that legislation was needed in order to suppress Communism before it could foment racial hostility. The Nationalists indeed, are incapable of seeing racial equality except in terms of a race war in which the Blacks would exterminate the Whites. Nor can it be denied that the harsher currents of Black nationalism which an extremist White nationalism has now set in motion may after all achieve this disaster.

If the Nationalists can think in terms of nothing better than bigger gaols and heavier sentences, the other great party of White South Africa, the United Party, remains in little better case. Its quiescence at this time is bad for South Africa and bad for itself. A minority in the United Party probably knows this, but the habits of the majority are long established and hard to move. The truth is that most members of the United Party feel themselves on the Nationalist side of this conflict rather than the non-White side. If there has to be a choice, they will choose the Nationalists and they will choose the Nationalists in the stubborn if quite erroneous conviction that they are standing thus for civilization. Preferring not to announce this choice at a time when they are locked in another kind of conflict with the Nationalists the leaders of the United Party simply say nothing. Yet one of the central aims of the non-White leaders — and of all who wish well to South Africa — must nonetheless be to achieve some degree of common cause with the United Party in the fight against the Nationalists. For it is the Nationalists who are the immediate danger.

With or without the United Party, this campaign seems certain to go on. It began in the face of United Party opposition and it has continued in the face of United Party indifference. And already two important points about it have become clear. The first is that the three non-White communities have proved their ability to work together under joint leadership, and the second is that this newly-forged unity of action — overcoming marked communal hostilities in some parts of the Union — is strong enough to persist and grow stronger. Rather than withdrawing before threats of the lash and longer sentences of hard labour, rank-and-file volunteers from all three communities have continued to come forward in greater numbers. Thousands of non-Whites have seen the long tradition of quiescence under White supremacy smashed in their own personal experience voluntarily they have suffered, and are suffering for their convictions and they are not likely to forget it. *What a few can do today many can do tomorrow: the history of modern India has shown that this is a snowball which rolls and rolls larger.* Aiming at racial equality — and hence at racial harmony — it is a snowball which bears with it not only the memory of what is past with its cruelty and waste but also the hope of a different future, less poor and more peaceful, for the torn and miserable country which is South Africa today. (*The New Statesman and Nation* August 30 1952)

THE COMMUNITY PROJECTS

[The following is the statement issued by the Akhil Bharatiya Sarva Seva Sangh, Wardha, at its meeting of 24th July 1952 on the 'Community Projects Scheme.']

1. It is difficult to give detailed or precise opinion on the Plan for the Community Projects since what we have is only a draft outline of the Plan. While many different items of work are found listed in the Plan, it is not stated how these will be organized, carried forward and co-ordinated. It is, therefore possible to make only certain general observations.

2. The objectives of the Plan are not made very clear or beyond doubt. At one place the objective is indicated as 'the greatest good of the greatest number.' At another place it is stated that 'a substantial increase in agricultural production is the immediate target of the Project.' Then again it is stated that 'it is the quality of human beings that makes a nation great,' implying that the Community Projects will aim at improving the quality of human beings in the country. The Sarvodaya ideal stands for the greatest good of all and not only of the greatest number. The Constructive Programme, aims not only at increase in agricultural produce-

[illegible] Till village is on [illegible] does not [illegible] proposes [illegible] of human [illegible] The Plan [illegible] directed towards the [illegible] development of the people and the provision of amenities and conveniences. There is no stress on the moral re-generation of the people and on the cultivation by them of the higher values of life. Can material advancement alone raise the quality of human beings?

7. The quality of the available personnel to be in charge of various items of work under the Community Projects may be improved upto a point by proper training. But is that the training itself must be under the guidance of those who are animated by the spirit of service and who in their own lives can set the example for the people to follow. But it is laid down that the training of village level workers for the Community Projects will be carried out under a programme planned by the Indian American Foundations and the Ford Foundation. It is of the utmost importance that the training programme should be entrusted exclusively to those in India who fully know the background of Indian culture and who have themselves had long experience in the field of social service and education.

8. The Plan for the Community Projects does not deal with the problem of employment for the whole people. Employment for every one is one of the objects from which no Plan worth the name can run away. There is no mention of hand spinning at all though that is the one industry which can give employment to the largest number of people. As regards the development of industries the Plan lays much stress towards the introduction of power-driven machinery. This will not solve but only in a less complete way in the long run. The road-making programme is stressed to give employment. But the villagers require many other things more urgently than roads. Roads in the Plan are those meant to connect the villages with urban areas. But it is the lanes inside the villages and the approaches to them that require to be attended to immediately. To do even this will be a huge task. To make good road connecting rural areas with urban areas may under the present conditions lead to further exploitation of the villages.

Among village industries, handloom weaving oil-cotton and sugar-cane crushing are mentioned. But how long can these stand the competition from the power-driven industries if they are not given protection in time? Will handloom be protected from the competition of the power-loom? These questions find no answer in the Plan. These can be answered only by facing the whole question of cottage and village industries versus the mills and factories. It is of great importance to make clear how the conflict between man power and bullock power and the bigger power-driven machinery will be resolved.

9. More attention seems to be given to mandies and [illegible] than to the villages. Till now the urban area has [illegible] the attention of Governments. It is now therefore necessary that villages must be attended to even at the cost of the towns. In the estimates for a village unit the allocation of funds for drinking water drainage and education is very inadequate as compared with the provision made for roads irrigation reclamation etc. The scheme is based on the idea that one-third of the amount already exist, one-third will be paid by the Government and the remaining one-third is to be furnished by the village itself. It is certainly necessary that the village must contribute its quota in labour and in money. But there should be no rigidity in the arrangement. The Government may well be that upto a certain limit the villagers will get double of what it contributes in kind, labour or cash. That will also be a test of how far the officer in charge has awakened the mind of the people and helped them to help themselves.

Primary education is proposed for all children. But there is no clear mention that it will be Basic Education though it is said that preference will be given to the same. There is no reference at all to any radical change in middle and high school education.

8. The [illegible] sanitation. But this is [illegible] of fundamental importance that it will [illegible] be included as a major item of work. It is not enough to provide certain conveniences but it is necessary to educate the people to change their bad habits and to properly utilize night-soil and urine for the preparation of compost manure.

Bathrooms should be attached to village wells and there should be provision for godowns for the storage of grain in each village.

9. In regard to agriculture itself 3 out of the first 4 priorities in the agricultural programme are (1) reclamation of available virgin land (2) development of rural electrification and (3) provision of commercial fertilizers. The last 2 in a list of 18 items are the encouragement of the use of natural manures and provision for the planting and care of forests. What India needs is an intensive campaign to increase her production per acre by feeding the soil with its natural foods and affording it protection against erosion. It would be wise to concentrate on small scale intensive agriculture and get the maximum fertility into our existing arable lands. This cannot be done by commercialized drives for quick money returns but only by hard work on the part of the farmer who loves his land and understands its needs. The scheme however puts the whole emphasis on heavy equipment machinery and commercial fertilizers.

10. In spite of the mention made on the need of local initiative and co-operation the Plan is in fact an official undertaking conceived directed and largely financed from the top. There is no place in the administrative set up for the non-official except that he 'might' be included in the Advisory Board of the local Project. But if development is to come up from the bottom consultation and planning must begin at the bottom. Projects locally initiated to meet local needs will be capable of being carried out largely with local talent and equipment and need not depend on expensive machinery or technique from outside. Such Projects in which willing labour counts more than money are the only ones which can be reproduced all over the country.

11. The general impression is that it is American money which is going to largely finance the Community Projects. The fact however is that American money will be less than rupees 450 lakhs and Indian money more than rupees 3 400 lakhs. Most of the American contribution will be in the shape of machinery motor transport, equipment, chemical fertilizers etc. No doubt these things are even now slowly getting into the villages but when the Government will push them into these villages through the Community Projects on a rapid and extensive scale, the strain on village economy might become unbearable. The influx of numerous highly paid officials incapable of identifying themselves with village life might hasten the process of demoralisation which has already overtaken the villages through the impact of money economy and exploitation by big capital.

12. Under Gandhiji's guidance we in India have developed the technique of the Constructive Programme to give prosperity to the villages and to add self-reliance and therefore dignity to them. We do not believe that pouring big money from outside into the villages can really help the villages or continue except for a brief period. The whole approach underlying the Community Projects requires to be reconsidered. We think that the lines of development laid down by Gandhiji in the Constructive Programme are basically correct and sound for our country. So far except one or two Provincial Governments neither the Central nor the Provincial Governments have cared to actively help in working out the Constructive Programme. Now that the various Governments are coming forward to promote the Community Projects which will cover a good part of the country, it is for them to study how far the items of the Constructive Programme are right and proper and are good enough to be fitted into their new programme.

HARIJAN

Oct. 11 1952

STUDY OF ENGLISH

Prof A R Wadia ex-Pro-Vice-Chancellor, M S University, Baroda sends a copy of an open letter addressed to the Prime Minister of India, and the Ministers of Education at the Centre and in the States, " for publicity and comments " As the letter has appeared in the Daily Press, it need not be reproduced here

The letter is signed by 26 persons among whom there are 8 Vice Chancellors four Ex-Vice-Chancellors and others ' intensely interested in the language problem facing the universities in India at the present day ' That this question is hanging fire and that a keen controversy is going on both among academic and non-academic interests on our university bodies is clear even from the fact that not all university V C 's nor many more others have signed the letter probably because they do not see eye to eye with the views and remarks contained in this communication I mention this only to show that the question raised by the signatories is not so simple nor as easy as they appear to take it And I may be pardoned if I add that their letter also fails to show the "grip of the real educational questions involved " And it almost neglects to note their equally important aspects if not more —I mean the far reaching questions of our cultural and national well-being which should not escape the eye of truly educational workers, and which are an integral part of any scheme of national education and its reconstruction Unfortunately for our people this aspect of education has wholly escaped from our orthodox and ' academic ' ideas of English education in our country The signatories fail to note that the real educational questions before us today are not merely of the language or of mere academic interests but are more fundamental and vital than that The real question is re-organization and re-orientation of the whole of our educational world, which has stultified itself on account of its inherent contradictions that become visible now, on the advent of democratic Swaraj in our country As is aptly described the present system is an inverted pyramid having no basis in the life and needs of the common man The inverted nature is mainly due to the dominating position that English could arrogate to itself under foreign rule It was not merely the language to be studied as one main, if not almost the only subject but it was also required to be the medium of instruction at least from the High School onwards Its study so dominates the whole vista of our instruction that what is without it is considered inferior education The signatories I hope do not londly believe that this outrage on a true scheme of education should continue any further That they do not show any uneasiness about this state of affairs is a misfortune for us.

Again, the signatories and all those whom they represent do not still realize that English has not been a unifying force as they wish us to believe, but has been a cause of dividing the masses from the classes, and this has now been a source of weakness for our sound democratic growth But this is said here not to argue that we should have no English henceforth What is wanted is not removal of English altogether but restoring it to its proper place It might well be a subject of study in our schools but that from our High School Std VIII and never before that The signatories seem to resent this sound principle of national educational reconstruction They do not seem to note that a child in his Vth year of schooling now begins to study Hindi and the national scheme of free and compulsory education for 7 years that the Constitution of India enjoins on all the States shall provide for at least 3 clear years of Hindi study from Std V to Std VII unburdened by a third and a foreign language like English Obviously English can come next which may be called the post basic or secondary stage This stage begins at the 8th Std. and not earlier Do the signatories agree to this ? If not, I am sorry to say that they have missed the A B C of educational reconstruction in our country Their complaint against " the States Governments trying to reduce the quantum and quality of English taught in our high schools " is really born of this misconception

Their second point re the universities having their own entrance examination ' to test a student's knowledge of English ' is born of a further misconception regarding the place of post-basic or secondary education in a sound system of national education This stage is not English-teaching preparatory stage for the university. It is not a mere feeder for the English ridden universities of today It has to be a second unit in further education a second stage on a stable pyramid based on the first 7 years of the national scheme The universities need not and cannot any more dictate from above and stultify the growth of the nation's youth in the manner they have been doing till now

Again the signatories, it seems are not concerned about how to achieve the change-over from English to Hindi and/or the great regional languages. Otherwise they would have tried to plan for this change-over and shown how and where English should have its due place, according to them Such a transition is inevitable and it must be faced of course with the least possible trouble and uneasiness

To sum up, the question before us is not [illegible] old educational order and its maintenance [illegible] how, but as I said at the beginning its re[illegible]struction as per needs of the new age whi[illegible] Swaraj has brought us to It is an oppo[illegible] which we can m[illegible] only with peril to our pro[illegible] and only if we are in favour of the *status quo* which is bad enough

24-9 '52 MAGANBHAI P DESAI

PATIL-MASHRUWALA CORRESPONDENCE

[Shri R. K. Patil, member of the Planning Commission, wrote a long letter on the 5-6th August last to Shri Kishorlalbhai not as a reply to his articles regarding Shri Patil's Apprehensions about Vinobaji's *Bhoodan Yajna*, but to have further clarification of his views regarding land problems. Shri Kishorlalbhai, while giving a very detailed and comprehensive reply wrote a brief but brilliant and thorough exposition of his ideology of decentralization. In the thesis is revealed not only the courage of his keen intellect but his over-flowing love and sympathy for our toiling and impoverished cultivators. In a way it is his vision of future India, not only politically free but free economically and socially also. Shri Patil's letter and Shri Kishorlalbhai's reply are proposed to be published in suitable instalments, here in the hope that the readers especially the constructive workers, will get fresh light and inspiration therefrom. The following is Shri Patil's letter to Shri Kishorlalbhai. The first instalment of his reply will be given in the next issue.—N. F.]

I

Shri Patil's Queries

Planning Commission
Govt. of India, New Delhi,
Dated 5-6 August 1952

My dear Kishorlalbhai,

I am writing this letter primarily to ascertain from you, your views about the nature of our future rural society, and particularly its organization with reference to the cultivation of village land. If there are any references to your articles in the *Harijan*, and particularly those in which you have dealt with my apprehensions about Vinobaji's Bhoodan Yajna they may please be treated as incidental and necessary to such ascertainment and not as a reply to your articles. I want to know your views particularly as we have reached a stage in our thinking of the problem where we see little light and I thought perhaps in the process of writing this letter and obtaining your views, some points may get cleared.

2. In planning we have always to keep in view the final picture of society as one visualizes it, and plans for it. Of course many intermediate steps may be necessary to reach the final stage, and the short-term steps may be necessitated by urgent economic and political considerations. But in all such cases one has to relate these steps to the final objective and be clear in one's mind how one proposes to reach it. Obviously short term steps must not be in conflict with the long-term objectives.

3. Though you do not want to be dogmatic on the point, your view from the articles in the *Harijan* dated 16-9-'50, 17-2-'51 and 17-3-'51 appears to be against individual proprietary right in land. You envisage a system under which all village land will be regarded as one single unit, of which each present owner is a share-holder to the extent of the crop-value of his fields. A small plot should be assigned to each cultivating family for 'hobby cultivation.' The rest of the land is to be cultivated as village land. The cropping should be according to the needs of the village and the produce must cover (a) the full maintenance of the population for at least 15 months (b) payment of wages in addition to food to wage-earners (c) payment of dues to Government including levy, etc. You also envisage payment of dividends to share-holders after making allowances for public hygiene sanitation schools roads, etc. This is in recognition of ownership right in land and these could be transferred, without involving any physical division of land.

4. It thus appears that you envisage a system in which ownership is recognized, and paid for, though being the last item, the payment would be only nominal at least for some years till agriculture is developed. You also envisage wage-earners who have no interest in the ownership of land, though of course they must be paid 'Full' wages. That is the existing owners and agricultural labourers should manage the land in the just interest of both, and you would not necessarily require that each person who works on the land must necessarily own it or have an ownership interest in the land of the village.

5. If a Co-operative or a Panchayat were to work this system, there will have to be an authority guiding the cultivation in the village, and all the cultivating workers would have to accept the guidance of this authority. Alternately the Co-operative or the Panchayat may divide the village land into small units and make over these units to individual families for cultivation, on their making available to the Panchayat, a certain payment out of which all the dues in para 3 could be paid. But the agricultural workers in the first case and the family units in the other case will have to follow the general directions given by the Panchayat.

6. This is precisely the method under which the Co-operative Village Management will work in the beginning. In addition, it will be under an obligation to find work for people in the village who cannot be employed in cultivation, because there are already too many people on the land. That is such people may engage in Khadi production or oil production, etc. and exchange their goods for food. After the ownership dividend is abolished, the cultivators would be the owners of land. And there would be only two classes, cultivators and artisans. As the economy develops and other more paying avenues of employment can be found for the village people there will be migration from the village and the pressure on the land is reduced and the standard of the remaining people in the village slowly improves.

7. Till the village could have such a system of management it was to have a Village Production Council whose functions are as given at p. 88-89 of the Draft Outline. Your objection to all this is as follows:

'Thus the Planning Commission prefers cultivation by paid labour directly under officers either of the village management, or the proprietors of registered farms, or co-operative farming societies to cultivation by agriculturists as free individuals The principle that land must belong to the actual tiller is rejected"

You then proceed to criticize and differentiate the Co-operative Societies as envisaged by the Commission from the Sarvodaya conception

8 I have three questions to ask

(i) Is the final conception of Co-operative Village Management, the same as your idea of village organization through a Co-operative or Panchayat? If not, where lies the difference?

(ii) What would be the stages in which you propose to reach this conception in our present circumstances? The Commission had suggested registered farms and development of co-operatives, but for the sake of argument, I will concede that they are open to some objections

(iii) How would you visualize the functions and authority of the Village Panchayat and Co-operatives so that they would not be open to the objections that you have taken about Co-operatives or Joint Village Management? Co operatives must obviously function through officials and co-operation involves the loss of individual freedom in the interest of the group

9 I might add that this conception of yours that the village lands should be managed jointly and no individual should be entitled to own any particular part of it is in conformity with modern and advanced economic ideas on the subject Such a large unit of management not only enables the village resources to be utilized in an optimum way but it also facilitates the application of capital and modern scientific knowledge quickly to our agricultural conditions This does not mean that even with such management our farming will not be intensive There is really no organic connection between the size of the farm and the mode of cultivation i e, extensive or intensive Larger units of cultivation do not necessarily mean that there would be employment for only a smaller number of people than in a system of small individual holdings It might be possible to employ even more people in a large unit than if the same land were divided into small units It is, of course, true that there is a very severe pressure on land today and that it will manifest itself in some way or other however the cultivation of land is organized but the real issue is which system will relieve that pressure in the shortest possible time The pressure has to be relieved by creating more employment in agriculture in industries organized on a cottage and small-scale basis, and in tertiary occupations All this pre-supposes the creation of a larger surplus for investment in the economy and it is comparatively very difficult, if not impossible to achieve this when agriculture is organized on the basis of small, uneconomic farms

Much of the confusion on this subject arises because the issues are discussed in very general terms of the economies of large-scale cultivation, and the scope for intensive small-scale cultivation without specifying the desirable size of the unit in either case or the conditions requisite to their success There is no organic connection or relationship between the size of a farm and the character of cultivation whether intensive or extensive One can have intensive cultivation on a large farm, and small farms need not necessarily be intensively cultivated Similarly, extensive cultivation beyond a point need not yield any extra economies, and this point may come fairly early in the process of extension if there is either a lack of the necessary managerial and technical skill or if there are very real obstacles to mechanization It is therefore, a question of deciding the optimum size of cultivation taking all factors into account, including the incentives of peasant farming the necessity for introducing new techniques the economies of large-scale, the limitations on mechanization the scope for intensive cultivation based on availability of irrigation and manure etc This is a matter of judgment but on the whole, it would appear that under the conditions obtaining in India today, there is a case for enlarging rather than diminishing the size of the unit.

I believe these are also Vinoba's views as appears from his reference to a Gokul and your reference to it in your last article on my apprehensions

9A The next question is how do we reach this stage and what are the intervening stages? It is granted that there is a pressing necessity of creating a large amount of employment in the rural areas and the question has to be reviewed from this angle in the immediate future It will also I think, be considered that Co-operative Village Management is the quickest way of creating a large amount of rural employment In fact the scheme put forward by Shri Jugatram Dave proceeds on this basis. Therein he has assumed payment of full compensation at market rates for the land But it is only because we feel that there is no immediate prospect of establishing a scheme of Co-operative Village Management that we must look to some other method or procedure

10 The only other solution is a scheme of land distribution I state for your information the supposed objections to a scheme of land distribution and how they can be met

The main arguments against the policy of land distribution may be summarized as follows

(a) It will increase the number of uneconomic holders and will be a step further away from our objective to have a larger unit of cultivation

(b) It will lead to a fall in production and the marketable surplus

(c) It will lead to a withdrawal of investment from agriculture

(d) The administrative complications of land distribution would be so great that it will not be possible to undertake such a programme without detriment to other developmental activities and the immediate objective of achieving self-sufficiency in food

(e) The land available for distribution will be so little that we may be able to satisfy the demand for land of only a very small section of the people In this event the ceiling will have to be progressively reduced which would affect a larger number of existing holders and thus ultimately create more instability

Let us consider these objections in detail

(a) The surplus land made available after the imposition of a ceiling need not necessarily be distributed in uneconomic units It could be distributed in economic units to groups of persons who are in a position to cultivate it effectively The experience of land distribution in connection with Acharya Vinoba's Bhoodan Yajna in Hyderabad supports this conclusion In undertaking such a scheme the land-man ratio can be kept at such a level as will enable his family to obtain at least a bare living.

Besides such a course need not take us away from our objective of having a larger unit of cultivation Apart from the fact that land distribution programme need not increase the number of uneconomic units, the goodwill generated by this move could be canalized in inducing the beneficiaries to come together in small groups of producers' co-operatives, and increase their unit of cultivation, or, at least, have certain auxiliaries to more efficient production in common ownership It might also become possible to organize co-operative societies on a village scale for all non-farm activities like credit supplies, marketing etc. Progress in these directions is in any case necessary, and land reform will help rather than hinder the process

(b) The second objection is that such a course will lead to a fall in production and the marketable surplus While the possibility of such a result happening cannot be discounted, it cannot be stated that the type of land distribution indicated above would necessarily lead to such a result In fact, in so far as the surplus is taken from such cultivators as, because of their large holdings, are unable to pay personal attention to their lands, there is a possibility of increasing production by the distribution of their surplus land Greater incentive for increasing production will be brought to bear on the cultivation of these lands And such lands may form a large proportion of the surpluses taken over Further to guard against the fall in production and the marketable surplus, it could be provided that the new allottees of land should make to the Government (or the village body as the case may be) their annual instalments of payment for the land allotment partly or wholly in the shape of grain. Such a levy will induce them to put their best efforts at cultivating the land and raising the output.

(c) It has been said that redistribution will lead to a withdrawal of investment from agriculture But even today, conditions are so uncertain that there is hardly any fresh investment going into agriculture The whole atmosphere is surcharged with apprehensions about the next step in the land sector As long as the agitation for distribution continues (and over this we have no control) the tendency will be to reduce rather than increase the commitments on land as far as the larger holdings are concerned Until the issue is settled in a way which suggests that there will be no further disturbance to property relations in this sector in the near future, we shall probably have the worst of both worlds Some measure of contraction in working capital may perhaps be inevitable as a result of dispossessing the larger holders of land, but it will not be of the order that is sometimes suggested Working capital is in the last analysis required mainly for employing labour, purchasing seeds and manures, etc To a great extent the working capital now employed for hiring labour will be effectively replaced by the direct application of manpower under peasant proprietorship

(d) The next objection taken is that the administrative complications of land distribution will be so great that it will not be possible to undertake such a programme without detriment to other developmental activities There is considerable force in this objection, but if a policy decision is called for on merits, it is better taken and implemented at an early stage even from the point of view of development The real decision to be taken is the necessity for such a step

(e) Lastly it has been argued that the land available for distribution will be so little that we may be able to satisfy the demand for land of only a small section of the landless rural population and that, in consequence, the ceiling would have to be progressively reduced under pressure This is indeed an important and valid objection There would be no point in imposing a ceiling if the surplus land thus made available for distribution is negligible If this leads to frequent downward adjustments of the ceiling, it would be a source of considerable instability and would in fact take away much of the economic and political value of land reform of this kind The answer is that, in fixing the ceiling even in the first instance, care must be taken to see that it is neither so high as to yield only a small surplus for distribution nor so low as to affect middle peasants. This is a matter which can be judged only in relation to conditions in each area — as a rule, no land which yields an income of less than Rs 300/- per year should be allotted to any individual and the ceiling should be fixed at five to six times this amount — but the practicability of determining a ceiling which answers these requirements cannot itself be doubted Broadly speaking, a policy of land distribution as visualised here will not affect more than 10 per cent

of the [illegible] per cent of the land in [illegible] possessors will be unaffected

11 And yet we must be quite clear that we are embarking on a scheme of land distribution because we cannot establish quickly and in a democratic way the scheme of Co-operative Village Management over a substantial area in the country and we cannot wait till this is achieved But land distribution does not absolve us from our responsibility of establishing Co-operative Village Management for the whole village Indeed as land distribution might touch 10 to 12 per cent of our total occupied area we have to take steps to strengthen the co-operative movement over the whole rural sector till the whole village enters into C V M How can we speed up this process? Can you give any new ideas to achieve this?

12 Do you agree that in the present circumstances land distribution is the next step? Do you agree that it will have to be a sufficiently wide distribution, if the possibility of creating fresh pressures for land distribution in a few years is to be avoided? The possibility of such pressures would lead to great instability and confusion in the rural areas If you have land distribution once it must be such as to obviate the necessity of having it again For this purpose it will have to be sufficiently liberal

13 Do you think such a large-scale distribution could be carried out in the country in a peaceful manner? Even then it would not give land to all the landless but to about half their present landless population: the remaining will have to remain without land, but special steps will have to be taken to see that they have a living.

14 In the closing part of your article you have said that 'agriculture will not stand alone, it will have to be married to handicrafts and village industries' How do you visualize this marriage? Concretely, what industries can an agricultural family engage into? Off-hand we cannot think of anything else except grinding, paddy husking and spinning And even these would be largely on the basis of self-sufficiency and not as providing subsidiary sources of income Weaving, oil pressing would be ordinarily whole time occupations Do you consider that it would be possible for an agricultural family to engage in agriculture and also engage in other industries besides those indicated above? If so will not agriculture suffer? And if this is possible today will it be so when agriculture develops? I should have thought that agriculture will have to be an industry by itself yielding sufficient income for the maintenance of a family In agriculture I include dairying poultry and bee-keeping Other industries will have to be carried on in the village as independent professions by families who do not engage in agriculture except as labourers in the peak season.

An early reply is requested

Yours sincerely
R K PATIL

BHOODAN YAJNA IN KERALA

Shri E Ikkanda Warrier, the Convener of the Kerala Bhoodana Yajna Samiti writes as follows

The Central Office of the Samiti was opened in Trichur For purposes of organization Kerala is divided into six Districts, viz South Malabar North Malabar, Cochin, Kottayam, Quilon and Trivandrum. Two District Conferences were held, one in South Malabar at Palghat and the other in Cochin at Trichur. Invitations for a similar Conference in Kottayam have been issued for the 29th of this month

Besides explaining 'the why and how" of this movement to the public and the workers, District and Taluk Committees were appointed and the route of Shri Shankarrao Deo's tour so far as it runs through these Districts was fixed at these Conferences

Six thousand copies of a Malayalam translation of Shri Vinobaji's Appeal dated 28-4-1952 have been published This is being circulated throughout Kerala One thousand copies of an appeal issued by the Convener were also printed and broadcast. A few pamphlets are under preparation

Mahakavi Vallathole has contributed a poem calling upon the people to give their help and co-operation to this movement intended to ameliorate the sad lot of the landless labourers in the country

25-9-'52

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HARIJAN

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Editor: MAGANBHAI P. DESAI

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PATIL-MASHRUWALA CORRESPONDENCE

II

Shri Kishorlalbhai's Reply — His Vision of Future India

Bajajwadi, Wardha,
2-9-'52

My dear Dada Saheb,

I am sorry for having been so late in replying to your letter of the 5th ultimo. If my health and time had permitted I wanted to reply during some time last week. But I simply could not. In the meanwhile I tried to study the views of Shri Jugatram Dave whose scheme you have mentioned in your letter. I also shared your letter with Shri Narhari Parikh and Vinobaji to ascertain how exactly they thought in this matter. Owing to the illness of Vinobaji and Damodardas Mundada I have not been able to obtain his comments.

Now to come to the subject.

1 Difficulties Facing Decentralization

1. Let me first of all admit the great difficulty which faces us the advocates of decentralization. Theoretically, we draw the picture of a political and economic order consisting of independent village republics federating themselves into higher and higher unions, until we reach a federation embracing the whole country, and thence in course of time, the whole world, — each higher union enjoying only such powers as its units agree to confer upon it. In that case the highest union would have the minimum of functions. This would be possible only if we had to commence our life after a complete chaos with no Central, Provincial and other authorities at all in existence. But what we actually have is that we have in existence a fully empowered Central State and partially but well-empowered Provincial States and lower organizations can exercise only such powers and perform such functions as might be assigned to them by the Provincial States, with the sanction of the Central State. Hence, it is possible now for the smallest units to come into their own (if violence and ultra-radical methods are to be avoided), only by inducing or bringing pressure upon the Central and Provincial authorities to divest themselves of as many of their powers as possible and restore them to the smallest practicable units.

2. But the process that has been going on (no doubt for historical causes) is the reverse. According to the ideal of the 'Welfare State', the State is increasingly made responsible for every item of an individual's needs — not only from birth to death — from conception to cremation. If we are to assume that the same historical process is destined to continue, in course of time the U.N.O. will end in a World Government, in which even big countries like U.S., China, U.S.S.R., India etc. will function more or less like Class A States, and the sanction behind every one of them will be Force.

Centralized Welfare State

3. I must confess, I do not look upon this as an ideal to be aspired after. There might be some, who regard this to be an ideal worthy of man and some who think that a process destined historically cannot be reversed by the efforts of dreamers of an opposite type, and that we must carry the present process to its logical end — namely, the institution of a very strong Central World Government controlled by the strongest group of its units. And this logical end will be achieved as this whole process has hitherto developed as a result of wars and violent revolutions.

4. If we are convinced that this is not a worthy ideal and we definitely want to avoid wars, violent revolutions, and dictatorships either of the Fascist (Individual Capitalist) or of the Bolshevik (State Capitalist) types — India must abandon *this* ideal of the Welfare State. We must feel convinced that we must resist this end of humanity and that if we will, we can do it, whatever Historian Determinists might say to the contrary.

5. We do want every person from the moment of conception till death to enjoy the objectives of the Welfare State. But if this can be done only by making him from birth to death something like an A, B, or C class prisoner of the State under the outward semblance of democracy (and U.S.S.R. also regards itself to be a democracy of its own type), it is much better to live as we have lived from the birth of humanity till now in some sort of hard struggle for existence than be just comfortable well-kept animals by a small powerful group of our own species.

6. If this is agreed, we must voluntarily and in a planned manner commence to vest the smallest units with progressively increasing

[illegible] that the small [illegible] backward to [illegible] the how of it. But [illegible] Central authorities [illegible] impose the plans upon [illegible] them or create organizations for executing them The authorities in the higher ladders should try to understand the limitations of the smaller ones and if on account of their ignorance short-sightedness and narrow mindedness there are any shortcomings from the point of view of the safety of the State justice equity good conscience welfare of the last man in the small unit well-being of the nation as a whole etc we should correct their ideas by advice persuasion etc If the Centre finds them obdurate and absolutely resistant to good ideas and broad mindedness on a matter of an important moral principle (for instance, communal and caste equality) it may in the last resort refuse to co-operate with the small unit and leave it entirely to shift for itself until it feels that it itself is the sufferer, and that the insistence on a matter of principle was in its own benefit But as a general rule it should patiently guide them to the right goal

Picture of Decentralized Society

7 So our first task should be to prepare each small unit to undertake the responsibility of being self supporting self-reliant in as many matters as possible politically as well as economically Let it be proclaimed, for instance, that at the end of five years — say from 1st April 1958 — India will be divided into suitable firkas, each firka consisting of a townlet with villages within a radius of 5 to 10 miles of it and it will be vested with the maximum of authority within its sphere the authority will include its policing defence against dacoits judiciary education, taxation etc , it will frame its own Constitution, of which a few general forms suitable for different regions may be indicated The firka must be self-sufficient and self-reliant in normal times in, at least food, clothing oil-seeds housing cattle, manure, building of roads etc It should be liable to give only a stated part of its revenue for the maintenance of the higher units above it It should be entitled to develop as many industries from the raw materials available to it as it can, and must see to it that there is no unemployment in the area

8 The firka would be divided into village units but on account of natural causes the self-sufficiency of each village may not be quite complete So I would take the firka to be the smallest republic But the village units there have to be, with their Village Panchayats A Village Panchayat must consist of its entire adult population, and not of its nominated or elected representatives It must evolve its own way of ascertaining the general sense of the village and the way of executing it In case of sharp division on matter of an intricate or controversial nature, the way of [illegible] counting of votes, but reference [illegible] authority or individual, or even toss [illegible] The firka government will necessarily [illegible] of representatives nominated or elected by the Panchayat So ultimately the firka will be smallest full government vested with residuary powers Each higher union will exercise only such powers as are assigned to it from below The residuary powers will remain with the firka Even the higher governments must not run on party government methods Where there are radical and irreconcilable divisions, the opinion of the units should be obtained

9 I feel that the party system government and the bureaucracy instituted on the British model does not suit the Indian way of life It has killed talent initiative and sensitiveness for ethical values and justice of the ordinary man, and legislators and even ministers have often become a useless burden on the public India will fare better by a government made of representatives of the whole house, irrespective of party labels party labels being not recognized officially There should be no *whips* or ordered voting and no canvassing A government will not resign because any of its propositions is disapproved, but will execute it in such form as the house decides I understand that it is so in Switzerland It will suit India better than the British model, which we have taken for granted at present

10 This is my general picture of future India and, on the same lines, of the World Federation I have referred to it here because of its bearing on the land problem and the production of food

II Migration to Other Continents

11 I feel that ultimately Indian — or for the matter of that Far East Asian — land and food problem cannot be solved in their own countries alone Our people must get an opportunity of migrating to other continents — America, Africa, Australia etc. Africa and New Zealand, Fiji etc made (as they feel now) 'mistake' of inviting Indians to settle there Now they want to retrace those steps Australia became forewarned and refuses immigration of coloured people altogether America is also afraid of it But it also realizes that the tide cannot be resisted for all time to come and desires to ward off the 'evil' as long as possible Hence, its policy of keeping Asians into Asia by every method possible "Increase your food decrease your population or get extirpated by long drawn out civil wars but keep within your bounds and we shall help you with funds for any of these purposes" This seems to be the guiding star of its policy It also realizes that a continuous flow of poverty-stricken Asians into America must create in the long run a struggle for power there, and lead to some form of socialism, and curtailment of the standard of their own living Russia is to them the arch devil of the Socialist cult, and hence its dread of it

III Mechanization Bound to Increase Unemployment

12 Our Agriculture and industries must be adjusted against this background Whether, in either of them, large-scale and mechanized methods will always lead to increased production cannot be said with certainty It will depend upon various factors But what can be said with certainty about them is that they progressively reduce the number of human and animal workers formerly engaged in productive avocations, and in spite of all our efforts to create new industries and avenues of employment, the number of unemployed increases more rapidly than that of new industries, trades etc It must be realized that new avenues of employment if not of a productive type, but of service type however useful are in the long run parasitic in their nature Even if mechanized and large-scale methods succeed in producing large quantities of consumable articles the simultaneous increase of large-scale unemployment results in progressively diminishing the purchasing power of the people European countries thrived because they could capture so many markets of the world, they could also colonize elsewhere, and found empires If the European countries, with their dense populations had found no outlet for their people and goods elsewhere, they would have come to graver ruin than China or India by their industrialization. Even then their cut-throat competition and rivalry was unable to solve the problems of unemployment with the result that the greater the industrialization, the more intense and constant have been their wars until they have led to World Wars and genocides Their prosperity has been comparatively short-lived

13 We must take a lesson from their experience

IV No Private Property

14 The Bhoodan Movement is based on the principle of "All land belongs to God", The ownership of a particular man on a particular plot is ultimately a limited ownership only It is for the purpose of making him take utmost interest in his work, and put forth all his energy and talents in developing his holding He works with love, but not necessarily for his own needs only "All land belongs to God" is only a limited application of the principle ईशावास्यमिदं सर्वम् (All this is pervaded by God) That is not only land, but all that exists in the world and is produced by man, does not belong to him but to God, and he is entitled to take only his due share of it The second half of the Mantra तेन त्यक्तेन भुञ्जीथा (Enjoy it by renunciation) follows the first as a matter of course So ultimately private property of every type must come to an end and so also rents, interest, profits etc The Bhoodan Movement seeks to bring this about not by force — either of the State, or indirect coercive methods, or violent revolution — but by converting the largest possible number of propertied as well as unpropertied people to this creed As it is a majority of the people, even if they belong to the less of absolute have-nots are capitalists in embryo and think in terms of private ownership profits, wages etc

V The Samashraya System Explained

15 My articles on the Samashraya system referred to in para 3 of your letter must be read in the light of this intermediate stage

16 When I wrote those articles, the idea of Bhoodan Movement was not born, and so I spoke in terms of wages and dividends in accordance with their present ownership rights. But as I contemplated that no worker on land — indeed, no family in a village should be absolutely landless, I suggested the assignment of a minimum plot of land to every one for hobby cultivation" The better term has been suggested by a friend viz "subsistence holding It may not be full economic holding in your sense, because the cultivator will need other sources of income also I also believe that agriculture or cattle-breeding alone should not be the only vocation of any one Even where it provides an all year-round employment, some industrial occupation (not necessarily for commercial purposes) must be associated with agriculture and every artisan or industrial worker should be associated with agricultural occupation The "subsistence holding" was thus meant for both village-artisans and agriculturists proper

17 You are right (para 4) in saying that payment of dividends being the last item of distribution, would be only nominal (if at all) at least for some years Indeed, it would disappear altogether when the principle of सब भूमि, गोपालकी (All land belongs to God) is brought into practice At present, land reform legislation contemplates ceiling and bottom holdings, and also sub-tenancies Hence I had to allow the idea of dividends Even with improvement of agriculture, land will have to be allotted to new generations and a part of it will have to come from the ceiling owners So this item of paying dividends is only a residuary and intermediate possibility Ultimately it must entirely disappear, and in no case should it have the shape of either Debentures, or Preference Share 'Mangroth" — the village which has donated all its lands to Vinoba — may well become the model of land distribution

18 The word wages in my articles really has a meaning wider than the usual one It is more akin to the monthly withdrawals of a partner of a firm against his share than to a wage In a partnership consisting of sleeping partners, working partners with different investments of capital, and working partners without contribution of capital the last two draw regular monthly allowances at an agreed rate the sleeping partner gets interest plus a share in the profits He generally does not draw in the middle of a year At

(continued on p. 293)

HARIJAN

Oct. 18 1952

INDO-U.S.A. TECHNICAL CO-OPERATION AGREEMENT

[Late Shri K. G. Mashruwala wrote the following as a foreword to Shri S. Ramabhai's booklet *Agreement or Slavery Bond?* published by the Hindustani Culture Society 145 Muthiganj Allahabad. The question touched by Shri K. G. M. in it is much more serious than is generally understood at present. It is hoped the foreword reproduced below will draw the attention of all serious-minded people particularly those who are associated with the implementation of the T.C.A. to the great issues involved in this Agreement with the U.S.A.

2-10-52 —M. P. D.]

Often a transaction or public event, which does not immediately create a great sensation in the public and is practically neglected even by the general politician or economist proves later to have been the turning point in a nation's history. It plants a weed, which after some time, grows rapidly spreading itself far and wide, going deep into the soil and smothering everything in its vicinity. It looks harmless and even pleasant in the beginning, but ultimately when it begins to exert the influence on its surroundings, it would already have become too late and too difficult to get out of its entanglements.

The Agreement signed between U.S. and India on 5th January, 1952 has appeared to Shri Suresh Ramabhai and many of us a transaction of this type.

The Government of India having entered into it with great deliberation and evidently on the advice of experts, is naturally completely satisfied with its achievements. Not a few of the leading dailies and economic organs of industrialists have also given it their blessings.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's deep concern for bringing about the economic regeneration of India at the quickest possible pace is well known. He is impatient with lethargic people who are easily satisfied with a little advance here and a little achievement there. He has great faith in modern technical science and wants it to be fully employed in India for the economic advancement of the country. He wants to see India undertake and complete projects as grand as any in any part of the world. There is no doubt that India is capable of doing all this. Who does not know her past achievements and her position as the leading nation of the world for centuries in every field of life? We are descendants of the same people, on the whole intellectually well-developed, and given adequate opportunity, guidance and means there is no reason why we may not achieve as much again.

For more than two centuries past, enormous wealth has been drained away from India into foreign lands, and she has been bled white. It is not possible [illegible] Nehru and many others probably feel that India can rebuild her prosperity with the aid of her own resources. At any rate it cannot be done at anything more than a snail's pace. If we can obtain, by way of either loan or gift, funds or materials needed by us for developing our country consistently with our national independence and self-respect, no sense of either timidity or vanity on our part should prevent us from seeking, negotiating or accepting such aid. There is nothing intrinsically wrong or immoral in it. People enter into partnership and loan agreements every day in their private life and still retain their individuality and equality of status. Whether doing so will put a person in a position of subordination to the other party in matters outside the sphere of agreement depends upon the quality of self-confidence possessed by him. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru perhaps, feels that it would be cowardly on the part of India to reject aids or loans undoubtedly needed by her merely from the fear that the acceptance of such aids may render her incapable of preserving her independence in national or international affairs. Pandit Nehru has more than once shown his independence of spirit, and why should he think that any Government succeeding him will not be able to do so equally well? No doubt, there is some risk, but none can achieve much without risks.

This is theoretically a valid attitude. But it is not in conformity with the actual experience we have in the private life of individuals or the political history of nations. On the contrary, the general experience is that a debtor becomes subservient to the creditor in every manner. He loses all initiative and freedom to decide his course of action. The consequences of disobedience to the will of the creditor or the benefactor are so grave that he does not dare to take the risk.

A study of the Agreement of 5th January, 1952 and of some of the secondary agreements that have since been signed in pursuance of it, shows that the risk to which India has become exposed through these is so grave that the Agreement may well prove to be virtually a bond of slavery. I need not repeat what those risks are, as they have been well described by Shri Suresh Ramabhai in his booklet. The risks are not only economic but also political and psychological. The psychological risk that I refer to is the possibility that at least two opposite types of complexes might be created in the people: that we cannot live without the goodwill and friendship of America, and that (as a strong reaction against the first) we must run into the Communist camp in order to liberate ourselves from the first. The very thing which is sought to be avoided by U.S., might happen with greater impact by agreements of this type. The drama of China and Korea might be re-enacted in India.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's sincerity of purpose is not to be doubted. He has confidence in

[illegible] in the infinite capacities of our [illegible] faith in the role which India must play in future as a great nation of the world He believes in the unity of the world, in the abolition of war and in peace He believes that this is possible only through non-violence and not through armaments That he cannot run away from the war machine in the immediate present is a concession to the realities of the situation and not an acceptance of the proposition that peace can be saved by piling and perfecting destructive weapons. But simply because he has to make these concessions and cannot face up to all the implications of his faith, he does not want to run away from his duty

On the economic programme,' frankly, it seems to me that Panditji's thinking is not quite clear He does not love centralization and regimentation, but he appears to me to have almost a superstitious faith in the power of the machine, of scientific appliances and of the economy of mass production Production by the *charkha*, village industries and bullock plough methods appears to him, perhaps, as of too rudimentary a nature to be considered seriously by the Government of a great Republic, with a population of 36 crores of people Hence, he is indeed earnest to industrialize the country He does not seem to agree with those who think that war and large-scale industrialization are almost inseparable companions

Due to this attitude of his, he is constantly attracted towards gigantic schemes, and has launched so many of them Some of them have been disastrous failures, and in some others, the Government has been cheated by its own officers, advisers, technicians and others One of the greatest and costliest lessons of the schemes has been that we have proved ourselves to be too much depraved in moral character and wanting in love for our country Other considerations apart, our national regeneration cannot be achieved merely by heavy economic reconstruction The moral reconstruction of our country on solid foundations is even more important and basic than economic reconstruction The latter should follow step by step in the wake of the former

But, great though the losses have been on account of failures and dishonesty in connection with various schemes, they are most of them only isolated transactions. The present agreement is a continuous process It is virtually a charter to U S to establish herself in India, first as a trading concern and then as India's political boss The Government of India has agreed to place at the disposal of U S all its administrative machinery and to become her advertising agency U S officers employers etc, will be allowed to live in India and move and mix with the people of India without being subject to even civil laws of India Who can prevent them from propagating any political or social views they please, and creating factions in India? The text-books might well be actually among U S sponsored U S S R sponsored, and purely Indian parties

I am in entire agreement with the principle that the whole world is one that, after all, it is but human and natural that one section of mankind should help another in times of need, that he who has much should share his surplus with him who has little, and that both the giver and the receiver should feel blessed Grand achievements and scientific advance should not be inconsistent with peace But it is clear that motives of U S in aiding Europe and Asia are not so altruistic as are needed for such an attitude They are frankly made for organizing an anti-Communist front Equally similar is the attitude of the Communists These two are at daggers drawn against each other, and each tries to spread its tentacles over other peoples for their own ends, and not out of any brotherly love So long as this is the attitude of these two ambitious countries and their collaborating nations, we must rebuild our country by our own efforts It is better to be slow in our progress, than to put up a facade of progress when behind it there is only a state of bankruptcy that may lead to civil strife or international warfare

Wardha 9-6-'52 K G MASHRUWALA

PATIL-MASHRUWALA CORRESPONDENCE

II

(continued from p 291)

the end of the year all share the profits if any, after reckoning the interest on capital In case of loss, usually the working partner without investment does not bear it He is a sharer in profits only The monthly allowances allowed to be drawn by the working partners, I have called here wages Since they will be *full*, that is sufficient to pay their maintenance bills, it does not matter if there is nothing left to divide The actual workers will not have starved in any case And if sleeping partners cannot get anything, they must suffer it, or become active workers, or part with their interests

I shall now deal with some of the paragraphs of your letter in serial order

19 Para 5 — Whether it is Co-operative Society or a Panchayat, I do not contemplate its management through a Board of Directors There might be an Executive Committee, but it will not issue directions to be acted upon by the members or raiyats, but it will be its duty to carry out and see to the implementation of the wishes of the general body of the Society or the Village Panchayat The authority must vest in the general voters, and not in a few people The Managing Body may advise, but it will not decide

20 (a) Para 6 — No amount of increased production and opening of avenues for employment in new industries will solve the problems of unemployment and poverty if our economic order is based on rents, interest, profits, transportation charges etc Ultimately all wages form part of the cost price, and the greater the wages the higher

the cost price, and so too the higher becomes the sale-price The result is that the wages can never be more than the selling price of essential articles, and the demand for rise in salaries can never end If, to add to this, you carry on mechanization to a perfection, the number of unemployed must always increase The only way out is liquidation of commercialism i e abolition of rents, interest and profits

(b) Secondly large-scale industrialization and militarization are twins Under commercialism one needs the other Hence, I do not see the rosy picture which you have raised in this paragraph With every improvement in technical science, the military expenditure will increase disproportionately

21 Para 7 — I hope your attention has been drawn to the criticism of Vinoba against cultivation on simple wage system Apart from the cultural drawbacks of wage-system, the impossibility of assuring a really full wage in a commercialized system, is another objection Whether it is State Capitalism or Private Capitalism, the larger the enterprise, the greater is the number of administrative staff — who takes no part in production and is better paid than the actual workers So the cost price always rises, and the wages are never enough to purchase for all the needs of the labourer The distance between the least paid and the best paid continually increases It has become so even in Russia So even if capitalism is allowed the salvation of a thickly populated country like ours lies in strictly limiting the scope of large scale agriculture and industrialization Where they are indispensable, they should be run on utmost economical lines, i e. on no profits no loss basis, with very moderate salaries, without commissions, director's fees etc

22 In the field of agriculture large-scale cultivation should be undertaken to bring new areas under cultivation only, and with a view to ultimately make them available for landless peasants working on them I also have in mind some areas where machinery might be employed with very great advantage For instance, in the hilly tracts of the Himalayas and other mountainous regions to level down rocks and prepare larger terraces than those made by men There, mechanized methods might well give greater employment to men than now, and it may be necessary to divert labour from the plains to the top Land development and irrigation projects with the help of heavy machinery has, I believe a great field in mountainous region

23 Unless you are able to get a "New India" or "New Asia" on some other continent, large scale cultivation will make the unemployment problem intenser day by day On our own land, we may manage to live decently only on a moderate standard of living and through decentralized methods of production and distribution, moderately mechanized methods, and by associating agriculture and industries together

24 (1) Para 8 (i) (a) The difference lies in the methods The present-day co-operatives are more or less joint-stock companies on a small scale The Panchayats also, as contemplated by you, are like a board of directors elected by the members by counting of votes, and more often than not, on political party or communal lines Even thereafter they will decide matters by majority among themselves, and not always unanimously And after their election, they will be playing the role of masters, and issue injunctions, which their electors must obey Both in politics and economics, we are building up a democracy of electing masters, instead of "ministers" (i e who render service), with an irrevocable authority for a number of years Experience shows that this has led to discord and bitter feelings in all institutions, including even our Sanghs The evil of party groups (पक्षबाजी) based not even on principles but, on personal or family and clan rivalries, has been a long-standing curse of our villages It is party-politics on a miniature scale, but with all the cunning and ingenuity of large-scale intrigues We must build institutions on lines, which will restore amity and concord and not create fanatics of political and ideological dogmas We should attempt to discover methods of correcting this evil.

24 (2) (b) The Planning Commission's proposal is that with 2/3rds majority, the remaining 1/3rd may be coerced to join the Village Management scheme I would say thus You might disenfranchise all those, who are well-known bad characters But for the remaining, effort should be made to take decisions unanimously or at least *nem con* If a counting has to be made, there should be a majority of at least, say, 80 to 85 per cent, and if there is a matter of principle or conscience involved on the issue, no one should be coerced to accept an arrangement not acceptable to him on that ground He may be allowed to go his way

24 (3) (h) (a) Consolidation of Holdings i e trying to give such owners as have their fields scattered hither-thither in a compact area by effecting exchanges with neighbours — is one way There is no objection to resort to this method wherever it is possible and necessary

24 (4) (b) Creating natural co-operation among neighbouring holders for purposes of agricultural operations Such co-operative work does not depend upon regular co-operative societies

24 (5) (c) The term "co-operation" loses its meaning when "co-operatives" become "competitives" and just a firm of retail shopkeepers, entering into rivalry with other similar co-operatives or private shops In the issue of licences, permits, supplies, grants loans etc, Government follows a general policy of preferring co-operatives to private organizations Since Government itself is run on party lines this has led to rival co-operatives one favoured by the party in power and the other trying to checkmate it. To remedy

It is one way [illegible] insist on having only one multi purpose co-operative in one unit, to eliminate all [illegible] middlemen in distribution, and to make membership in the co-operative society compulsory for every householder Both Vinoba and Nanabhai have disapproved of this and for good reasons "co-operative" loses its meaning when it becomes compulsory and becomes incapable of giving sufficient opportunity for original talent to shine Hence my feeling is

24 (6) (i) That co-operatives, whether in selling purchasing or distributing, should be restricted to carry on their operations for and among their members only They must not become commission agents or middlemen between non-members on the one hand and Government or the world on the other Their purchases must be for the needs of their members only, and not for sale to the public Their sales to the public must be confined to their own productions Permits grants loans and other helps should be given to them for proper distribution among their members only The natural advantages arising out of joint purchases etc should be sufficient incentive to co-operation As long as the urge is not from within let the people choose their own way of life and Government treat co-operative societies and individual applicants or private dealers on the same footing except that the latter two should have placed on them a ceiling limit

24 (7) (ii) Barring very small holdings — holdings smaller than even the size indicated by Vinoba — all holdings do generally require some outside help at irregular intervals during the monsoons in various field operations The members of the family by themselves are not able to cope with all the work of sowing weeding, reaping etc which has to be done at the right moment without loss of time This raises the issue of outside labourers Where are these labourers to come from if every peasant labourer is to be a self-cultivator It is asked Subject to correction as regards figures of acreage, my idea is this

(a) Holders of between say 3 to 15 acres, should perform (and I believe they do) these operations by mutual co-operation They would fix their own terms and turns

(b) I regard holdings of less than 3 acres as coming under the category of "subsistence holdings" I have said that every one, even artisans of full time occupations and seasonal occupations, should have such holdings They will be even less than one acre, but may be upto three or if the family is large or the soil inferior even larger

In addition to work on their own plot they would also find sufficient time and need to work for wages on larger holdings — i e those above 15 acres If the owners of large holdings will lend their ploughs bullocks etc to carry out some of the major operations of their small holdings they would get even more leisure, and would be better workers still. It will be co-operative *cum* wages. If their small holdings are in the neighbourhood of and better still, adjoining the larger holdings, it will be as good an arrangement as that secured by consolidated holdings, and more convenient The Adivasis of the Surat District had a tradition of choosing a landless son in-law for their daughter The son-in-law was given a small plot of land for his own cultivation and he also worked as a labourer on his father-in-law's fields This was a good way of sharing one's land with the landless This principle should be extended and improved upon

(c) The registered farms and village management schemes create a class of absentee landlords, technicians, managers, supervisors foremen, and a staff of workers They perform no physical labour themselves and still their emoluments are bound to be greater than those who do physical labour In fact, these are even worse and more parasitic class of middlemen, than those who do the work of retail distributors, brokers and commission agents — given equal honesty in the dealings of both classes. The latter class has to work harder and boss less than the former as a whole, and their way of living is not quite so different from the rest of the community, as that of the administrator class In the society envisaged by us there should be none who is exempt from physical labour, — except for physical reasons i e ill-health, want of limbs, old age, infancy etc Let it be understood very definitely that it is impossible even by magic to banish unemployment and ensure welfare to every one, in a system which presupposes the existence of rents, interest, profits large-scale transports, administrative departments modern military defence, and other non physical workers. If this is further accompanied with ever increasing mechanization of work In a country with abundant man power and comparatively a small market outside instead of going towards welfare we shall proceed towards concentration camps and large-scale man-slaughter as in Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia.

24 (8) (iii) Hence, we must propagate and work for uniting the whole village into, if possible one joint family If not one let it be a few Say, units of about 50 to 100 families each They must put all their lands and all their manufactures, and gains from every source into a common till Whether some individuals thereof work as artisans, labourers, managers or even are engaged in trades services and outside the village they should bring all their gains in the common till, and all should share in them as in a coparcenary. You know that a joint Hindu family unit is joint in food worship and estate Next to it is one separate in food, but joint in worship and estate and the last is that of being joint in estate only When it separates in food each draws from the common till what it needs for maintenance For convenience, its amount may be fixed according to a budget, The wage or salary in the

samashraya system proposed by me is just this withdrawal fixed for convenience It may be in kind, cash or both according to convenience The distinction between joint property and self-acquired property should be abolished But this will be regarded at present, as a reactionary idea We have been for more than two generations working for the dissolution of the joint family, and yet the essence of community life and the goal of community projects should be this If you call this Communism, it is Sarvodaya Communism

25 Para 9 (pp 4 to 6 of your letter) I think it is unnecessary to say anything specifically on these paragraphs, after the foregoing If it is conceded that it is possible to have intensive cultivation through both large-scale and small-scale agriculture and equal results can be obtained and employment can be provided in both, why should we complicate matters and also disturb the psychological satisfaction of the small-scale holder? Let us work upward through what obtains at present for bringing about greater production and more equal distribution The problem of distribution should not be separated from that of production Regarding compensation I endorse Vinoba's views The Bombay Tenancy Amendment Bill as recently framed was a good measure in regard to the fixing of price and payment by easy instalments I do not know in what form the Bill has been ultimately passed

26 Para 10 I do not think I need go into a detailed discussion about the pros and cons of land distribution We have to face the realities of the wave which has pervaded the whole world, and which is fundamentally, morally justified People cannot accept the present inequality of possession Even if, as those who argue against distribution urge It might lead to fall in production and to further hardships let the risk be taken Necessity is the mother of invention I have indicated in para 22 the field for employing methods of large scale production with up-to-date machinery Let the Government open up uncultivated reclaimable lands and create new table-lands in mountainous regions, and work upon them with up-to-date methods for some years and then distribute them to the persons who have worked under them on suitable terms But private ownerships over large areas are not to be tolerated by an awakened peasantry So proceed towards their liquidation quickly else it might be too late If it is done early the landlords might save something If it is late, they might lose all Please do not take this as a politician's warning but as a dispassionate friend's reading of the situation Academic discussions about how much land a man needs will not help us much

27 Para 11 It does not matter much if the Village Co-operative Management does not materialize for 15 or 20 years yet But it will be possible to make beginnings now if there are good workers as in Mangroth It can also be initiated in new colonies

28. Para 12-13 Yes I believe I have sufficiently discussed this in the above paragraph

29 Para 14 Shri Narharibhai has mentioned a few industrial occupations which have to go with agriculture They are dairy, spinning and weaving, soap-making, gur-making *ghani* etc Some of these would have to be organized on a co-operative basis But when I speak of industries I consider them in two aspects one, as providing them as additional source of income in addition to self-sufficiency and two, as saving their out-of-pocket expenses, spinning and weaving upto a certain stage, coir-making paddy husking, grinding, dairy, is primarily for self-sufficiency, i e for saving their expenditure, but they can also give them supplementary income But cloth weaving, bread, ghee biscuits *poha* apiary, fruit, poultry, gur, sugar unrefined oil etc are agricultural industries catering for city people also I think there can be many others If it is settled that cities should receive all agricultural produce in a form ready for direct consumption to the largest extent possible, all such industries should be organized in villages themselves, or in the firka.

30 Agriculture is not likely to be an all-year round full-time occupation for at least 25 years next for the simple reason that a great part of it will have to depend upon rain water only Where you have sufficient irrigation, the necessity of providing rest to the soil will require every land to be kept fallow for a period by turns And when I say agriculture should be married to handicrafts and village industries, I mean that every agriculturist should take some part in industrial work, and every artisan should take some part in agriculture, and let me go further and say that every clerical worker must take some part in both

31 One more suggestion before I end this long epistle In my opinion if we abandon all other parts of community projects and concentrate on creating every type of irrigating facility from small or deep wells and culverts to biggest canals — for five or ten years in every part of the country, and leave the rest to the people, we shall have done a great work

32 I wish I had compressed this in a smaller space, but if I were to recast it now it will need rewriting the whole So please excuse me for its length and the inordinate delay

Yours sincerely
K G MASHRUWALA

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Gandhiji's Doctrine of Trusteeship

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HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)
Editor: MAGANBHAI P. DESAI

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GOVERNMENT AND KHADI

A correspondent writes the following after reading the article 'Khadi Stocks' published in the *Harijan* of 30-8-'52 It is worthy of note :

> 'Unemployment at present is increasing in such great strides that the unemployed are trying in vain to maintain themselves by taking to any good or bad and (unproductive) occupations This hampers whatever few nation building activities some men from the upper strata are contemplating to do Illicit distillation is one such growing occupation born of unemployment. The problem is getting more complicated day by day People are dying a slow death, and some are committing even suicide I would therefore, like to request men like you who carry weight with the present Government You ought to urge upon them that all the Government offices and institutions should compulsorily use the village industries products in all the works done on behalf of every one of them. Whatever cloth stationery paper small iron tools and such other things are used in the hospitals, dispensaries municipalities revenue and police departments and at such other places must be village products. I should suggest that rather than sanctioning the amount for the above items in the budget arrangement should be made to supply the necessary things themselves directly from their talukas, districts or provinces If this much is done at the outset, it would be an example for the people to emulate and they also would start more or less using the products of the village industries In these circumstances moneyed people might be tempted to invest in rural industries and with such a start the problem of unemployment would abate'

The suggestion made by the correspondent is not new and has been discussed many times before in one form or another in these columns As early as 1935-36, when Gandhiji inaugurated All India Village Industries Association, he went so far as to assert that the village industries work was not political but humanitarian — for the benefit of India's poor people and that the Government (foreign though it was then) could also help He had added further that he would work out a miracle in the country through the new Rural Movement provided the Government was helpful to him (This is the substance in my own words of what he wrote then) This miracle contemplated by Gandhiji awaits completion The Governments of today are people's and can help village industries Not only that, but the Constitution has ordained (in Section 43) that 'the State shall endeavour to promote cottage industries on an individual or co-operative basis in rural areas' And according to Section 41, 'the State shall within the limits of its economic capacity and development, make effective provision for securing the right to work' Nobody today demands of the Government to offer work to the unemployed nor to give doles in case work cannot be given Nor do we complain that the Government are bound to provide work (i e food) to all, which obviously they could not do But Khadi does provide work to many people It gives relief in famine Both the people and the Government are bound, therefore to purchase Khadi If crores of rupees can be invested for supplying milk to the cities, why tarry to make a like investment for providing bread to the poor ?

It should, however, be remembered that there is no question here of investing any money in Khadi What is suggested to the Government is only this "Your annual purchase of cloth already is worth lakhs of rupees Please substitute Khadi for other cloth" This suggestion is very simple and we wonder why the Government hesitate to accept it We can however, imagine the reasons for their hesitation One of them seems to be that the Government servants might not be approving of Khadi They might argue that it being connected with a certain political party the Government ought not to sponsor it It is likely that some of the people also argue in the same fashion. If my surmise is right, it deserves consideration The above argument is not right, but in the days of fight for Swaraj, whatever political odour was attached to Khadi then must disappear now The Government should abide by the Constitution, which is the creation of not any one party or politics Khadi and handloom cloth occupy a place of importance in our village industries It must be noted that this is no question of investment by Government but only of encouraging rural industries, which is their duty, by buying Khadi to supply their cloth need. Would the Government do their duty by the poor ?

8-9-'52 MAGANBHAI P DESAI

(From the original in Gujarati)

NOTES

Sir Maurice Gwyer

In the sad death of Sir Maurice Gwyer we have lost a great jurist and able educationalist India will always remember him as one of the rare Englishmen who could take a balanced view of things and affairs in the most stirring and difficult times in India during the Quit India movement His work as the Vice-Chancellor of the Delhi University is well known As is aptly described, by his work as its executive head, he put the university on the map of higher education in India May he lie in peace

16-10-'52

Decentralize or Perish

P T I-Reuter reports from Adelaide, October 5

> "Prof E W Titterton, an official Australian observer at the test (of the Atom bomb explosion) yesterday contributed a special article in the *Herald* headed 'Spread out for Survival'
>
> "He said the only immediate practical way to survive an atomic attack was to stop the growth of big cities at once
>
> 'It was generally agreed, he said, that an enemy could not be prevented from delivering an atomic attack against a given city
>
> "The only answer to such a prospect was dispersal—or defence through decentralization—by cities and their industries"
>
> (From *The Hindustan Times* Oct 6)

So in God's good earth, even a devil can give us a lesson if only we can heed to it. Even an atom bomb can do some good turn to the erring man it would be really to man's advantage if he learns from the atom bomb that cities must be split up into small townships or nice little villages and centralized industries of today reorganized and necessary technique for it found out so as to render them capable of being small village and cottage industries It will also render atomic weapons useless and save us from gigantic and wastefully centralized municipal services like water, electricity, transport housing etc which become very nice targets for the enemy during war-time We in India are having at present 'Greater City' plans and schemes that are almost a fashion of the day in so-called progressive planning Should we not revise our ideas about them? Shri Jawaharlalji has assured the nation that 'India was interested not in the manufacture of atom bombs but in the development of atomic energy for social purposes' We should go further and not merely split up the atom but our big centralized schemes and cities also in the cause of peace and common weal

8-10-'52

The Atomic Death-Dance

Papers are full of the accounts of what is described as 'Britain's first atomic explosion' that took place at "Devil's Island" 50 miles off the Australian mainland Prime Minister Churchill immediately on hearing the news wired congratulations to the Prime Minister of Australia for the successful performance of the deadly explosion

A few [illegible] reported in papers that from the [illegible] view of military finance an atom bomb [illegible] cheaper weapon as it cost less and killed [illegible] h nce it was an economic measure in armaments If I remember aright, it was said that the average cost per man killed by an atom bomb will be a mere rupee or a little more

Amidst this prostitution of the human intellect and the deadly din of death and massacre deliberately being planned and prosecuted by Western States, whether democratic or totalitarian, it is some solace to hear the following still small voice of the National Committee of Science for Peace saying in a statement—

> 'As an organization of practising scientists we feel that it serves rather to provide yet another instance of wasteful and dangerous misdirection of scientific effort"

Nearer home Dr C V Raman is reported to have said, "As an humble follower of the Buddha it is hardly possible for me to rejoice when one more atom bomb is exploded I do not think atom bombs can do any good to humanity"

Prof Meghnad Saha of Calcutta said "Scientists of repute should refuse to oblige the devilish behest of the ruling authorities'

Can we hope that free India will organize her peace so strongly and well that it can call hush to this devilish game of killing through cheap remedies? The West is on a competitive game of mass suicide through atomic science India should in no way be a partisan in this death dance

7 10-'52

Gorakhpur Famine

Prof Shibbanlal Saksena, has sent me a note on Gorakhpur famine with a request that I should publish it in the *Harijan* I am reluctant to accede to this request, and that for the simple reason that I feel it will help in no way to ameliorate the terrible conditions that Prof Saksena depicts in his note The subject-matter of the Professor's note has raised a bitter controversy in the Press with the U P Government I may say that I have painfully followed it and my opinion has been that it was a wholly unseemly performance on the part of both sides The matter of terrible food scarcity, miserable starvation and slow death of our unfortunate country-men cannot—should in no way be a matter of any controversy between the leaders of the people and the Government. It is rather a call on both of them to do their very best unto our starving brothers and sisters, in full co-operation and joint collaboration Again it cannot be a matter of mere report to the people, it should be a call to us all to rally round the situation and put our shoulders to the wheel. I do not feel that the publication of the note will help this in any way

One word at the end regarding Prof Saksena's charge of corruption against the officials I do not know how far it is true My humblest submission to them is, please to remember that

[illegible] have suspicion [illegible] language and [illegible] continue their merry [illegible] of the starving people [illegible] Government food-grains and [illegible] amongst Government servants thriv[illegible]ked" I hope Government will see that [illegible] removed if it is found to be true

7-10-52

Regarding the Medium of Instruction

Dr Amarnath Jha, former Vice-Chancellor, Allahabad University, in his convocation address at the Baroda University the other day touched the important question of the medium of instruction and said that the regional language should be the medium of instruction at the secondary and the university stages He argued that every child had a right to be taught through its mother-tongue. But there should be provision for teaching of the national language He further said that "English should be studied in our universities and a very high standard in its use should be aimed at but it offended all educational principles to make a foreign language the medium of instruction '

While he did not advocate the use of the national language as the universal medium of instruction he did hope that a uniform technical terminology would be evolved in the national language

And he added that, the regional languages must continue to develop and flourish There need not be any clash between the regional languages and the national language"

(From the report in *The Hindu*, Madras, Oct. 3 1952)

Such a candid pronouncement on the question of the medium of instruction from an educationalist of Dr Amarnath Jha's eminence is very welcome specially when issues are unnecessarily being confused by people who ought to know better about these matters

8-10-'52 M. P.

Bhoodan Yajna

Details of Land and Cash collected in Hyderabad State

		Land (in acres)	Cash (in Rupees)
Visaka Shava			
16-4-51 to 14-6-'51	60 days		
Stay at Manekurial	3 days		
Hence actual days toured	57 days		
In 57 Villages			
Total number of mileage	664 miles		
Land donation received	———		12,178-30
After Visaka			
16-6-51 to 24-8-52	436 days		
Land/Cash Donation received	———	0,722-15	8,000-0-0
Dorlog Shri Shankarrao Deo's Tour			
26-8-52 to 22-9-52	28 days		
No of places halted	27 places		
No of mileage covered	325 miles		
Land/Cash Donation received	———	11,313-28	5[illegible]-0-0
Total land/cash received to date		30 214-37	8,593 0-0
Total land distributed		7 991- 2	
Yet to be distributed		22,223-31	

"GO-RAKSHA SAMITY"

Shri Satish Chandra Dasgupta, well-known Khadi and Go-Seva worker of Bengal, is the President of "Go-Raksha Samity" He says in a statement :

The Samity proposes to serve the cause of cow protection by constructive work for its improvement and for caring for it when old and infirm. The aim of the Samity therefore is directed towards achievement of several objectives

Prevention of Illegal Slaughter

The Samity proposes to see that useful cows are not slaughtered in contravention of the law passed in West Bengal on 6th April 1950 The law is there but enforcement is lacking. The Samity proposes to remove the lacuna with the help of the authorities and the public

Improvement of the Breed of the Cow in West Bengal

In West Bengal the cows are non-descript. The Samity proposes to carry on the work of improvement of the stock by

(a) grading up by the use of pure Hariyana bulls,

(b) for that purpose maintain and propagate a pure Hariyana herd and

(c) by developing a local West Bengal herd by selection and careful breeding from the best of West Bengal cows of nonmixed blood.

Propagation of Knowledge about Better Management of the Cow

The Samity proposes to establish a school for giving training for the management of the cow as in how best to feed her how to take care of the calves, how to deal with her in health and disease and how to prevent cattle epidemics and save them when they get diseased By the dissemination of knowledge by creating a body of workers as stock-men by establishment of training school the Samity proposes to make some headway in this direction

Go-Sadans

The derelict animals are thrown on the streets or sold away for slaughter or are allowed to die of starvation. It is possible to make arrangements so that the old animals are allowed to live their normal span of life and yet may cease to be a burden

Even when old the manure and urine are valuable yields from the cow And after death the bones and flesh also go to provide valuable products and priceless manure The hides go to the tannery By skilful management even the old animals may pay their way The Samity proposes to maintain Go-Sadans for the immediate objective of taking care of the old animals and also for providing an object lesson for the peasants

An Appeal

The Indians developed this sentiment of respecting the life of all animals by respecting the life of the cow—the closest associate of man in the animal kingdom Cow stands at the centre of Indian Civilization By caring for the cow, India can retain her cultural wealth The Samity (115A Chittaranjan Avenue Calcutta) proposes to strive for this objective

HARIJAN

Oct. 25 1952

GANDHIJI'S DOCTRINE OF TRUSTEESHIP

A Prophetic Talk and the Sequel

On the 13th of December, 1942 during our detention in the Aga Khan Palace Detention Camp, a discussion developed with Bapu on his doctrine of trusteeship These discussions, covering a wide variety of subjects had become a regular part of our daily prison life and converted our morning and evening walks with him into a veritable feast of reason and spiritual communion On the previous day he had advanced the thesis that when power would come into the peoples' hands trusteeship would be embodied in the law of the land " The only democratic way of achieving it today is by cultivating opinion in its favour," he added

" You do not mean to suggest that the change would depend upon the sufferance of the owning class or that we should have to wait till their conversion is complete ? If power comes to us by instalments and the social transformation proceeds by a slow, gradual process to suit the pleasure of the capitalists, it will kill the revolutionary fervour which a complete and abrupt break with the past releases That is why our Marxist friends insist that a true social revolution can come only through a proletarian dictatorship "

Bapu made a sign to me to develop my argument further I proceeded " If under non-violence we can ask for and expect to induce the opponent even to immolate himself for the sake of a higher principle as you said the other day, why can we not make the owning class to renounce their vast possessions which you concede are today largely the result of exploitation ? Why bring in trusteeship ? Many believe it will prove to be no more than a make-believe Is there a limit to the power of non-violence ? You have taught us that in politics reformism kills revolution Does it not equally apply to social revolution ? "

Bapu : " Perhaps you have the example of Russia in mind I admit that wholesale expropriation of the owning class and the distribution of its assets among the people there did create a tremendous amount of revolutionary enthusiasm. But under my plan of trusteeship, people get not only the use of the capitalists' wealth but their talent ability and know-how also It is an even bigger revolution We must not underrate the business talent and know-how which the owning class have acquired through generations of experience and specialization So long as we have not got the power, conversion is our weapon by necessity But after we get power, I maintain that conversion would have to be our weapon of choice Conversion must precede legislation. Legislation without conversion remains a dead letter As an illustration we have today the power to enforce rules of sanitation but we can do nothing with it because the public is not ready "

" You say conversion must precede reform Whose conversion ? If you mean the conversion of the people, they are ready even today If on the other hand, you mean that of the owning class, you may as well wait till Greek Kalends '

" I mean the conversion of both," replied Bapu.

Noting the look of surprise on my face he proceeded " You see, if the owning class do not accept the trusteeship basis voluntarily, their conversion must come under the pressure of public opinion. For that public opinion is not yet sufficiently organized "

Coming back to the point from where we had started I asked Bapu " What do you mean by power ? "

" By power I mean voting power for the people — so broad-based that the will of the majority can be given effect to "

" Can parliamentary activity at all put the masses into power ? "

" Not parliamentary activity alone " replied Bapu " My reliance is on the power of non-violent non-co-operation which I have been trying to develop and inculcate on the people for the last twenty years "

That did not resolve my difficulty ' Is the capture of power possible through non-violence ? Our Socialist friends say that they are now convinced of the matchless potency of non-violence up to a point but they say they do not see how it can enable people to seize power You also have said the same thing Therein, they say, lies the inadequacy of non-violence "

Bapu ' Yes, in a way they are right By its very nature, non-violence cannot result in the seizure of power nor can that be its goal There is an exception of course If the non-violent non-co-operation of the people is so complete that the administration ceases to function or if the administration crumbles down under the impact of a foreign invasion and a vacuum results, the people's representatives will then step in and fill it — theoretically that is possible. But non-violence can do more , it can effectively control and guide power without capturing the machinery of Government That is its beauty Moreovar, I do not agree that Government can be carried on only by the use of violence '

" Does not the very concept of the State imply the use of power — the power to coerce ? "

Bapu " But the use of power need not necessarily be violent A father wields power over his children, he may even punish but not by inflicting violence Most effective exercise of power is that which irks least Power rightly exercised must sit light as a flower no one should feel the weight of it

People accepted the authority of the Congress willingly I was on more than one occasion invested with absolute power of dictatorship But every body knew that my power rested on their willing acceptance They could set me aside at any time and I would step out without a murmur In the Khilafat days my authority or the authority of the Congress did not irk any body The Ali Brothers used to call me 'Sarkar' Yet, they knew they had me in their pocket What was true about me or the Congress then can also be true about the Government"

I conceded that a non-violant State or even a non-violent dictatorship was possible in theory But that called for a terrible self-discipline self denial and penance In the eleventh Skandha of the Bhagavat there is a description of a non-violent law giver or head of a State. He is a person who has severed all domestic ties, is unaffected by fear or favour, anger or attachment, craves nothing for himself — neither power nor glory nor fame, he is the personification of humility and self-effacement Through constant discipline he has inured his body to all conceivable rigours of the weather fatigue and destitution But suppose, the author poses the question the spirit is willing but the flesh is weak if through old age or illness his constitution is undermined so that he can no longer withstand the rigours of his penance what then? To that hypothetical question the unrelenting answer given is In that event he should mount a self-made pyre and immolate himself rather than coddle himself by soft dalliance

"Personally I agree," I concluded "that such a person alone is fit to be a dictator under non-violence If somebody is frightened by such discription let him look at the Russians fighting in a temperature 40 degrees below frost. Why should we expect a softer solution under non-violence Rather, we should be prepared for more"

Bapu confirmed that under non-violence people have to be prepared for heavier sacrifices if only because the goal aimed at is higher There is no easy shortcut to salvation' he said.

That would mean," interpolated my sister that only a Jesus a Mohammad or a Buddha can be the head of a non-violent State"

Bapu demurred "That is not correct Prophets and supermen are born only once in an age But if a single individual realizes the ideal of *ahimsa* in its fullness, he covers and redeems the whole society Once Jesus had blazoned the path his twelve disciples could carry on his mission without his presence It needed the perseverance and genius of so many generations of scientists to discover the laws of electricity but today laymen even children use electric power in their daily life

'Similarly it will not always need a perfect being to administer an ideal State once the ideal State has come into being and set going What is needed is a thorough social awakening [illegible] with The rest will then follow To take in instance nearer home, I have presented to the working class the truth that true capital is not silver or gold but the labour of their hands and feet and their intelligence Once labour awakens to that idea it would not need my presence to enable it to make use of the power that it will release"

He ended up by saying that if only we could make people conscious of their power — the power of their non-violent non-co-operation — the realization of the ideal of trusteeship would follow as a matter of course

II

On our release from prison we took up the question where we had left it in the Aga Khan Palace Detention Camp Kishorlalbhai and Narhariibhai joined in drawing up a simple practical trusteeship formula It was placed before Bapu who made a few changes in it The final draft read as follows

1 Trusteeship provides a means of transforming the present capitalist order of society into an egalitarian one It gives no quarter to capitalism, but gives the present owning class a chance of reforming itself It is based on the faith that human nature is never beyond redemption

2 It does not recognize any right of private ownership of property except in as much as it may be permitted by society for its own welfare

3 It does not exclude legislative regulation of the ownership and use of wealth

4 Thus under State-regulated trusteeship an individual will not be free to hold or use his wealth for selfish satisfaction or in disregard of the interest of society

5 Just as it is proposed to fix a decent minimum living wage even so a limit should be fixed for the maximum income that could be allowed to any person in society The difference between such minimum and maximum incomes should be reasonable and equitable and variable from time to time so much so that the tendency would be towards obliteration of the difference

6 Under the Gandhian economic order the character of production will be determined by social necessity and not by personal whim or greed

It was decided to release the formula to the Press — Indian as well as English But on second thoughts Bapu felt that before publication, it might be shown to a capitalist friend who was very favourably inclined to the doctrine of trusteeship A copy was accordingly sent to him He welcomed it but he did not want the effort to begin and end with the publication of the formula He suggested that to enable the idea to make rapid headway he should try first to canvass some fellow-capitalists so that their acceptance should be published along with the draft

I have not a clear recollection as to what happened afterwards Perhaps the friend in question, to whom the draft had been sent, got

[illegible] in those whom he tried [illegible] No [illegible] reply came from him and [illegible] were swept into [illegible] whirl of events

But a great [illegible] in the genius and [illegible] tradition of [illegible] does not die so easily Gandhiji's idea is [illegible] born and is being pursued with spectacular success by Vinobaji. People in their thousands are [illegible] willing gifts of land for the use of the landless hungry toiling poor What we are witnessing today is the beginning of that thorough social awakening" of which Bapu prophetically talked on that 13th of December It is the spearhead of a non-violent revolution whose implications reach far and wide I shall examine these implications and some of the doubts that have been expressed in this behalf in another article.

Valmiki Mandir PYARELAL
New Delhi 6-10-'52

"WHY PROHIBITION"

This is a brochure by Shri Bharatan Kumarappa on the burning question of prohibition in India It is not a question in the sense that we do not know the good of that measure or that we as a people have still to decide whether there shall be prohibition in India or no That it is good and necessary and should be State policy is decided by the collective wisdom of our people as expressed by them in the Constitution of India which they framed and gave to themselves it lays down

> 'The State shall endeavour to bring about prohibition of the consumption except for medical purposes of intoxicating drinks and of drugs which are injurious to health"

However one may safely say that there are two classes of people who drink and cannot shed their habit if left to themselves, and hence Prohibition These classes are — 1. The westernized urban few soaked in drink which became fashionable under the aegis of the British rule in India 2 The depressed classes who were as if neglected, if not excluded, by our ancients from the great cultural and humane movement against drink thousands of years before These two classes together though a small minority of our body politic have to be weaned back to the great heritage of anti-drink which all religions in India have given to our people The upper few in their pride of learning and modernity are vocal and scheming Because of them and to their aid chiefly arises the modern crime of bootlegging and all that goes with it The other group is a victim of crushing poverty degrading squalor, and insulting social neglect For them we may safely say that they hold drink as bad and shameful and they are willing to shed it off In this sense we might say that prohibition in India is a great movement for the uplift of the poor and the downtrodden the neglected of our history The upper few who are doubters and debaters must also be answered This book, while it notes both these classes is mainly an answer to the questions and queries of these learned upper few. The dedication of the book takes note of the history of prohibition in India and poignantly brings out a drawback in our cultural progress I refer to above, viz the evil of caste-ridden pride almost entrenched in the Hindu culture The dedication is worth reproducing here —

> "Dedicated in homage to our ancient nation-builders who centuries ago, through faith, determination, incessant teaching legislation and social ostracism achieved the miracle of wiping out drink from this vast land, *except among the few who were regarded as being outside the pale of Indian social life*"

I invite the reader to ponder over the italicized portion I hold that India under Gandhiji's inspiration is now determined to undo the blot described in those words That according to me is the meaning and significance of the great clause (47) of the Constitution quoted at the beginning It is a great land-mark in our history I am pained to say that the upper few seem as if willing to see the failure of this great venture It is in this relation i think that Shri Bharatan pointedly refers to the drifting away from prohibition in his introduction to the book, which I may well quote here

> Between 1919 and 1922 I was a student in the U S during the early days of National Prohibition there When I returned to the U S in 1948, I was shocked at the contrast There were taverns round every street corner and one came across drunken people in buses and trains It seemed to me a definite turn for the worse India had launched on Prohibition and I therefore became much interested in knowing why America went back to drink. During my travels in the U S between 1949 and 1951, I collected some information on this question. When I returned to India in 1951 to my great disappointment I found that newspaper opinion in India seemed to be drifting away from Prohibition It appeared most important especially after my American experience that this drift should be stopped by all means and that the public should look upon this great social legislation with favour I read with anxious interest whatever our papers had to say against Prohibition and then during May and June 1952, I published a series of six articles in favour of Prohibition trying to meet the various objections which I had found raised against it in our press
>
> "Friends suggested that the articles should be published in the form of a booklet As I knew that newspapers grudged space I had to confine myself in the articles to a few major points. But as they are now being published in booklet form, I have taken the opportunity of adding some fresh matter to them and have increased their number

With these words I commend the book to all who seriously think for the good of our land It is published by the Navajivan, Ahmedabad-9 and is priced twelve annas

3-9-'52 MAGANBHAI P DESAI

WHY PROHIBITION
By Bharatan Kumarappa
Pages vii+43 Price As 12 Postage etc As. 4
DRINK, DRUGS & GAMBLING
By Mahatma Gandhi
Pages xi+175 Price Rs 2-8 Postage etc As 10
NAVAJIVAN PUBLISHING HOUSE
Post Box 105, AHMEDABAD

FAMINE AND FOOD SCARCITY

Failure of monsoon or of timely rains is a common occurrence in our country It is a trick played upon us by nature It affects very adversely our predominently agricultural economy

We have been facing famines and food scarcity more acutely during the last, say, ten years. If these have hit hard our national economy in general their telling effects on our psychology are worse still

Somewhere I read "Crises are bad enough in themselves, but they develop into tragedies if those who bear them lose hope and resign themselves either to panic or discouragement There are solutions for most troubles that beset us *and we must steel ourselves to find them.*" (Italics mine)

The crises resulting from the recurring famines and continuous food scarcity have almost made us lose hope and courage for all *practical* purposes. Instead of steeling ourselves to find solutions for these and such other troubles, we are, *collectively as a nation*, either doing almost nothing or are thinking and dreaming, talking and agitating, about food loans or aids from abroad and about palliatives in the form of subsidies from the Government

Some political parties have, surprisingly enough made this a capital issue from a party point of view, i e for the struggle for power by winning cheap popularity Hurling of innuendoes without restraint at those who are at the helm of affairs of the country and insinuations of inefficiency in the administrative machinery have become the order of the day It is, however, regretably forgotten that these are having an unhealthy psychological effect on the minds of the millions in our country They are wrongly "educated" These have discouraged us considerably and have almost brought us on the verge of panic — sometimes, if not always, imaginary panic Worst of them all, we, *as a nation*, have not as yet learnt to think in terms of *co-operating with our own Government* to solve these and such other basically human problems

Dependence for food grains on outside help through loans or aid, however welcome, is no solution of the problem at all. It is a costly barter even though no political strings are attached thereto

As Shri Maganbhai Desai has timely pointed out in the *Harijan* (20-9 '52), the need of the hour is to develop the spirit of robust self-reliance and to ' have faith in ourselves — In our great destiny " The secret of a nation's strength lies only therein Self-reliance is the living force of freedom, the very life-blood of democracy Without it, both are lifeless and meaningless

Let us not be discouraged by the oft recurrence of famines or by the continuous scarcity of food Let us take the former as the warning of nature, urging us at the same time " to put our shoulders to the wheel "

Let us not exploit this, however remotely for petty party gains by creating *panic* in the country on these grounds

Let us not devolve our *collective* responsibility on the Government alone or on the shoulders of any single political party alone

Only then we will develop the spirit of self-reliance and the spirit of co-operative effort Only then the co-operation between the people and *their* Government will be genuine and constructive, without which we cannot solve the problems arising out of famines in particular or any other problem in general Far from it we cannot even face them

25 9- 52 VITHALDAS BODANI

THE EVIL OF RICKSHAWS

(A prayer-speech by Vinoba at Kashi Vidyapith on 28-7 52)

There is a great deal of talk and agitation at present in our country and in others about the need of equality in social life But in practice, we find that some of the innovations that have been introduced in our society, are leading to an extension of the slave-classes and giving rise to most unseemly inequalities The rickshaw which has become now a feature of city life is an example It is a new development which has grown to its present proportions during the past fifty years When I was in Kashi 36 years ago, there were no rickshaws then They were then confined to a few places like Simla etc But now it has become a common conveyance in Kashi and many other cities. And a distinct class of rickshaw pullers has sprung up as a result Once a thing gets started without the people giving any thought to its propriety or utility, it tends to continue even after its ugliness is perceived because in course of time people get used to it and the ugliness is not felt Just as they have taken for granted a class of *bhangis* in the cities, so are they now doing with regard to the class of rickshaw-pullers In older times, *bhangis* did not exist as a class We do not know what arrangement they had then for this type of work, but from what I have seen of history the *bhangi* class does not seem to have been in existence The class came into being in medieval times Just consider what an inconceivably dirty job they have to do But even they have got used to it and do not feel any repulsion against it, even though that is the reason for classing them as untouchables I had an occasion to speak to them about it at a meeting in Delhi Shri Jagjiwanram was also present at that meeting He said in his speech that this type of work was below a man's dignity and therefore unworthy of him There was competition in every other work, he said but this one was significantly free from it It should be totally abolished He asked my opinion about it and I expressed ready approval because I have always wanted their uplift and the amelioration of their conditions

In western cities nowadays they use flush-latrines, and they do not need the service of *bhangis* to clean their latrines But in India not only are the latrines indescribably dirty, but this dirty work has been forced on a separate class of the society and, what is utterly inhuman, this class

is stigmatised [illegible] looked down upon Need I [illegible] guilty of a great sin in con[illegible] inhuman practice? And now in mind [illegible] tolerating rickshaw we are adding another great sin to our heavy load And our sensitiveness is so dense that both these items have been included in the community projects which the Government will soon be undertaking with the professed object of [illegible] on turning our village life A few days ago when Shri Shriman Narayan Agarwal placed the scheme of these projects before me and asked my opinion about them, I expressed dissent among other things against these two things

These things, once they get a start, are difficult to get rid off The very victims whom they degrade into slaves then protest if they are stopped They feel that they are deprived of their livelihood When slavery was first abolished amazing as it may appear, the reform was opposed even by some slaves and a good many thinkers too on the ground that their freedom would deprive them of their occupation

I cannot help feeling sad whenever I see a rickshaw When I go for a walk in the morning, I see the rickshaw-pullers running up and down the road notwithstanding the rain If we make rickshaw a part of our social life, surely we shall have to put up with this vulgar sight of a man carrying a man They will continue to ply their rickshaws and surely earn something out of it But all the same it is disgrace to our humanity, to our sense of respect for human personality And we should not let defeatism and helplessness keep us from fighting these evils It will be a sign of mental lethargy and moral insensitiveness to say that the evil has come to stay and it cannot be eradicated On that plea, we may have to give up all efforts at the reconstruction of society

I am sure that if our students and teachers and thinking men and women oppose this custom, it can be abolished It is not ordained by God it is a man made thing and man can abolish it. We have been trying to abolish what is called the fifth (*pancham*) *varna*, i e the class of untouchables though some of the *sanatanists* may still uphold the wrong it involves They do not bother to see that the Gita does not mention it So when we are trying to abolish the *pancham varna* it will be very undesirable to create another depressed class, the class of rickshaw-pullers We should take care to see that we are not reduced to the level of animals But so indolent have we become that even though we realize the evil in a custom we continue to practise it Then it becomes firmly rooted, and the change becomes really very difficult

I quite agree that occasionally it may be necessary for a man to carry another on his shoulders or on the palanquin or even on the rickshaw For rendering service to the needy, this will be quite correct and necessary But if it becomes a normal form of conveyance for any who can pay for it, it should be banned as creating invidious inequality

(From Hindi) D M

THE LONGER VIEW

Shri T T Krishnamachari, Union Minister for Industries, while addressing the Central Advisory Council of Industries on October 3, 1952, at Delhi, made a point that —

> The emphasis is to be placed today not only on greater production, but equally on better production, cheaper production and above all, on producing what the consumer wants'

And he told them by way of a warning that,

> 'During the transition one is apt to take the short view But I wish to emphasise that industry should take a longer view

(From the report of *The Hindustan Times*, Delhi, Oct. 5)

This warning of our Industries Minister to take a larger or longer view is applicable not only to the Industry but also to the Government as well The industry, in its self-interest, may perhaps commit such a mistake, but Government wedded to common weal cannot. It is all right that we as a nation have to produce more and only through that way of toil perspiration and perseverance can we help ourselves out of the deadly grip of scarcity that we are in regarding almost all of our needs Therefore greater production, better production and cheaper too may undoubtedly be the order of the day But the Government is apt to take a shorter view of this matter and perhaps during the transition and on account of the urgency of the problem forgetting the longer view which tells us that our objective is not to produce more and better and cheaper anyhow but so do it that there is maximum employment and the widest distribution of the purchasing power The problem for us is not merely to have large capital to buy more labour-saving devices from the West and to employ the least number of people to work those devices on one's own favourable terms from the vast mass of our poor unemployed population That is too mechanical a view to be true for us, as ours is a question of colossal human power lying idle and unemployed. Therefore that way lies no solution but utter confusion of our national problem. The real slogan should be employ more people and so produce our essential goods that the purchasing power is distributed the widest This longer view should ever be before us in shaping our industrial policy—

8-10-'52 MAGANBHAI P DESAI

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The Third Force

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HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)
Editor: MAGANBHAI P. DESAI

VOL XVI No 26 AHMEDABAD — SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 1, 1952 TWO ANNAS

TWENTY-SIX EDUCATIONISTS' LETTER

Twenty-six educationists have addressed a letter to the Central Minister of Education and the Prime Minister deploring the fall in standard of English at the University stage in several States. Let us analyse their letter as reported in the Press. Four clear points emerge from their letter.

(1) The going down of the standard of English has seriously affected the study of all the subjects and the standard of our graduates has deteriorated.

(2) Time should be given to the University teachers for adjustment in the change of medium.

(3) Thousands of books specially reference books will have to be translated into Hindi or the regional languages, which would involve great expense and would cause considerable delay. The change in the medium, therefore, must wait till books are available.

(4) Universities should be given a right to test the knowledge of English of pupils before admission to the University to ascertain whether they would be able to read reference books in English.

We shall examine the points briefly.

(1) That the going down of the standard of English has seriously affected the study of all subjects' is alas! too true. But the implied reason covertly suggested in the letter is misconceived. Those who have till now passed through the university stage and have graduated, had got full advantage of studying English for eleven years at school, and had mostly learnt all subjects through English. The batches of students that have been denied this good (?) fortune are still to enter the portals of the University. Why then, this fall in the standard of English? The reason is not far to seek though the eminent educationists have failed to locate it. For the last two decades and more there has been a growing resurgence of love for regional languages and nationalism. Students, as a matter of course, have been affected by it. There has been a greater and greater inclination towards the study of and love for the mother tongue and a markedly greater and greater deviation from attraction for the foreign language, English. This is the main reason why the knowledge of and efficiency in English have received a severe set-back — the set-back that has come to stay and is irretrievable. The reason for deterioration therefore, is not due to the 'undue haste' in the abolition of English but to the natural force of circumstances. If at all this must bring home to every dispassionate thinker that the time for removal of English as medium at the university stage is now overdue and should not brook delay. As Rajaji once put it all along till now we have been studying *English* through a variety of subjects. Let us now turn to the study of *subjects* through a suitable medium.

(2) Turning to the second point that time should be given to the (university) teachers for a change over of medium, I hope the writers of the letter cannot be unaware of the fact that the necessity for such a change is not an idea of post-independence growth. As early as 1921 if not earlier, the need for such a change was clearly envisaged. Since 1939 when the Indian Governments first took over the charge of provincial administration, the idea has been taking a definite shape and to all except those who fondly dreamt of the perpetuation of English in all walks of Indian life it was clearly perceptible that the change of medium first at the high school stage and then at the university stage was knocking at the door. With the adoption of the Constitution of India in 1950 the question of the change over of medium should have been taken as settled for all practical purposes and any plea of 'time' — marking time, perhaps — should not have arisen at all. In fact time is now an essence of the matter the other way about. If all communication local at district level, at State-level and at inter State level is to be carried on either through the regional or the national language from 1965 twelve years hence (and not fifteen years hence — which number seems to have attained a static value for some in spite of the passage of time) does not a heavy responsibility devolve upon schools and universities to help in bringing into being a personnel that would fit into the new set-up? The plea therefore, that time should still be given is now too late in the day. Mahatma Gandhi once said to the effect that had he the powers of a dictator, he would compel every teacher to start forthwith teaching through the

mother tongue of the pupil on pain of dismissal* The late Shri [illegible] Mashruwala also recently stated that so far as he was concerned, the question of medium was a settled one, and he for one if a university teacher, would straightaway begin to teach in howsoever broken regional language or Hindi, the subjects under instruction The asking for time on the part of these eminent educationists, therefore looks like trying to stick on to a losing — or a lost — game.

(3) The third plea about the paucity of books in Hindi and the regional languages would have looked ludicrous and flippant and would not have merited even a reply, had it not been put forward by such distinguished educationists The reply can be given only in a few words Create a demand and the supply will follow If you decide that from 1953 certain subjects shall be taught through a particular language, books will soon flow into the market. That has been our experience at the secondary stage, and today for certain subjects like history geography, science, arithmetic etc we have books in the market original at that — that would excel foreign publications Good reference books could be got translated by means of translation bureaus Even otherwise English reference books can be carried by a teacher in the class and the purport of the relevant portion be explained in the accepted medium An excellent article, touching this point by Shri V D Ghate M L A, Bombay has appeared in the Marathi magazine *Sahyadri*, which merits a perusal with profit in this connection.

The fast plea is amusingly naive It is again a shrewd and subtle way of entering English by the back-door, if pushed out from the front one It is amusing to find that the criterion for admission of pupils into the university portals is the knowledge of English The fitness of a pupil any way otherwise by reason of his intelligence his grip on a subject, his capacity to understand and debate upon a problem, his ideas of citizenship, national service etc., his readiness for manual labour etc, — all these do not count All these would not entitle a pupil to admission, unless he has a sound knowledge of English The fact is we have too long been habituated to equate all education with the knowledge of English, to the exclusion of every other consideration It is time we shake off this obsession The sound and intensive knowledge of a subject the capacity to assimilate it and adjust it to our national conditions, originality in approach and a sense of critical appreciation and intelligent discrimination, readiness for social service and want of aversion to manual labour sound sense of citizenship and physical fitness are all these criteria to be discarded if a pupil lacks the capacity to understand and write good English? Why this extra-ordinary condition for admission into a university this insistence only on the sound knowledge of English which has assumed now the role of a foreign language and which slowly but steadily keeps on receding into the background of our national life?

Lastly one word The writers have called themselves, educationists We accept their claim to be so called But one must not forget that if vice-chancellors of Universities — some appointed temporarily to the post of a vice chancellor, some lawyers, others solicitors and even businessmen — claim to be called educationists, those who have worked for their whole life in the field of education who have made original contribution to educational thoughts, ideals and concepts, those who have carried on against heavy odds, genuine experiments in the field of education, native to the soil and who refuse to believe in indiscriminate transplantation of all that is American or English on the Indian soil, who have been thinking about Indian problems of education and instruction day in and day out — these too, if not entitled to be called educationists are at least entitled to have a say in the matter.

Bombay, 7-10 '52 ARAVINDLAL L. MAZMUDAR

* Regarding the English medium Mahatma Gandhi says at one place "Among the many evils of foreign rule this blighting imposition of a foreign medium upon the youth of the country will be counted in history as one of the greatest"

NOTES

Help the South Africa Satyagraha

The A I C C has issued an appeal for fund for helping Satyagraha in South Africa, in which it says

"The Satyagraha campaign in South Africa against racial discrimination and the doctrine of the master race has attracted worldwide attention and sympathy In India that sympathy has been even more intimate and intense and all shades of opinion share it The A I C C at its meeting held at Indore recently passed a resolution on this subject

"While sympathy has undoubtedly considerable value it would be much better to translate that sympathy into some kind of direct help This can only be in the nature of financial help We appeal therefore, for contributions to the fund to help the Satyagrahis in South Africa In this matter we hope that there will be no party divisions and that there will be a widespread response from all those who feel as we do that a vital struggle affecting human rights and liberty is being carried on by Africans and people of Indian descent in South Africa"

Every Indian should contribute his mite to this noble cause irrespective of caste or creed, or political affiliations The student world also must earn to contribute their best in this cause. Let it be remembered that the noble fight is to solve in a peaceful manner an issue which if not dealt betimes will drag the peoples of the world in bloody warfare

Abu 22 10-'52

A Welcome Move

Government of Madras proposes to introduce a shorter course in medicine This is a very welcome move The Minister for Public Health in the course of his reply to a memorandum presented to him by the Coimbatore Medical Association (Oct 12) referred to this subject and said

> In rural areas medical relief is administered by [illegible] who have had no training of any kind In those circumstances Government have been compelled to consider how they could arrange to [illegible] kind of medical relief to people of rural areas" [illegible] a shorter course in medicine
>
> [illegible] the allopathic medical profession [illegible] The Minister very pertinently asked them Why you so vehemently object to [illegible] shorter course for medical men? Do you want rural people to be at the mercy of quacks for all time?" And he added whether there were not [illegible] of men in other professions—among engineers [illegible] graduates and others And he said "I do not think there is anything absurd or unthinkable in the suggestion of a shorter course of medical [illegible] I think you have not bestowed sufficient [illegible] consideration on the poor people in rural [illegible] today suffering from want of the proper [illegible] medical aid

[illegible] I think a serious charge which I [illegible] the medical profession will wisely and [illegible] itself of The problem is not only [illegible] Madras State alone, but is an all India one

Abu 19 10 52

Gandhi Vichar Parishad

This institution doing its work under the auspices of the Sarva Seva Sangh Bajajwadi, Wardha should be introduced to the reader It completes its first year of working and its Secretary has sent me its detailed report and statement of accounts during the year 1951-52 As the name shows the Parishad is devoted to the study and research in problems of Gandhian philosophy and programme The first year seems to have been utilized in organizing the work of the Parishad The report gives promise of good work starting henceforth Shri Ravindra Varma has undertaken the project of 'Party System and Sarvodaya' followed by another equally good one namely Gandhi's Philosophy and Anarchist School of Thought' Another worker of the Parishad Shri S K George has undertaken 'A Comparative Study of the thoughts of Mahatma Gandhi and Albert Schweitzer' I mention these from many more other undertakings to illustrate the nature of the work going on in the Parishad The Parishad is organizing a suitable library also for its work

At the end a suggestion to the Parishad I hope this work of the Parishad will be in Hindi. I invite all interested in Gandhian studies to contact the Parishad and help it with their suggestions

9-10-52 M. P

MACHINE AND MARKETS

M Stalin has declared at Moscow, October 2 that The Soviet Union will not attack capitalist countries But that is not because he has become a pacifist or a no-war-campaigner, but his study of the world situation lead him to conclude that

> "As a result of markets after World War II the capitalist countries are trying to rotter up their difficulties by resorting to Marshall Plan war in Korea, and rearmament (They are acting) like drowning men clutching at a straw

And therefore he feels he will have no need to attack them The capitalist house of cards will crumble down of its own weakness

How far is this belief of M Stalin true? With the help of the machine modern man's new-found tool or toy men in the West are acting in two ways—on one side they are mechanizing warfare and devising deadly armaments on the other they are trying to produce cheap consumer goods to such an extent that it creates hunger for markets and still more markets Really man under modern civilization has created a veritable Frankenstein for himself of his mere tool Such an invasion of the machine on the human world allied with a scramble for markets does give good reason to believe as M Stalin does, and hence he fondly expects that the capitalist world will be stewed in its own juice. It is upto that world now to meet his challenge and falsify this dismal prophecy

The question is Can it do it? Will it do it? Naturally it should but with the pathetic belief it has in the machine and in armaments it is difficult to give a certain reply The capitalist world in the West describes itself as a democratic world, and it is not wholly wrong But like national socialism, it is *national* democracy With a democratic set up of a sort in their internal affairs, these so-called democratic States are almost imperialist in their relations with others. To their eyes, the world outside is only a market to be captured by them In the holy cause of raising one's own standard of living Therefore, as M Stalin has said in his declaration, "in order to eliminate inevitability of wars It is necessary to destroy imperialism", whether it may be ideological as of M Stalin's Russia or mercantile or economic as of the Western democracies. It is here that Gandhiji's message is helpful. It tells us to radically revise our ideas of the use of the machine and the basic policy of life and labour in fields and factories The challenge contained in M Stalin's prophecy can be met by the so called democracies only if they shed their aggressive or acquisitive nationalism, which, under present circumstances, almost becomes imperialism.

7-10-52

HARIJAN

Nov 1 1952

THE THIRD FORCE

A J Muste, whose thought provoking article in *The Christian Century* is given elsewhere in this issue was one of the American delegates to the World Pacifist Conference that was held in India in 1949 '50 His burning passion for social justice his immaculate integrity and other saintly qualities have won him the respect and regard of all who know him. Whatever he writes is, therefore entitled to the most careful consideration It is his remarks about what he calls 'the third force' that concern us most.

Of late there has been a gradual veering round even outside the Gandhian group of constructive workers to the general outlook and economic programme advocated by Gandhiji The following in the Socialist Party's manifesto is indicative of the change

> Villages will not be just agricultural communities but rural industries and decentralized processes even of larger scale industries may be reserved for rural artisans If the State is to function in a democratic way it is imperative that as large a number of peasants as possible be associated with the administrative machinery The Commonality of the State is to be organized and sovereign power so diffused that each little community in it lives the way of life it chooses. It will mean that village panchayats (Councils) will have pivotal place in the new set up Above the panchayat there will be three layers of administrative bodies regional state and union The panchayats would be the main local agency for execution of the various Government programmes affecting the welfare of villagers."

In one of his articles some time back, Shri Jayaprakash described what is known as the "Gandhian economy' as "a concrete programme of basic social revolution" He defended the basic principles of Gandhiji's programme, its ethical basis and insistence on the higher values its revolutionary non violent technique and its insistence on economic and political decentralization

On the other hand, there is a growing dissatisfaction with the way in which the Government machinery is working The feeling of frustration is driving some people even in Government circles, known for their level-headedness and faith in the possibility of reforming the existing order to a mood of despair,

People are dissatisfied with the picture which the authors of the Five Year Plan have outlined in their tentative report, and the final report is likely to go even further in the direction of creating a top-heavy cumbrous highly centralized machine rather than alleviate uneasiness which is already felt on that score Community projects have their obvious dangers and shortcomings The dangers have been pointed out by Shri Muste shortcomings were incisively pointed out by Vinobaji some time back (*Harijan* Aug 30 1952)

There has of late been some talk of groups and individuals outside the Government, who share the faith in Gandhiji's programme to come together and evolve a common programme of action There is a danger of the "common programme" of action being reduced to a common programme of denunciation and obstruction The result would be to add one more to the number of factions already in existence There is danger also in agreeing on a common end without an agreement on the method or the means For instance, we want decentralized economy cottage crafts local and regional self-sufficiency, resuscitation of the villages and a more equitable distribution of the resources of the State as between the urban and rural population But unless we agree also that these ends have to be achieved by strictly truthful and non violent means we shall land ourselves in a self-defeating morass The other day a very close friend was referring to what had been achieved in Russia and China as being much nearer to the Gandhian concept" than what we are doing or intend doing here "if we leave out truth and non-violence"! I was amazed What is left of the 'Gandhian concept", if truth and non violence are left out? The revival of *charkha* and cottage industries by itself become simply a reversion to an archaic and comparatively less efficient form of economic activity which would have only a passing justification under the peculiar circumstances in which we are placed today They derive their full content and significance from the way of life which they represent — the extent to which they are a symbol and means of realizing a non violent order of society It is only in the latter sense that they can have a survival value in the present day competitive world It therefore betrays an utter confusion of thought to mention the achievements of totalitarian methods in other countries in the same breath with what Gandhiji set before us to realize The two are dissimilars A comparison between dissimilars can only mislead

What can be the common programme of action for those who have at heart the realization of the social order outlined by Gandhiji? I dare say Vinobaji's Bhoodan Yajna provides a programme *par excellence* for all these groups and individuals. If it is worked out with all its implications, it will inevitably result in the realization of the picture of society envisaged by Gandhiji

The success of the Bhoodan movement means bringing into existence hundreds upon thousands of five acre farms owned and worked by peasants, who must put into practice methods of intensive

[illegible]ation [illegible] of [illegible] of [illegible] of

AS OTHERS SEE US

[illegible] Nehru Walks a Tight [illegible] Issue of *The Christian Century*

[illegible]

Congress [illegible] in India [illegible] believed the R[illegible] and [illegible] blocs. Whether they [illegible] main in [illegible] chance [illegible] in the international field [illegible] in India [illegible] in a position conducing to many [illegible] quite [illegible] exclusive [illegible] in the standard of living of the masses.

The American Way

[illegible] world in general know only two ways in industrially backward peoples to accomplish [illegible] is to move toward industrialisation in [illegible] essentially non-collectivist, [illegible] this means a modified capitalist or free [illegible] Some might prefer to call it a mixed [illegible] economic set-up today which [illegible] will have mixed ingredients [illegible] socialist is the distinctive [illegible] discussing it seem better [illegible]

[illegible] involves two things for a [illegible] its economy. One is that a [illegible] (along with a tendency to big class) [illegible] to make profits and accumu[illegible] the power which this implies [illegible] implies also the emergence [illegible] class. The second [illegible] help — capital in the [illegible] form — from outside [illegible] *from the United States* [illegible] *United States* [illegible] (Italics ours)

The Communist Way

[illegible] way to achieve rapid industrialisation and [illegible] the military potential which goes [illegible] way. This means that though [illegible] disproportionately large incomes [illegible] to carry on enterprise for profit [illegible] way also means that you do [illegible] or accept foreign aid. For this [illegible] of reasons. For one thing if you are [illegible] not be easy to get foreign aid. If [illegible] able to supply help out of its surplus [illegible] superior economic system enter[illegible] secondary country might get the [illegible] like to become capitalists. For [illegible] the likelihood that one's nation [illegible] dependent upon the country pro[illegible]

[illegible] in Russia decides that a nation [illegible] implies, build its heavy machi[illegible] credit than it has to sweat [illegible] In practice this means [illegible] you have to induce workers to [illegible] rigid dictatorship so that [illegible] where you want them. And [illegible] essential military establish[illegible] civilian industrial economy [illegible] like the labour camp[illegible] out of people for a few [illegible] even less than subsistence [illegible] in any way to condone [illegible] labour camps. It is merely [illegible] purely irrational [illegible] the system of [illegible] dictator.

The Middle of the Road Policy

[illegible] is in substance following the Russian way [illegible] was aim at the outset, wishes to walk down the [illegible] could in foreign relations. He must, how[illegible] decision on the question of India's economy [illegible] here [illegible] party have decided to follow [illegible] and any though they hope [illegible] the Indian capitalist group [illegible] British rule continues to [illegible] grow. Nehru has given assu[illegible] profession does not mean [illegible] political goal of the Congress [illegible] is characteristic of capitalism [illegible] critical profits and demand protec[illegible] competition. *Since aid comes from* [illegible] *neither the American Government* [illegible] *the basis of giving and accepting* [illegible] *under the Congress rule is drawn* [illegible] *United States political orbit*" (Italics [illegible]

[illegible] attitude of the Indian Communists [illegible] Communist menace particularly on [illegible] Eastern border the writer proceeds:

[illegible] instances the Nehru regime needs [illegible] *If it is a good deal, this will tend to* [illegible] *an orbit* (Italics ours) The Sino-[illegible] like this. The Indian Communists will [illegible] and the Congress party as captives [illegible] of the white world. If an the oil [illegible] American aid is provided the Congress [illegible] enough to ward off the Communist [illegible] it is still an open question whether [illegible] circumstances a modified, middle-of-the-road capitalism can exist in a country like India.

Gandhi's Way

The [illegible] as to the final section of this sketchy [illegible] Gandhi preached a "Third Way" [illegible] communism for India and indeed [illegible] envisaged a much less materialistic [illegible] The type of industrialism [illegible] capitalist and communist economies [illegible] economy was based on agricul[illegible] limited form of industrialisation rather than an industrialism dominating agriculture. Public lines would likewise be decentralised, the attempt to build a modern power [illegible] being rejected. The government would be [illegible] based on non-violence for both moral [illegible] and [illegible] a nation equipped with a modern military establishment would have to have a modern industrial base which would in Gandhi's view be ominous for the peace of India.

At the time of the World Pacifist Meeting held in India in December 1949 it appeared to a number of us that even those leading Indians who considered themselves Gandhian disciples as Nehru never had been in a thoroughgoing sense [illegible] nor afford to carry out the masses programme. They were indeed carrying on a great deal of the Gandhian 'constructive programme' — essentially what we call social work though with a difference — but there was virtually no serious discussion of even tackling the landownership problem by distinctively Gandhian methods nor of ways to challenge clearly the Government's military programme or its course in the dispute with Pakistan over Kashmir.

During the past year and a half or so this situation has changed. Vinoba Bhave the man who in respect to personal and saintly qualities is today generally regarded as India's successor to Gandhi, has been touring villages ten [illegible] and persuading landlords mostly small to give [illegible] land in repentance for the sin they have committed in holding it while surrounded by landless peasants. Vinoba in turn gives the land to the peasants the transaction being made legal by Government [illegible] to accompany his caravan. At latest report well over 1,00,000 acres* had thus been turned over to landless families.

This is of course a grain of sand in the balance. But the conditions have set 24 million acres as the goal

* The total land collected upto 3-10-52 is 3,77,995.14 acres *Vide Harijan* 16th October, 1952.

for the current two-year period. There [illegible] landlords turning over a thousand acres [illegible] conceivable that this movement might begin [illegible] and thus the Government might be spur[illegible] public opinion to inaugurate a radical [illegible] programme. In any case there is symbolic [illegible] in this attempt to use Gandhian methods in an [illegible] upon land to turn the focus of economic power—the only alternative to the Communist approach which has been presented to the masses in Asia.

"The other recent notable development among Gandhians in India was initiated early in 1952 by Mira Behn (Madeleine Slade) the daughter of a British admiral who many years ago joined Gandhi and became one of his best known and most devoted followers. For four years after Gandhi's death she lived in virtually complete retirement and silence. Early this year she issued a call to other fellow Gandhians. She has since been propagandizing also among the peasants in northern India for applying the whole of Bapu's ideals for a free self-sufficient happy nation. To her mind, this includes a ruthless simplification and reduction of Government [illegible] disbanding the army and navy, holding in [illegible] big development projects such as hydro-electric [illegible] until there is assurance that the peasants will really control them and that they are not chiefly slope towards industrialization and militarization along Western lines.

If the peasants respond to Mira Behn's programme the Government does not she announces that he will call the former to follow her to New Delhi to a civil disobedience campaign. Again it remains to be seen whether this movement will gather strength. But it is in any [illegible] another indication that the Gandhians recovered from the traumatic shock of the Mahatma's death, will make the effort to carry on his non violent revolutionary programme and now recognize that this requires being in political opposition to Nehru no matter how great their personal affection for him and, indeed his for many among them.

"If a movement to establish a non violent decentralized nation that would break the feudal base of economic power by non violent methods were to gain strength and momentum it would clearly seem to be the 'third force' over against a capitalistic, militarist West on the one hand and the Stalinist pseudo revolution on the other. There are indications that this is the conclusion towards which the Socialist Party of India is tending. Its young people wearing their red caps have been in Vineba Bhave's walking parties and its leading spokesmen have stated that Socialists in India and elsewhere should give much more serious study than they have both to Gandhi's ideas of a village-centred economy and to the possibilities of achieving basic social change by non violent methods.

The Time Factor

"There are students of the Indian scene who would say that the approach of the reawakened Gandhians may be sound in theory and their type of society on which mankind must eventually reach but that it is inconceivable that their work should progress rapidly enough to keep the masses from turning to communism in the present era of [illegible] Nehru's programme succeeds. Unless in other words the standard of living is raised with fair rapidity by a combination of Government and private aid (with American aid obtained at a not exorbitant price) the land being redistributed but with compensation for present owners and industries built up but without entailing the evils of extreme industrialization and centralization in another field this would involve maintaining a military establishment but a moderate one and success in avoiding absorption into either the American or the Russian power bloc.

The Gandhians—and in this one respect I surmise the Communist would go along with them—would say that the idea that any regime can walk so thin a wire over so disturbed a terrain as Asia presents today, is wishful thinking. But whereas the latter would say this gleefully [illegible] effect [illegible]

KHADI MOVEMENT

[The following is a resolution passed [illegible] Sarva Seva Sangh in its meeting at Pauni (April 19-21) 52.]

(a) All India Sarva Seva Sangh Sevagram, is glad to announce that up till now approximately 1 lakh acres of land have been received for Bhoodan by Shri Vinoba. From the 14th September he has commenced his Bihar tour. The workers of Bihar have decided to give him 4 lakhs acres of land. The Sangh hopes that this target too will be attained.

People have responded favourably to the decision taken by the Sarva Seva Sangh on behalf of the national Sangh to collect 25 lakhs acres of land from all over the country before April 1954. And it is hoped that by the time of the next [illegible] Sammelan the proportionate share of this target will be attained.

This decision is but a first step towards the fulfilment of the goal of the Bhoodan Yajna movement, namely the equitable distribution of land in such a way that it may be accomplished as early as possible. The Sangh feels that there is a need for the people to work with redoubled celerity and vigour.

(b) The last portion of the resolution on Bhoodan Yajna emphasizes the need of encouraging Khadi and other village industries. This is so, because [illegible] Sarvodaya [illegible] and furnishing [illegible] employment permanently from our [illegible] development of Khadi and other village industries is essential. In the opinion of the Sangh there is no other [illegible] way of solving the problem of hunger and unemployment [illegible] of have created a threatening situation in this country than Khadi and village industries.

The Sangh has to say with regret that although the production of Khadi is [illegible] greatly reduced during the last six months, certified Khadi worth 75 lakhs of rupees and over [illegible] 20 lakhs of rupees are now lying unsold all over the country and nearly one and a half lakh of spinners of the institutions affiliated with the All India Spinners Association have been thrown out of work. The Sangh feels that these and the [illegible] of other people who live in the [illegible] affected areas can be usefully employed in Khadi work.

The Sarva Seva Sangh whole heartedly welcomes and endorses the Khadi [illegible] started by the All India Spinners Association from the 14th September in the [illegible] of Gandhi Jayanti. The movement [illegible] that in order to ensure employment in Khadi in the village, (i) some land should be given to every village in addition to some work in some cottage industry, (ii) all the processes of producing articles

[illegible] shelter [illegible] be done in the village itself, (iii) that the Government should be requested to see that the village industries [illegible] suffer from the competition of the mill made articles and in order to ensure that the mills do not compete with the village industries a boycott movement should be organized in every village by the village people, and (iv) that those who have land should donate land to the Bhoodan Yajna so that the landless can have food. The programme includes a village to village campaign by the Khadi workers with a view to popularizing the movement. The Sarva Seva Sangh appeals to the people and the Government to do their duty by co-operating with this movement.

THIN END OF THE WEDGE?

A friend of the pen writes from Bombay to inform me that there is a move from certain members of the Indian Merchants' Chamber, Bombay, to convene a meeting of the Chamber to consider a resolution requesting Government of Bombay to repeal the Prohibition Act. He sends me a copy of the notice issued by the Secretary of the Indian Merchants' Chamber and remarks that it is likely the cat is out of the bag of those that have been of late agitating against the Sales Tax and the Motor Vehicle Tax of the State of Bombay. The notice is reproduced below:

Bombay, 10th October 1952

"Notice to the Members of the Chamber

The undersigned a Requisition received from Shri Jal [illegible] and 60 other members a Special General Meeting of the members of the Chamber will be held on [illegible] 21st October 1952 at 5 p.m. (S.T.) for [illegible] the termination of the Second Quarter [illegible] Meeting the same evening at the Office [illegible] Chamber [illegible] the same. (The Requisition [illegible] below.)

"Requisition

11th September 1952

[illegible] Government of Bombay is finding it [illegible] meet the financial obligations of [illegible] and [illegible] with several development [illegible] for the welfare of the Bombay State [illegible] following members of the Chamber [illegible] notice under Rule 10 to requisition [illegible] General Meeting as soon as possible to consider the following resolution:

[illegible] that this meeting of the members [illegible] Merchants' Chamber recommends the [illegible] to repeal the Prohibition [illegible] TEMPORARY MEASURE until the [illegible] improved.

[illegible] necessary. The people must be [illegible] of this thin end of the wedge, from the [illegible] community.

Abu [illegible] MAGANBHAI P. DESAI

PS

After the above was written I saw the report of the I.M.C. Chamber's meeting of Oct. 21 in the *Times of India* (Oct. 22). It shows that the fears that were in the minds of many people regarding the attitude of the mercantile class about prohibition were [illegible] and justified. The original resolution of Shri Jal Cooper and others, bluntly to repeal it, it was seems to have been camouflaged with the necessary dose of verbiage to show that the I.M.C. was for prohibition but that really it did not wish well with it is patently clear. The main purpose of the original resolution is fully maintained by the so-called amendments. I have still to see the text of the resolution, hence I may not comment further upon it at present.

Abu, 27-10-'52 M. P.

IF I WERE DICTATOR

(By Gandhiji)

If I was appointed dictator for one hour for all India, the first thing I would do would be to close without compensation all the liquor shops, destroy all the toddy palms such as I know them in Gujarat, compel factory owners to produce humane conditions for their workmen and open refreshment and recreation rooms where these workmen would get innocent drinks and equally innocent amusements. I would close down the factories, if the owners pleaded want of funds. Being a teetotaller I would retain my sobriety in spite of the possession of one hour's dictatorship and therefore arrange for the examination of my European friends and diseased persons who may be in medical need of brandy and the like at State expense by medical experts and where necessary they would receive certificates which would entitle them to obtain the prescribed quantity of the fiery waters from certified chemists. The rule will apply *mutatis mutandis* to intoxicating drugs.

For the loss of revenue from drinks, I would straightway cut down the military expenditure and expect the Commander-in-Chief to accommodate himself to the new condition in the best way he can. The workmen left idle by the closing of factories, I would remove to model farms to be immediately opened as far as possible in the neighbourhood of the factories, unless I was advised during that brief hour that the State could profitably run the factories under the required conditions and could therefore take over from the owners.

Young India, 25-8-'31

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A Premature Move

1628

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HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)
Editor: MAGANBHAI P DESAI

VOL XVI No 37 AHMEDABAD — SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 8, 1952 TWO ANNAS

GOVERNMENT AND "INDO-U.S AGREEMENT"

In his article published in the issue of *Harijan*, dated August 23 last, Shri Gulzarilal Nanda, the Union Minister for Planning, has chosen to characterize my criticism of the 'Indo-American Technical Co-operation Agreement" of January 5, 1952, as a slavery bond as "entirely unfounded" And yet he has not cared to take the public into his confidence as to which of my remarks against the said "Agreement" are such as led him to make such an observation He has, however, been pleased to lay down certain propositions which, as shown below, fall to the ground when dispassionately examined

1 That the 'Indo-U.S. Agreement' fits into the framework of the Five Year Plan is altogether irrelevant. The priorities of the Five Year Plan can doubtlessly be met through a slavery bond or an agreement still worse in nature or contents The real issue is how the plan — granting for the moment that it deserves to be called an "Indian Plan" with which I and many others do not concur — is sought to be accomplished If the Government seek to do so by means embodied in the indo-U·S Agreement' which, according to me, are detrimental to the interests of India's masses, one has, of course, nothing to say

2 Is one to understand that our Government could not 'strengthen' the Five Year Plan in 'certain directions' except through this 'Indo-U S Agreement'? Surely more efficient and reliable and better ways to do so were there and are still available Or, does the Union Minister want to convey that the 'Indo-U S Agreement' was the only helpful one?

3 Apart from the facts that chemical fertilizers and steel etc are not so very essential for agricultural production as our 'experts' would have us imagine and that an addiction to them means not only a perpetual drain of our wealth to foreign manufacturers but also the avoidable dependence of our cultivator on the foreign producer's pleasure as also a complete and disastrous change in our socio-agricultural economy, the 'counterpart rupee funds' obtained on selling fertilizers and steel will not be entirely India's, since these "sale proceeds shall be utilized only for the prosecution of projects agreed to between the two Governments" (vide Article III) In other words the Government of India can have no independent say in the disposal of the counterpart rupee funds.

4. The proof of the pudding is in the eating The country has yet to know whether the Government really went into other markets for the projects-equipment but in vain and had to return to that of U S A. Again, theoretically India may be free to buy equipment through her own agencies from wherever favourable, but practically can she do so? Surely America would not take any pains to help India simply to allow non-U S concerns come in and capture the Indian market.

5 The growing number of American experts in India shows that the more the Government of India want to develop the country the less the indigenous talent is available And where is there a foreign expert who cannot "usefully supplement' an Indian expert? Really this talk of importing foreign experts is nothing short of platitude Also, it may be asked whether an American would look to America's interests first or India's

6 Granting there was no need for a separate T C A. mission in India, how was it needed that the Government of India must accept the U S A staff as part of the diplomatic mission? Surely no really free country will allow that immunity to foreign nationals. At any rate those nationals must be made to work under Indian heads and be not allowed to boss over whatever they undertake No doubt the Director and his party have to be acceptable to the Government of India, but none that is not acceptable to U.S.A. can be accepted by the Government of India. So who holds the real command?

7 Is it right to say that the Planning Commission or 'the Central Committee is completely free to reach its decisions'? The Article IV, para IV of the 'Indo-U S Agreement' runs thus:

> The Director shall make his services available as a consultant to the Committee and he shall be consulted with respect to all programme recommendations of the Committee and his concurrence

[illegible] respect to any [illegible] tion or expenditure of [illegible] U S Government (Italics [illegible])

It is from this that I have concluded (vide [illegible] of 'Economic Implications' in my article — *Harijan*, 10-5-52)

'No more shall we be allowed to remain the architects of our own destiny Not a blade of grass will move but by the will of the American Director or his company They will have full rights to veto down the opinion or suggestions of the Indian people or their representatives who would have to accept American dictation.

8 People in India bother little about reports and data Even our own Government is not quite sure of its statistics They are more or less the vagaries of the aberrations of the man at the table Instinctively we seem to agree with the celebrated American philosopher who said "There are three kinds of lies lies, damned lies and statistics"

India's crying need is not quarterly reports but daily meal.

In his letter the Planning Minister has said that he is "fully satisfied" with the working of the "Agreement" The issue at stake is not his satisfaction or mine but that of the satisfaction of the people And the barometer for that is whether the "Agreement" has inspired them by a new enthusiasm and spirit whereby they may voluntarily take to rebuild their country Frankly the answer is 'no'. Inspiration apart, the "Agreement" has not succeeded in frightening the people to take to reconstruction seriously And what is still worse, it has not even frightened the Government official (from top down to the peon) to be honest, simple and serviceable On the contrary it has given countenance to the forces of insincerity, ostentatiousness and good-for-nothing-ness

Theoretically there may not be much objection to foreign assistance, if it be on terms of absolute equality with no ulterior motive behind it But that is a very big 'if'. In these times no country can have a free and stable foreign or internal policy if it is not economically self-sufficient Mounting foreign capital in India and Government of India's dependence on foreign markets belie our claim to neutrality

With these words I would appeal to the Planning Minister to think over the problem of U S Aid anew and I trust that in his sober moments he will realize the truth of what late Shri Kishorlalbhai said about the "Agreement":

"It is virtually a charter to U S to establish herself in India, first as a trading concern, and then as India's political boss The Government of India has agreed to place at the disposal of U S all its administrative machinery and to become her advertising agency"

SURESH RAMABHAI

THE BIRTHDAY VOW *

(By Vinoba)

[Serial reports of Shri Vinoba's Bhoodan tours have been a constant feature of *Harijan*. The 6th September (1952) *Harijan* carried the 11th instalment of U P tour Then there was an unavoidable break following the sudden demise of Shri Kishorlalbhai, as new arrangements had to be made under the situation Shri Vinoba has now been touring Bihar for more than a month last. Under the circumstances we have to give up the temptation to cover the rest of his U P tour and rest content with giving below the closing speech of the campaign in U P., as concluding the U P tour account And henceforth we will take up Shri Vinoba's Bihar tour

27-10-52 —Ed.]

The first thing I will do today is to offer you, my respectful *pranams* Next, I should beg forgiveness of those numerous workers with whom I came in close contact during these eleven months, in your province for any angry words that I might have spoken to them My speech is not normally harsh, but I might have lapsed into it, at times, in my anxiety to give an impetus to the work, we are engaged in They may please accept it from me that there was nothing but love and goodwill even behind these apparently harsh expressions

I have nothing new to say to you today. Moreover, the state of my mind, at the moment, inclines me to observe silence, and look inwards and not outwards This was to me a day of self-introspection And I have done it to my satisfaction. I felt that while people had sufficient appreciation that the Bhoodan movement was most timely, yet it had to be admitted that the work was quite formidable Not that I undertook it in the belief that it was easy Even to say that "I undertook it" would be incorrect I have always had the feeling that it is God who willed to use me and wills to use you for this work However, we on whom God has placed this heavy responsibility should prepare and prove ourselves to be worthy of this great trust. We exhort the people to do *dan* (charity) and *yajna* (sacrifice) and they have been responding to it so well. I do not think that the three lakhs and a half acres which have been lovingly given to us for the landless are a small thing But it is true that this is only a fraction of what we have got to achieve Therefore we and particularly I should pray for strength But he alone can demand and grow in strength who will humbly but steadily grow in *tapas*

The seers of old and the Gita prescribe three things *Yajna* (sacrifice), *dan* (charity), and *tapas* (austerity) Of these, through Bhoodan, I called for two, *yajna* and *dan* But unless we insist on *tapas*, *yajna* and *dan* will not be fulfilled The three together constitute one indivisible whole It is for the workers to do the *tapas* *Yajna* and *dan* are expected from the people, but it is for us to intensify the *tapas* I was therefore deeply searching within myself as to what we could do in this respect And I feel I should relate

* Speech at the U P Workers' Conference, Kashi, on 11-9-52, his birthday.

to you what came to me from these musings. I had often said in the words of Hanuman that—

"There can be no rest for me till Rama's work is done."

I pursued the idea in this statement and eventually reached the conclusion that I should do some act of sacrifice And then I resolved that until this problem is satisfactorily resolved I should give up the idea of going back to my Ashram The Ashram is a place steeped in the flavour of renunciation and *tapas* It was there that I carried on unceasingly my work in the service of the poor and of the country Even today the Ashram is carrying on the most revolutionary experiment of our times the experiment of *kanchan-mukti*, or freedom from money Yet the Ashram does afford us a kind of protection too And I felt that I should leave off this protection as a form of attachment Thus I made this resolve and now I am dedicating it to the Lord in your presence.

The other day, when our revered brother Shri Kishorialbhai left the body and passed away, my determination in this regard grew even stronger It was brought home to me that the little time God has granted us should be devoted to the execution of the work He has entrusted to us We should not worry ourselves about success or failure It may better be left to God But we must apply our entire energy to it Thus I came to the decision I have announced When I commenced the campaign, I had an idea that occasionally I would be going to the Ashram That goes now and my dedication to the work now becomes complete and irrevocable

I ask you to strengthen me in my decision I feel enough strength inside me there is not a trace of weakness But the work we want to achieve is great and calls for the strength of our collective will. You may pray to God to confer success on my efforts

I am in the U P only for two days now Day after tomorrow I shall enter Bihar, the land of King Janak The target for Bhoodan which we resolved to reach in this province has been achieved to a large extent And I have no doubt that the little that still remains will be made up shortly Every thinking man in the province has nothing but sympathy for our work I therefore believe that the workers will not encounter much difficulty in doing the rest

However the words Baba Raghavadas spoke today have greatly moved me He expressed his determination for collecting 3 lakhs of acres and I am convinced that the sincerity with which these words were spoken would evoke response from our workers and sympathizers

A sixteen member Committee has been formed to carry out the work of Bhoodan Yajna in this province It includes leaders of great eminence and workers of indefatigable zeal The leaders will give blessings and guidance and the workers will put in ceaseless work in the spirit of "Make me Thy servant" I will keep in close touch with all the members of the Committee They are on the Committee as the lovers of Bhoodan work who are fully convinced that it will be to the good of the poor Politically they belong to different parties But party labels have no place in the Bhoodan Committee They are there in the capacity of *sevaks*

Lastly I may repeat to you that I have arrived at the resolve for not allowing myself rest by going to the Paunar Ashram till our work is completed with full deliberation You know that I have spent 30 years of my youth in quiet contemplation, in *dhyan-yoga karma-yoga* and *bhakti yoga* and constructive work I am no propagandist A propagandist does not spend his youth in the way I have done, nor would he think of starting on a walking pilgrimage in his old age I am only an humble devotee of Truth, a seeker and a servant who believes in constructive work. I get satisfaction only in constructive work. After a close study of our village-problems I have reached the conclusion that our basic problem is that of land and we must find out a non-violent solution of it In the event of a failure, we should abandon our claim to the practice of Ahimsa It goes without saying that with the abandonment of Ahimsa constructive work must also go Of course you can take to mechanization and build up a certain kind of order But it will be far from our ideal Because mechanization is bound to lead to its inseparable concomitant, the militarization I have no faith in that. If we have love for Indian culture, non-violence, Sarvodaya and all else which they imply, we must needs apply ourselves ever more to the Bhoodan work Then only can we revivify and speed up other items of constructive work Failing that they are bound to fade away That was how I came to leave the Ashram and wander about on my present mission I ask all those who consider themselves to be the disciples of Gandhiji to think over it and see if what I have done is correct or otherwise And if they adjudge my work to be right, they should give me their full co-operation Just as they used to leave off their individual activities to join the Satyagraha campaign when Bapu launched one, even so should they co-operate with this movement, with the same joy and zeal which a fighter feels as he hears the battle-cry I also call on others to give me as much help as they can

Brothers, I am unable to put in words the love I feel for you As to your love, it has given me more sustenance than all the food and water that I have taken in Uttar Pradesh I only wish that this love should not be for this miserable body but for the great idea underlying Bhoodan-work, and for Satya and Ahimsa, I again offer you my respectful *pranams*

(Adapted from Hindi)

HARIJAN

Nov. 8 1952

A PREMATURE MOVE

The Government of India have set up a Commission for Secondary Education in the country, consisting of about 10 persons, under the Chairmanship of Dr A L Mudaliar Vice-Chancellor, Madras University The Commission is instructed to submit its report 'as soon as may be feasible'

The terms of reference for the Commission are to this effect They shall

> 'enquire into and report on the present position of Secondary Education in India in all its aspects and suggest measures for its reorganisation and improvement with particular reference to the aims, organisation and content of Secondary Education, its relationship to primary Basic and higher education the inter-relation of Secondary schools of different types and other allied problems so that a sound and reasonably uniform system of Secondary Education suited to our needs and resources may be provided for the whole country" (*The Hindu*, Sept. 28, 1952)

The Commission had its first sitting the other day (Oct 5) at Delhi. The remarks of the Union Minister of Education when formally inaugurating it are reported by *The Hindu* as follows :

> "The Minister referred to the intrinsic importance of this stage of education which supplied the students for higher stages and the teachers for primary education. Besides the decision of the Government of India and the State Governments to accept Basic Education as the pattern at the elementary stage had made it necessary to reorganise Secondary Education. Maulana Azad referred to the view generally held that Secondary Education should be the final stage of general education for the vast majority of the students and that only a selected few should go on to higher education in the sciences, humanities and technology This made it necessary that there should be greater diversity at the secondary stage so that students could, at the end of their Secondary Education, enter into various professions and take to big or small-scale industries it was also necessary that some method should be devised by which those who were likely to benefit by higher study were offered the necessary facilities for doing so. He concluded by expressing the hope that the Commission would be able to make recommendations that would give India a sound and creative system of education." (*The Hindu*, Oct 8, 1952)

From this Press summary of the inaugural address we may fairly conclude that the Commission was necessary because

1 The secondary stage of education was important as it supplied students for higher stages and secondly as it supplied teachers for primary education ;

2 As Governments in India decided to accept Basic Education as the pattern at the elementary stage it became necessary to reorganise Secondary Education ;

3 Secondary Education was important as it was 'generally held that (it) should be the final stage of general education for the vast majority of the students"

And that the Commission was expected to do the following

1 The Commission should see that there was greater diversity at the secondary stage, so that students could, at the end of their secondary education, enter into various professions. .

2 "It was also necessary that some method should be devised by which those who were likely to benefit by higher study were offered the necessary facilities for doing so"

As a whole we may fairly take it that this gives us the idea with which the Commission is appointed The dual purpose of Secondary Education is very well known. Again the importance of education not merely at the secondary but at all stages is equally well recognized As a matter of fact, there is a sort of undesirable rivalry in this regard among the three stages — primary, secondary and higher The question before us is not that Rather, as in all other spheres of our national life the question is of deciding upon proper priorities and marshalling opinion and action accordingly It is from this point of view that the appointment of the Commission by the Union Government should be judged Was such an inquiry necessary at present ? Is it going to really help us in the present circumstances ? Is Secondary Education a top priority ? Which of its dual purpose is more important and the chief one ? Is not Secondary Education some further education for those who can take it ? If, as the Union Minister of Education says it is to be the final stage of general education, can it be allowed to so subserve the interests of so-called higher education which is only *special* further education for the selected few, as to almost negate its main purpose of being a further complete whole in general education ? These are some of the many questions that naturally arise here.

If we look at the Constitution of India, we find that Secondary Education cannot legitimately be a top priority Art. 45 of the Constitution directs that —

> ."The State shall endeavour to provide, within a period of ten years from the commencement of this Constitution (i e 1950), for free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age of fourteen years"

Therefore one may well expect that the Central Government should as soon as possible and as the topmost priority, go into investigating whether this directive principle will be duly implemented within the stipulated period and what ought to be done for it. Are States in India in a position to assure us that this directive will be fulfilled ? And what should be the chief all-India principles of such implementation ?

The Union Minister is reported to have said about Basic Education having been decided as our plan for elementary education. It will be worth while to note here that Basic Education according to Gandhiji contains both the elementary and secondary stages, and it was not suggested by him as a mere method in pedagogy, but it was an item in our programme of building up a new society through education But that is another matter, which may be left at that here The topmost priority today is to plan and arrange for seven years of free and compulsory Basic Education As all know, we are very very far from achieving it Are we planning to achieve it? Again, is it not more proper to say that at present not secondary but primary education of seven years is the obvious "final stage of general education for the vast majority of the students"? Have we decided about reasonably uniform guiding principles for this stage? Basic Education holds that the following should be the main ones

1 To secure 7 or 8 years of Basic Education to the nation without any bifurcation anywhere in its midst

2 To see that not English but Hindi is introduced from the fifth grade and English at the High School grade which can begin at the 8th year of schooling

3 To see that we strive to achieve the target of free and compulsory Basic Education in ten years

4 To see that Basic Education begins to render what is desired of it, viz self-sufficiency to the extent consistent with sound education, in which case only can we achieve No 3 above in the quickest manner

Are they clearly laid down? Does the Government see that these may come to stay in our State educational set-up?

As in higher education, in Secondary Education as well every State has its own peculiar local problems requiring to be gone into Well may they be looked into by the States If at all, the time for its radical transformation will come when the nation has got a clear picture of the primary stage which still awaits to be worked up on the new lines An inquiry before doing that will not be anyway helpful, but may even harm us, if it does not mind some of the basic truths of educational reconstruction in our country, like the ones noted above Therefore it is always sound policy to mind first things first and rest assured that the next will naturally come up in due course

I hope the Secondary Education Commission will at least see that it works further on the agreed acceptance of Basic Education and its significance and does not confound it as is unfortunately the situation at present

13-10-'52 MAGANBHAI P DESAI

WHY FEAR FOOD SHORTAGE?

(By Dr P J Thomas)

Let Us Follow Gandhiji's Advice

India's food shortage has been causing a great deal of worry and has involved much waste of our scarce dollar resources. It is a mill stone round the neck of Mother India, and is causing much trouble to our hard-worked Finance Minister Year after year we have been throwing away valuable dollar exchange, which should have been used for purchasing much-needed machinery for industries essential for raising the living standards of our people and for giving employment

Even more serious has been India's loss of prestige in foreign countries, caused by her going to them with a begging bowl in hand We frighten them with the spectre of famine and starvation here Had we called for wheat or other cereal, this would have caused them little worry But we want rice a cereal which requires special weather conditions and timely water supplies for raising it In fact the unappeasable hunger of these rice-eating countries which are also thickly populated, is creating a horrid world shortage for rice and is causing a thorny problem to the World Food Organization

I submit that we are unnecessarily becoming a nuisance to other nations, at a time when they are themselves hard pressed by vexed problems of their own or even more serious world problems People in Southern India and Bengal habitually eat more rice than is good for them A more varied diet with less of rice and more of vegetables, especially green vegetables, would be more conducive to our national health, as also to sound national economy Green vegetables like spinach, tomatoes, cabbages and brinjals can be easily raised in the environs of the humblest dwelling place with a five-cent plot attached, plantains and tubers like tapioca and sweet potatoes can also be raised The advantage of tubers is that they are heavy yielders and can resist drought successfully Even the other vegetables require little water, and the manure problem can be easily solved by using one's own urine, now wasted or causing nuisance to neighbourers Compost can also be made with it Congress prisoners in war time, did this in certain South India jails and the spinach they then planted grew almost to the size of a tree For those who eat eggs and meat poultry can be kept in homes at low cost In low lying areas fish can also be reared by the side of houses in small tanks as is done in Bengal In all these ways rice can be effectively supplemented and diet can be made more complete and health giving Incidentally this can also relieve the embarrassments of Finance Ministers, and what is more important — relieve our tax burdens

Gandhiji has on several occasions spoken about the need for supplementing our cereal diet with larger quantities of vegetables and of growing

them ourselves as far as possible Especially during the last few months of his earthly life, he was never tired of emphasizing this as food shortage was then becoming a problem owing to implanned decontrol About two months before Bapuji passed away, I had an occasion to discuss this problem with him in the presence of a well-known foreign economist. He commended to me the West Coast habit of keeping a kitchen garden, but I had to tell him that even on the West Coast educated people were giving up such salutary habits and are now more and more depending on market vegetables, and fill their stomachs mostly with rice, unlike their forefathers who supplemented rice with a heavy vegetable curry (*pazhukku*)

I than placed before Mahatmaji a suggestion that, having regard to the growing food shortage in the country he may issue a directive to the nation that a kitchen garden however small should be attached to every household and that all adults should spend a half hour in it daily I also suggested that this might be in lieu of spinning, in the case of Congressmen who find it difficult to ply the *charkha* After all food is more important than clothing, and as India was becoming more or less self sufficient in regard to cloth spinning was not so urgent a duty as raising one's own food Gandhiji readily admitted the desirability of something being done in this line, and wanted me to address the Congress President on this matter because he (Gandhiji) was becoming a spent up force" He also added, 'I like the idea, but Professor I am no good at agriculture" (Here he narrated his weary efforts at cultivation while he was in South Africa) He then finally said "I am getting old, but it is for younger people like you to take this up" And he gave me his blessing I then sent up a note on this to the then Congress President, Dr Pattabhi Sitaramayya He showed great interest, and he was himself keeping a kitchen garden But things did not move much then

Times have changed Food shortage is becoming more serious With Rajaji's bold decision to decontrol the need for such a thing as above is becoming urgent so that the demand for rice may be reduced Especially now, with a horrid drought facing the country we have to raise more of other foodstuffs Rice is in short supply all the world over and grain necessity has come to force on us a policy which we might have adopted earlier with great profit to us every way

Travancore-Cochin has a food grain deficit to the extent of 60 per cent, and unemployment has lately become appalling in the densely populated Coastal areas This last year, there was thus lack of food and lack of purchasing power — a combination which can be most serious It was tapioca that saved that State from starvation, and tapioca having been in ever-supply, the Coastal people were fed largely at the cost of the small-holders of interior Tapioca crop is already being raised in Malabar Salem Chungelput S Arcot and other districts of Madras State and may I suggest that the extension of this crop to the drought-affected Rayalaseema areas would be a sovereign remedy for a situation which may otherwise become too serious Facilities for raising kitchen gardens may also be given, especially free distribution of vegetable seeds, the know-how for making compost must also be broadcast

With Rajaji taking up this matter in right earnest, I have no doubt that not only can the spectre of famine be exorcised, but the small food grain deficit of 10 per cent — it is really much less — can be easily made up If the Central Government can carry out such a policy in other States as well, the wise early decision of India's Prime Minister to make this land self-sufficient regarding food-grain can soon be realized and India will then be able to carry out the Five Year Plan in which her mind is set

May I suggest that the nation's thoughts be concentrated on this especially in the Gandhi Jayanti Week from year to year?

KHADI AND GANDHIAN LITERATURE

The Secretary Sarvodaya Sahitya Sangh Kashi expresses his concern over the decline in Khadi sale and makes a suggestion which is well worth serious consideration by all lovers of Sarvodaya He writes

> The President of the Charkha Sangh Shri Dhirubhai has written and spoken quite a good deal on this question The view point of the Charkha Sangh regarding this matter has been further clarified recently by Shri Sahasrabuddhe the Secretary of the Sangh, who has also placed before the country a comprehensive programme to meet the difficulty and restore Khadi to the high position which it deserves in any scheme of a sound Indian economy I would only like the following to be added to it
>
> 1 We have Khadi bhandars at numerous places throughout India Every Khadi bhandar should become an active centre for the propagation of Gandhian literature and ideology
>
> 2 The Sarva Seva Sangh should prepare and circulate a list of appropriate books to the bhandars and the bhandars should see that they are always available at their book depots
>
> 3 Along with the handle for khadi, handle for books may also be sold if it is found necessary and desirable.
>
> 4 Every bhandar should also become the centre of a study circle where workers and sympathizers may gather on off days, and do collective spinning and hold friendly discussion on problems of the day

This is really a very useful suggestion Every effort should be made to promote the study of Gandhian literature The present generation of students, who having completed their education, are leaving schools and colleges say, those below 30 years of age, — have not had direct knowledge of the Gandhian revolution Nor does the history of this glorious period find place in the courses of study in our schools and universities This is really sad, for it is very necessary for the new generation to study Gandhian thought which indeed is the force that brought us Independence

12-10-'52 MAGANBHAI P DESAI

(From Hindi)

PROHIBITION AND NON-VIOLENCE

(By Gandhiji)

I hold drinking spirituous liquors in India to be more criminal than the petty thefts which I see starving men and women committing and for which they are prosecuted and punished I do tolerate, very unwillingly it is true and helplessly because of want of full realization of the law of love a moderate system of penal code And so long as I do, I must advocate the summary punishment of those who manufacture the fiery liquid and those even who will persist in drinking it notwithstanding repeated warnings I do not hesitate forcibly to prevent my children from rushing into fire or deep waters. Rushing to red water is far more dangerous than rushing to a raging furnace or flooded stream The latter destroys only the body, the former destroys both body and soul

Young India, 8-8-28

NOTES

Synthetic Rice and Milk

Five friends who had lunch with Mr K D. Malaviya, Deputy Minister for Natural Resources, in Delhi on Sunday were surprised to learn from him later that the rice and curds served at the table were synthetic products

Mr Malaviya had brought them from the Mysore Food Technological Research Institute one of the National Laboratories visited by him recently

The rice was made out of tapioca and other ingredients The "milk' too was a vegetable product.

The Institute claims that its synthetic rice and vegetable milk are superior in nutritive value to the natural products

The Government of India are now contemplating mass production of these items —PTI, (From *The Hindustan Times*, Oct. 8, 1952)

Shri Malaviya had surely a good joke at his table friends But let him or his officers at the Institute not joke at us all by saying that "synthetic rice and vegetable milk are superior in nutritive value to the natural products" It is any day far better for the Ministry of Natural Resources to secure for us more *natural* products than synthetic Mother Earth and mother cow are surely our greatest Institutes for rice and milk Science may better try its hands, if at all, at securing more natural rice and milk and not bother in vain to steal a march over Mother Nature

14-10-'52 M. P

What Communism Has Cost China

The following excerpt from Critic's London Diary in the *New Statesman and Nation* of September 6, 1952, speaks for itself

'Last year Mao ended the threat of invasion from Formosa by calling upon all Kuomintang fifth columnists in villages all over China to surrender their arms those who did not do so voluntarily were shot. (The facts were stated last year, unchallenged)

'I gave the number of a million and a half shot because that figure was authoritatively stated by the Chinese Communists It is clear that it is now too small In October Cheng Chien, Vice-Chairman of the Central and South Military Administrative Committee claimed that he had exterminated a million bandits' (the category used for Chiang's armed followers) in his part of China and Wuhan radio put forth the number of a million and a half for the slightly different area covered by the Fourth Field Army This figure is for only part of China, and it does not of course include the many thousands of racketeers, black marketeers landlords, spies and others who have since been executed by popular courts

'I hold to my opinion that Mao is to be criticised only for killing enemies he might have disarmed.'

V G D.

Salaries in Russia

The Editor,

Harijan

Sir,

The following fact will interest readers in view of the assertion made in India that the differences in salaries in Russia range between 500 to 5,000 Roubles a month.

But Mr Stalin's salary alone is —

1 as President of Peoples' Commissars yearly 60,000 Roubles

2 as Secretary of Russian Communist Party 60,000 Roubles yearly

3 Royalty on books published in his name 600,000 Roubles

He has 3 country residences and 4 motor cars placed by the State at his disposal — 100,000 Roubles Besides he is the beneficiary of "buying tickets" that permits him to obtain 80 per cent reduction on any or all purchases. This brings his yearly income to one million Roubles

(From the *Combat Syndicalist* France)

M. P T ACHARYA

PS

Stalin's income is 1 million Roubles while the average for all employed is 500 Roubles

M P T A.

Cattle and Pastures

May I express a personal opinion on the subject of Mirabehn's plea quoted in the *Harijan* of 16th August?

(1) Since imports depend on many factors; and we can only rely on our animal power and home-grown food in time of war, progress in mechanization of rural life should be cautious

(2) Every village needs its permanent grazing land (*gauchar*) for its useful cattle, and every State needs jungle areas with natural water and grass where its useless animal can be kept. The annual increase of such animals, on the limited area of village grazing lands, is ruining our cattle by mal nutrition

(3) States require sufficient number of dairy farms and markets where their people can buy good milch cows, buffaloes, bulls and bullocks "Milk" (with its butter, ghee and curds) is after all the most important industry. It touches people's health from birth to death. This is acknowledged now even by non-vegetarian countries of the West who have been producing and consuming more and more milk and vegetables.

Bombay, 30-8-'52 A. P. PATTANI

COST OF HANDLOOM CLOTH

The controversy between the Chief Minister of Madras and the Union Minister for Commerce and Industry has brought out in bold relief the difficulties of carrying on a government without a set purpose or a well defined goal The Union minister talks of high cost of handloom cloth and demands relief for cheap goods, while the Chief Minister enunciates a crucial point of high policy when he declares ' the question is not a question of yardage but of human families whose care is the obligation of the State Government and therefore of the Central Government also '

The care of the welfare of human families will involve the duty of seeing to the equitable distribution of wealth. Maldistribution of wealth is a chronic malady of the capitalist economy The state capitalism prevailing in Soviet Russia has tried to handle this problem through the price mechanism Cost, profit or competition do not wholly control the situation In Russia they decide on the equitable income every person of like ability should have and distribute it over the efficient production of such a person Supposing a professor or an engineer is given an income of Rs 300 per month and skilled *mochi* is considered equal to them in his field, then such a *mochi* also should have an income of Rs 300 p m. To do this we have to estimate how many shoes he can produce in a month working to his full capacity. If we find he can make 15 pairs, then the price per pair will have to be Rs 20/- each plus cost This will mean pushing up the prices which would otherwise prevail on a competitive basis.

Thus if the Madras Chief Minister's idea of the functions of the State were to hold the field, not only will the present prices of handloom cloth be high, but they may even have to be pushed up further to give those families an equitable standard of living At the moment our Government has no set goal and hence this confusion between the lines of arguments pursued by the two Ministers The Union Minister takes a capitalistic stand while the Madras Chief Minister, in a lucid moment, argues like a good socialist

Apart from these, at present in India the mill industries get the benefit of enormous expenditures of Government out of public funds in way of research and other amenities such as good road, markets, transport etc which do not affect the villagers These are unseen and unrecorded subsidies to the mill industries If the actual cost of these were allocated to the mill industries it is doubtful if they can lay any claims to cheapening cost of production even if we leave out of our reckoning the social costs of the mill industry to society No amount of capitalistic arguments can meet these greater non financial considerations

We hope the Central Government will define its purpose of existence at an early date and make the task of well meaning public men like the Madras Chief Minister easier

J. C. KUMARAPPA

FROM THE HORSE'S OWN MOUTH

It has been medically proved that alcohol in large doses is ruinous for the health and that even in small doses it progressively upsets the digestive and nervous systems resulting in permanent injury to them Prohibition stops this injury to human health.

If Prohibition did only this much one might not feel justified to enforce it on the ground that it attacks individual liberty If anybody wants to kill himself why stop him from doing so ? But does not law make attempt at suicide a crime ? If it does and society approves of it, then why not make drinking also a crime ? That is the stock argument of the anti-drink propagandist and one may or may not subscribe to it. But what I heard by chance a few days back at one of the evening parties at Taj in Bombay clinched for me for ever the argument in favour of Prohibition

Next to me sat a business magnate and his young secretary The chic girl had left the businessman a few years before the Bombay Government stopped drink trade in their State. She had good looks and could earn much more in the red-lamp area than by drudging at the type writer in the office of her employer Recently she had rejoined the business man's office and was asked the reason She frankly admitted that Prohibition had hit hard the dark trade carried on in the red lamp area and that the business there was more than seventy five per cent down It was drink that brought men to these areas and it was drink that attracted easy-going girls to those quarters

If Prohibition had done nothing else for Bombay except reducing the white-slave traffic by seventy-five per cent, that alone was sufficient to justify its imposition And the proof for its justification comes not from the anti-social anchorite but, as we say, from the horse's own mouth from one of the persons who had lived that life and seen its ups and downs at first hand.

I am told that there has been some difference regarding the enforcement of Prohibition between the Centre and Shri Morarji Desai, the Chief Minister of Bombay I wish that the representatives of the Centre who were against Bombay Government were present at the Taj Dinner and had heard at first hand from one who knew what Prohibition had done for the victims of the drink habit !

24-10-'52 SARDUL SINGH CAVEESHAR

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Timely Lead

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HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)
Editor : MAGANBHAI P DESAI

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1624

गांधी संग्रह
वाराणसी

HOW PLAN FOR INDIA

(By Gandhiji)

Q The Government has been introducing schemes of industrializing the country for the maximum utilization of her raw materials, not of her abundant and unused man power which is left to (take care of itself as best as it can) Can such schemes be considered *swadeshi* ?

A Gandhiji remarked that the question had been well put. He did not exactly know what the Government plan was. But he heartily endorsed the proposition that any plan which exploited the raw materials of a country and neglected the potentially more powerful man-power was lop-sided and could never tend to establish human equality

America was the most industrialised country in the world and yet it had not banished poverty and degradation That was because it neglected the universal man-power and concentrated power in the hands of the few who amassed fortunes at the expense of the many The result was that its industrialization had become a menace to its own poor and to the rest of the world.

If India was to escape such disaster, it had to imitate what was best in America and the other Western countries and leave aside its attractive looking but destructive economic policies. Therefore, real planning consisted in the best utilization of the whole man-power of India and the distribution of the raw products of India in her numerous villages instead of sending them outside and rebuying finished articles at fabulous prices.

Harijan, 23-3-'47

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THE THIRD FORCE AND POWER POLITICS

(By Pyarelal)

In a previous article ('The Third Force'—*Harijan*, 1-11-'52) I dwelt upon the need for a common programme of action for those who constitute the "third force" The question has been posed what should be their attitude in regard to the present Government with whose programme and performance they are all dissatisfied. Should not unity on the constructive front go hand in hand with unity on the political front ? Can constructive work be divorced from the politics of the country ? Was not purification of the politics of the country a major item in Gandhiji's programme ?

All these are very cogent considerations More could be added Without examining them here in detail let me set forth my own conclusion

I feel certain that to fulfil its purpose the "third force ' has for the time being, to leave the Government altogether out of its consideration in devising its "common programme" Those who are out to realize the non-violent order of society—and the 'third force' loses all its attractiveness if it has not that for its goal—must not think of having a share in the political power It is only when they keep out of power politics that they will become a power in the land and be able to purify and shape the politics of the country

We have, therefore, to let the Five Year Plan and the Community Projects go their way We shall survive both The difficulty with those who are at the helm of the Government is that they are divided in their mind They have neither the courage to work out to their logical conclusion the ideals which as Congressmen they have accepted nor to categorically repudiate them. The reason partly is that the Government of which they have taken charge was not built to be run on those principles They have to pay the price of continuity The administrative machine which they have inherited holds them as its close prisoners The services through which they function and must function have their old traditions which they cannot get out of There is an unresolved conflict between economy and employment, efficiency and trade-unionism in the Government offices The Government have to

[illegible] and maintain their military potential, un[illegible] non violent or moral equivalent is ready at hand They cannot jump out of a running train as it were But I dare say that no one would be happier than Pandit Nehru, for instance, if popular effort, or the "third force" could fill the gaps in the administrative set-up which are obvious and provide the corrective which the administration so sorely needs The present constitution is democratic enough to enable groups and parties outside the Government to influence the policies of the State Governments and of the Union and mould them according to the wishes of the people, provided they are armed with the necessary sanction, which under democracy can only be non-violent It would be neither non violence nor practical wisdom to hamper in the performance of their duty those who are running the Government in the way they know

On the other hand it should be plain as a pikestaff that any other party that today takes charge of the present machine will have to obey the dydamics of this machine Some alleviation may follow but in its essentials the result on the whole will not be radically different from what we see today

The "third force" has, therefore, to work from outside and from below, to build the non-violent basis which is today lacking It has to steer clear of power politics to prepare for political action Our programme should be to educate the people into what needs to be done and to show how they can do it, in other words, to put their destiny in their own hands and to make them on however small scale, to begin with, masters of It

Valmiki Mandir,

New Delhi, 4-11-'52

NOTES

All-India Handloom Board

It is good news thet the Union Government is appointing an all-India Handloom Board to advise Government on problems of handloom industry Government also proposes to create a Handloom Fund from which grants or loans will be given for the development and improvement of the industry A cess of three pies a yard of mill made cloth is proposed to be levied, bringing to the Fund about 6 crores a year The Board will also advise Government regarding the use of this Fund

One thing requires to be noted in this connection The Board should not forget thet the *hand-spun yarn* handloom also is in their domain, and it requires special attention, if not more, for the simple reason that for no fault of its own, it is the most neglected and today the weakest link in the chain of our textile supply The Board should also realize that the mill-yarn handloom is dependent upon mill economy, and in the ultimate analysis, can be saved from that deplorable dependence by the Charkha only As things are at present, and they do not seem to improve in spite of all planning the handloom and the Charkha only can in alliance give us full employment which alone can be the basis of any planning worth the name The Handloom Board must have as its members such persons also who may represent this view-point of the dumb millions of India

5-11-'52 M P

Textile Enquiry Committee

P T I reports that the Union Government also proposes to "set up a high-powered Committee of eight members to examine the whole field of the cotton textile industry" This can also be a welcome step provided it works on the basis of securing full employment to the unemployed or under-employed dumb millions, in the work of producing the article which every one of them needs and to which he can very easily and immediately lend his helping hand This Committee must have as its member a representative of the All-India Charkha Sangh Khadi and handloom cloth must find a place of prominence and must be placed on our textile map as the most important sources of cloth supply, and economists must lend their skill to achieving this national requirement of full employment through the Charkha and the handloom Cloth is our life-need next to food, these two are not such as should be or need be organized like heavy key industries They must be set up on a decentralized basis and as the greatest co-operative ventures of the whole of our people We hope the Committee proposed to be set up will take a longer view of the task before it and give us a plan to realize the vision of an order that Gandhiji tried to put before us through the Khadi and village industries movement.

5-11-'52 M. P

Rajaji on Handloom Fund

Shri Rajaji, in the course of his reply to a debate in the Madras Legislative Assembly, incidentally referred to the Handloom Fund proposed to be created by the Union Government. The occasion was the Government resolution for a demand for restricting the production of *Dhotis* and *Saris* solely to the handloom. The demand calls for basic reorientation of our textile policy. It is asking our mills to subserve one of our greatest cottage-industries by supplying its yarn need and not to compete with it as they have been doing till now It is in relation to this that Shri Rajaji a following remarks (as reported by *The Hindu* of 6 11-'52) are worthy of our attention

> "The offer of money bonus or stipends is in the air,' Mr Rajagopalachari said and added 'Anything is welcome If money is given, it is not for us to say no" The Government of India would tell them what to do with it usually But he could not imagine what he could do with the share of Madras. It might be one crore. The question was how they should help the handlooms He was unable to think what they

[illegible] to with the three pies cess which they gal tro[illegible] mills which were to him the 'throttling' agency [illegible] We should not, the Chief Minister declared, get into the danger of earning some money from that which is going to throttle us to the extent we earn money It is just like trying to use the drink money for propaganda against drink Unless the cess was a deterrent one, it was of no advantage The cess proposed on mills was a mild one It would just tickle the mill-owners to pay it for the handloom weavers It would serve no other purpose whatsoever'

11-11-'52 M. P

Hindi — National and Provincial

Shri Sastri of Hindi Prachar Sabha, T'Nagar, Madras, follows up his last letter about 'Hindi in Madras' (vide *Harijan*, 23-8-'52) with the following suggestion (6-9-'52).

> The timely suggestion by Shri Mangaldas Pakwasa that our national language Hindi should be more appropriately called as 'Bharatee' is most welcome which if accepted, would allay the fear of 'Hindi Imperialism' in the mind of the non-Hindi speaking people and thus advance the cause of the Lingua Franca itself

> There are no two opinions about the need for a Lingua Franca for India While accepting Hindi as this common national language it is little understood that Hindi as the Lingua Franca of India is quite different from Hindi as the provincial tongue of U.P., C P or Bihar The Poddar Committee of Bombay Government has recognized this difference The Indian Constitution has in unequivocal terms made it clear that Hindi as the national language should represent the composite culture of India freely drawing the vocabulary style etc from the living Indian languages and Sanskrit In fact Hindi as our National Language is still in the making It is therefore quite appropriate that our National Language should bear a different name to clearly distinguish it from Hindi as the provincial language of some States.'

That there are, according to the Constitution of India, two Hindis is abundantly made clear by the Hindi Teaching Committee of Bombay State, presided over by Mahamahopadhyaya Poddar. One is the regional Hindi of Uttar Pradesh and the other is what is proposed to evolve as the national or State language of the Union That it was necessary to bring out this vital distinction by using different names is quite true Gandhiji had for this very reason adopted the word Hindustani for the all-India language Unfortunately the Constitution-makers could not see their way to accepting it, with the unhappy result against which Shri Sastri rightly complains But, I think, the remedy now is not necessarily through a change in name, which should require a change in the Constitution, but through learning, as soon as possible, the all-India language by non-Hindi provincials and taking a living interest in its evolution as envisaged and enjoined by the Constitution The people in U P also can help this process provided they realize the above point of view and evolve in their own province a common and simple style of Hindi as a happy amalgam of their two regional languages, Hindi and Urdu.

Abu, 22-10-'52 M. P

"A Great Contrast"

I have received a small leaflet with the above title It is from the "Gospel Home" Madurai (S I.) The burden of the thesis is that Gandhiji said at Noakhali, "I see no light" While Jesus said "I am the Light, I am the Truth" Therefore the writer urges that we should all follow Jesus — a greater than Gandhi

It does not seem to me that it is within our capacity to judge the greatness of saints and measure them with a yard-stick which is far too inadequate Much less so when we try to do so by texts torn out of their contexts Gandhiji was dealing with a particular situation Similarly placed Jesus Himself exclaimed, "My God, my God, why hast Thou forsaken me?" Another may well ask, "How can we follow one who has been forsaken by God?" The whole leaflet is based on such puerile reasoning Such propaganda is a disgrace to Christianity which the writer evidently wishes to glorify He defeats his own purpose.

5-11-'52 J. C. KUMARAPPA

An Ideal Bhoodan

Thanks to the efforts of Pandit Dharmadev Shastri the well-known constructive worker of Himachal Pradesh, Mahant Shri Udhodasji of Dashalni (a village in the Mahasu District of H.P.) has donated his entire *jagirdari* of 5 000 acres to Shri Vinoba. The donation has electrified the Bhoodan campaign in the area

It will be recalled that Mangroth in U P was the first to gift the entire village-land to Shri Vinoba It set an example of fulfilling the ideal set before us by Shri Vinoba's Mission The present donation is in tune with that Mangroth spirit and is bound to inspire all other landowners, particularly big ones similarly

In the course of a letter to Vinobaji about the donation, Shri Shastri wrote "You have been asking landowners to make over the share of Daridranarayan to you as to another son or brother Mahant Udhodasji has however donated his *jagirdari* to you as to a father or a *guru* Daridranarayan is thus manifesting Himself in the form of the *guru* and the father too God alone knows how and whom He inspires with His will The inspiration which Mahantji felt in the far off Himalayas and the fact that it coincided with the 11th September (Shri Vinoba's birthday) is a challenge to those who have no faith in God Mahantji is only twenty-eight years old"

(Adapted from original in Hindi) L. B

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HARIJAN

Nov. 15 1952

TIMELY LEAD

The Gujarat Pradesh Congress Committee in its meeting held at Surat on 26-10-'52 has unanimously adopted a very significant resolution. By passing the resolution the Committee has in these difficult times given its region and indirectly Congress Committees all over the country a much needed and valuable lead The resolution adopted by the Committee is as under

"The issue that the State should adopt a law prohibiting intoxicating drinks and drugs etc was forged out in the course of the development of the struggle for Swaraj Gandhiji had clearly indicated and said that in order to eradicate the evil of drink from the people in the cause of social reform and reconstruction, it was one of the primary duties of Swaraj Governments to enact laws for the Prohibition of intoxicating drinks The Constitution of Free India lays down Total Prohibition as one of the directives to the State

"This Committee therefore believes that the Government of Bombay State has loyally followed and carried out the traditional policy of the Congress in adopting the law prohibiting intoxicating drinks

"And the Committee also declares its firm belief that all State Governments as also the Central Government should and must pass Prohibition laws to aid the eradication of the evil of drink

'But along with this declaration of its faith the Committee strongly urges all its local committees fully to aid the Government in the administration of the Prohibition law and to work among those who are victims of the evil to persuade them to give it up

"With regard to the administration of the Prohibition law of Bombay State it is the experience of the members of this Committee and Congress workers that a very large portion of the people demand such a law And a feeling that the administration of the law is not as effective and successful as it should be is expressed in some quarters

"This Committee believes that in depending solely on the police for the administration of this law we as Congressmen have failed in our duty and therefore exhorts every Congressman to counter with determination the propaganda and agitation carried on against Prohibition and actively to assist the State in the administration of the law of Prohibition"

It may be asked why this resolution? Does not the resolution itself say that for years past the Congress has considered Prohibition as part of its policy? And does it not also say that it is now an important part of the policy of the Constitution of India? Where then was the occasion or need for this resolution? The reason is obvious to those who would see If one were to see with open eyes what is going on in Bombay State the reason will be readily perceived

The Bombay State remaining loyal to Prohibition as one of the basic policies of the Congress took the first available opportunity to carry it out in practice and is firmly adhering to it today A section of the trading community and some political parties opposed to the Congress have begun to show a concealed or open opposition to the policy for the acceptance of which by the nation innumerable men and women irrespective of political parties or castes or creeds had shown readiness to work and suffer Even these opponents of the policy do not say that they do not want Prohibition What they cannot bear to see, they say, is the loss of the large excise revenue and falling a victim to the greed for this revenue they are enticed into opposing the very thing which, they profess, is fundamentally good in theory These sections of the people have the capacity of loudly shouting for what they want, are educated are clever in propaganda and agitation, and can afford and know how to spend large sums of money to serve their purpose In these circumstances some politically minded persons find a convenient and easy occasion to run down the Congress and are drawn into opposing Prohibition which is really an act of betrayal of the large mass of our people The greed for this tainted revenue has reached such proportions that some of our State Governments which are and call themselves Congress Governments are putting forward specious arguments and pretexts to avoid adopting the policy of Prohibition Indeed, the great Planning Commission itself has fallen a victim to this distressing state of affairs And the policy of the Central Government in the matter has been such as to, for example, indirectly aid and encourage slackening the step of Prohibition in the country For example see the Madhya Pradesh Government The Congress as a political organization carries the burden of running the State Governments and also bears the responsibility to run the Central Government It seems to be helplessly witnessing this tragic sight in respect of one of the items of its basic policy It seems to be unable to do anything about it In some places even Congressmen are seen being misled and drawn into this vortex of opposition to the Congress itself If at such a time the Gujarat Pradesh Congress Committee reaffirms its faith, stands as a warning sentinel to the people of its region, asks them to be earnestly active, and gives support to the State Government in its policy of Prohibition, it is certainly most refreshingly welcome, and the reason and need for its resolution also become immediately evident

The resolution requests and appeals to all the State Governments as also the Central

Government to enact Prohibition laws. This request should not be understood to be addressed to the Governments alone It should be taken as addressed to all the Pradesh Congress Committees also Every Pradesh Congress Committee, the All India Congress Committee as also the Working Committee of the Congress should consider and adopt resolutions on the lines of the resolution of the Gujarat Pradesh Congress Committee The Congress today finds itself in a difficult position It is being assailed by all sorts of criticism from all quarters. Indeed, from newspapers one reads that its President himself said recently in self-criticism at Nagpur that it has turned into a home for inert indolent persons One may be permitted to ask, should not the Congress show to its members what work it expects from them? Right within the organization itself differences of opinion regarding the attitude towards various constructive activities forming part of its programme which has evolved during the course of its glorious history are to be seen, no uniform or firm policy, and attitude are in evidence Does the Congress Organization lay down a definite policy and give what may be called a well-considered, consistent lead regarding the various constructive activities, such as Khadi Village Industries, Service of the Villages, Prohibition, Basic Education, Hindi-Hindustani Prachar etc.? It has to be confessed it does not And does it not seem to drag itself in the wake of and along with its Governments as they are? This state of affairs is as distressing as it is dangerous for both of them — both for the Congress Organization and its Governments Both would be losers if this position is allowed to continue If the Congress Organization wants to save itself from this unhappy state of things it should hasten to apply itself and its mind to its own task in right earnest. It clearly means that Congressmen everywhere should shake off what their ever active and wakeful President has called their inertia and earnestly, seriously and actively apply themselves to their work It is of course true they should be shown what they have to do by giving them a clear lead and by creating the proper atmosphere. The Congress Organization should remove the suicidal confusion about the work before itself by working out and laying down a clear-cut policy The resolution of the Gujarat Pradesh Congress Committee serves a very useful purpose from this point of view It reminds all Congressmen of their duty and urges them to apply themselves to their work

One thing more before closing So far as laying down policy is concerned one may without the fear of being mistaken take the Planning Commission as the Central Government What does this Commission propose to do about Prohibition? It is the clear duty of this Commission to consider think out and lay down plans for the speediest fulfilment of the directives of State policy laid down in the fourth part of the Constitution of India. [illegible] is to lead the country to Total Prohibition Planned work has to be organized all over the country to this end, It is the duty of the Commission to plan this work, and it is the duty and responsibility of the Central Government to see the work planned and executed Will they loyally perform their duty? What appears in newspapers one is compelled to say with regret is not very encouraging or reassuring One learns that the Commission desires to appoint a Prohibition Committee What this Committee is or is going to do who will be appointed on the Committee, when it will be appointed and such other pertinent details are not available Certain points, however, have to be regarded as self-evident regarding this Committee and its appointment, the Central Government or the Planning Commission dare not, cannot afford to be misled or commit mistakes regarding these points

1 It should be the function of this Committee to consider and lay down the steps to be taken and the measures to be adopted so that the policy of Prohibition comes into force all over the land as speedily as possible This and none other can be its function. In undertaking or adopting any other function the Committee will be going against the Constitution It should be pointed out here that the Commission cannot appoint a Committee like the one that was appointed by the Madhya Pradesh Government some time ago

2 Members on this Committee should be such as believe in the policy of Prohibition as directed by the Constitution and also have faith in the execution of that policy Others therefore can have no place on it From some quarters it is being asked and some have begun to write enquiring whether those opposed to the policy of Prohibition would be given place on the Committee Such questions and queries are to say the least improper This is not and cannot be a Committee which has to enquire into the question as to what should be done regarding the question of Prohibition Prohibition has already been definitely laid down as State policy It would therefore be improper for the Planning Commission to be dilatory about the execution of this policy, or to be afraid of executing it with determination or to look with greedy eyes on the revenue it would bring to the State if the execution of this policy is postponed It should appoint this Committee with the single aim of considering and finding out as to what should be done to carry out in practice the mandate of the Constitution regarding Prohibition. The Committee will ask the State Governments as to what they propose to do in carrying out this mandate of the Constitution The Planning Commission should before long be in possession of the relevant information.

Prohibition is one of those items of State policy which are fundamental to the economic and social reconstruction of our country It is time we understood thoroughly that unless Prohibition was placed right at the foundation of our regeneration all planning would remain away and empty of content Prohibition is a lever which, once we begin to operate, will give us the insight and the strength to think and do things for and by ourselves With the short experience we have had of Prohibition we are able to see clearly the revolutionary means and power for reconstruction it gives us. It certainly gladdens the heart to see that the Gujarat Pradesh Congress Committee by its resolution quoted above has given timely lead to the Congress and the Government for the cultivation of the revolutionary strength and power

4-11 '52 MAGANBHAI P DESAI

(From the original in Gujarati)

B C G VACCINATION

To

The Editor,

Sir,

Please publish the following in your valued columns

It is stated in newspapers today that on the suggestion of doctors the Government of India will carry out the policy of B C G. vaccination for tuberculosis on a mass scale among the people of India Parents should refuse to have their children inoculated with B C G vaccine filth

I respectfully and humbly warn your readers that the opinion of doctors is not entitled to be regarded as disinterested and impartial. Mr Bernard Shaw, the famous playwright, truly said " The interests of doctors are directly and vitally opposed to those of the public Doctors starve when we are well and make money when we are ill. Doctors are interested in making us ill and keeping us ill "

The public can form a correct opinion about vaccines independently of doctors Vaccination and inoculation consist in the injection of filthy pus from diseases of tortured beasts into the bodies of healthy persons About this Professor Newman says, " A doctor who thinks that he can improve human health by putting corruption (vaccine filth) into the blood may be very learned but he is, to my mind, certainly very foolish and his opinion deserves contempt, be his erudition ever so extensive He goes wrong in First Principles."

This being so people should not rely on doctors' opinion about vaccines The public should believe such a religiously honest and truthful gentleman as Mahatma Gandhi who says in his excellent book entitled *Key to Health* * (which book everyone should read) " My study of vaccination has convinced me that it is an ignorant delusion " Shaw, Herbert Spencer Tolstoy, Prof Wallace, Dr Creigton and other famous men have also regarded vaccination and inoculation as useless and dangerous Cleanliness is the only true preventive of diseases caused by filth and dirt

Your readers can obtain free pamphlets describing the uselessness and dangers of vaccination for small-pox and inoculation for plague, typhoid fever, cholera, tuberculosis and diptheria from the Secretary of the National Anti Vaccination League, 25 Denison House, 296 Vauxhall Bridge Road, Westminster, London S W 1 (England) and from the British Union for the Abolition of Vivisection (which means cruel experiments on animals in medical laboratories), 47 Whitehall, London S W I

54 Wodehouse Road, Yours truly
Colaba Bombay-5 SORABJI R. MISTRI

[I gladly publish this letter of Shri Mistri As readers know, doctors are divided on this question of B C G (vide *Harijan*, 27-2 1949 (p 449) and 27-3-1949 (p 25) Therefore it must be optional to parents to get their children treated with B C G or no

Apart from mere scientific considerations about the efficacy of B C G, it raises the larger and more fundamental questions of morality and ethics as well Shri Mistri draws our attention to these also It raises the question of cruelty to animals for man's questionable self interest

On these counts this letter deserves serious consideration

29-9-'52 — M P]

THE PATNA SARVODAYA CONFERENCE

A Further Mile-stone in Bhoodan Campaign

With his entry into Patna, the ancient Pataliputra, capital of Bihar, the land hallowed by the names of Gautama and Gandhi, Shri Vinoba further accelerated the tempo of his campaign, when he announced that along with land, he would also ask for one-sixth of the income and property from the people This marks a significant development of the Bhoodan programme which now unfolds itself as a comprehensive social and economic revolution The land problem is basic, it is the foundation of this programme That may be presumed to have been securely laid now after a year and a half of intensive work during which more than four lakh acres have been collected The message that land cannot be owned individually as an exclusive possession has fully permeated the atmosphere Shri Vinoba's great idea of land being the free gift of God has gone abroad and the day is not far when the institution of the exclusive ownership of land will be a thing of the past

Give Your Property also

The foundation being thus well laid it was necessary to go further in the work of forging out a full-fledged socio-economic revolution on that basis The question had been raised on

* Price As 10 Postage etc, As 2, Navajivan Karyalaya, Ahmedabad-9

[illegible] But Shri Vinoba [illegible] He would say, "Attend to the [illegible] and everything will be added unto it" There [illegible] need to forge the sanction, the sanction of [illegible] quite strength in the workers to go forward Shri Vinoba continued to reflect over it and discuss with friends and co-workers. Meanwhile, some friends quite voluntarily and individually, allocated one-sixth, one-eighth, or one-tenth share of their money incomes and property There were others who had no land but who had money and wanted to do their bit for the cause with contributions in money Thus, the situation continued to grow mature and has now borne fruit in the form of this call from Patna Vinoba now demands not only a share of one's land, but also a portion of money, of the property, or the monthly income or the daily wages

'Kanchan-Mukti'

Shri Vinoba has often expressed himself that money is the root-cause of many evils which disfigure the existing social order Consequently in his Ashram at Paunar, he has started an experiment called the Kanchan-Mukti programme — a way of life free from the need of money Therefore one would naturally ask How then can he accept a gift in money? Vinoba answers 'I do ask for money, but I will not accept it I will ask the donor to spend it' The responsibility of spending the money and of keeping the accounts will be entrusted to the donor himself The donor will be put on his honour This complete faith in the integrity of the donor will surely have the effect of stimulating his conscience and awakening in him a sense of trusteeship and duty to the poor Herein lies the beauty of the non-violent technique and if it succeeds, as surely it will, it will be one of the greatest victories of Ahimsa

Bihar Land-Problem

Patna may well be proud that it had the glory of initiating this all-embracing revolutionary movement It was on the 11th September when he was leaving Kashi to enter Bihar that Vinoba decided not to go back to his Ashram until he had solved the land problem Forty days later he took up another decision, in furtherance of the first, that of not leaving Bihar until the land-problem in this province was solved.

This is the second great achievement of the Patna Conference It shows the keen anxiety and deep devotion with which Vinoba is exerting himself for the solution of this problem. The other day, a friend asked, "You are fanning the fire of land-hunger, will it not lead to violence? Are you not then creating a danger which may well jeopardize the security of the country?"

To him Vinoba said, "I will prefer anything to the existing conditions. I cannot stand this peace of the grave Not I, but you will be creating the danger, if you keep your coffers locked and [illegible] door of your heart. I [illegible] with all my life to ward it off and stem its fury, if at all it comes"

The Congress Decides to Tow the Line

The Bihar Congress has realized the position and its duty under the circumstances. It has accepted this programme, and has made it as its own chief work and offered to fulfil four lakh acres, the first instalment of his demand. Undoubtedly this decision of the Bihar Congress is quite serious and may prove revolutionary in its far-reaching effects Of the many things, the Congress may have done, this is the first during recent years which will call for a spirit of love and sacrifice and disinterested devotion to work. A political party accepting a venture of service as part of its programme constitutes not only a noble example but also a challenge to others This is the third great achievement of the Patna Conference

The All-Bihar Decision

The fourth and the last, though not the least of these, is the coming together of the various parties on a single platform A fact of great importance about the Bhoodan movement is that it has provided a common programme to the country where different parties may meet in a joint endeavour for the people It is a big step forward towards the realization of the dream of Sarvodaya. The resolution on the last day symbolized this unity quite visibly. It was moved by Shri Chand Sahib, the president of the Praja-Socialist party and seconded by Shri Jagat Narayanlal. The resolution states "The land-problem is our foremost problem today, and on the satisfactory solution of this problem rests the solution of our other problems With the solution of this problem, we would have marched a long way towards the social and economic independence, which will fulfil and make the political independence real and which is quite essential for building up a real democracy It is equally important what means we adopt to achieve this end Therefore the Conference supports the Bhoodan Yajna movement of Shri Vinoba Bhave and resolves to put in all efforts to make it a success." The resolution then proceeds to call on the progressive elements in the country to come together in a big co-operative effort to implement this radical programme

A far-reaching non-violent revolution is under way in Bihar. May God give the people of Bihar the strength to discharge their high responsibility, and may He make of them a shining example to the country and the world abroad

(Abridged from Hindi) L. B.

TO THE STUDENTS

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LEGISLATION AGAINST COW SLAUGHTER

(By Gandhiji)

Though I regard cow protection as the central fact of Hinduism central because it is common to classes as well as masses I have never been able to understand the antipathy towards the Mussalmans on that score We say nothing about the slaughter that daily takes place on behalf of Englishmen Our anger becomes red-hot when a Mussalman slaughters a cow The Hindus commit no sin if they cannot prevent cow slaughter at the hands of Mussalmans, and they do sin grievously when in order to save the cow they quarrel with the Mussalmans (*Young India* 29-5-24)

Mussalmans claim that Islam permits them to kill a cow To make a Mussalman, therefore, to abstain from cow killing under compulsion would amount in my opinion to converting him to Hinduism by force Even in India under Swarajya in my opinion it would be for a Hindu majority unwise and improper to coerce by legislation a Mussalman minority into submission to statutory prohibition of cow slaughter (*Young India* 29-1-'25)

In India which I consider to be as much the land of Hindus born in it as of Mussalmans, Christians and others born in it, even a Hindu State may not prohibit cow slaughter for purposes considered to be religious by any of its subjects without the consent of the intelligent majority of such subjects so long as such slaughter is conducted in private and without any intention of provoking or giving offence to Hindus But in my opinion the economic side of the cow question, if it is properly handled automatically provides for the delicate religious side Cow slaughter should be and can be made economically impossible whereas unfortunately of all places in the world it is the sacred animal for the Hindus which has become the cheapest for slaughter

The reader will observe that I have nowhere said that there should never be any legislation against cow slaughter But what I have said is, that there should be no prohibition of cow slaughter by legislation *without the consent of the intelligent majority of the subjects adversely affected by it*

But let me reiterate what I have emphasised so often in these columns, namely, that legislative prohibition is the smallest part of any programme of cow protection. The trend of the letters received by me, and the activity of most Cow Protection Societies however, show, that they would be satisfied with mere legal prohibition I wish to warn all such societies against staking their all on legislation. We have already too much of it in this law-ridden country People seem to think that when a law is passed against any evil, it will die without any further effort There never was a grosser self-deception. Legislation is intended and is effective against an ignorant or a small evil-minded minority, but no legislation which is opposed by an intelligent and organized public opinion, or under cover of religion by a fanatical minority, can ever succeed (*Young India*, 7-7-'27)

In his post-prayer speech Gandhiji said that Rajendra Babu had told him that he had received about 50,000 post cards, 30 000 letters and thousands of telegrams asking for prohibition of cow slaughter in the Union of India * A telegram was received today saying that a Pandit had undertaken a fast in Cawnpore on that issue Hindu religion prohibited cow slaughter for the Hindus, not for the world Religious prohibition came from within Any imposition from without meant compulsion Such compulsion was repugnant to religion India was the land not only of the Hindus but also of the Muslims the Sikhs the Parsis the Christians the Jews and all who claimed to be of India and were loyal to the Union. If they could prohibit cow slaughter in India on religious grounds, why could not the Pakistan Government prohibit, say, idol worship in Pakistan on similar grounds? He was not a temple-goer but if he was prohibited from going to a temple in Pakistan he would make it a point to go there even at the risk of losing his head Just as *Shariat* could not be imposed on non-Muslims, Hindu Law could not be imposed on non-Hindus He told the audience that many Hindus were guilty of cow slaughter by slow torture It was the Hindus who exported cows outside India well knowing that they were to be slaughtered for beef extract which came to India and which the children of orthodox Hindus ate without compunction under medical advice Were they not co-partners in cow slaughter? (*Harijan*, 10-8-'47)

* The reader probably knows that a similar mass application is being organized at present by the R. S. S. and signatures are being collected in that behalf in various places — Ed.

COW IN INDIA
Vols I & II
By Satish Chandra Dasgupta
Pages 1964 Price Rs. 16/- for set Postage Rs. 2 6

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The Basic Front

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HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)
Editor: MAGANBHAI P DESAI

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1628

WESTERN CIVILIZATION

(By Gandhiji)

European civilization is no doubt suited for the Europeans but it will mean ruin for India, if we endeavour to copy it. This is not to say that we may not adopt and assimilate whatever may be good and capable of assimilation by us, as it does not also mean that even the Europeans will not have to part with whatever evil might have crept into it The incessant search for material comforts and their multipilication is such an evil, and I make bold to say that the Europeans themselves will have to remodel their outlook, if they are not to perish under the weight of the comforts to which they are becoming slaves It may be that my reading is wrong, but I know that for India to run after the Golden Fleece is to court certain death. (*Young India*, 30-4-'31)

As to the habit of looking to the West for light, I can give little guidance If the whole of my life has not provided any Light used to go out from the East. If the Eastern reservoir has become empty naturally the East will have to borrow from the West I wonder if light, if it is light and not a miasma can ever be exhausted. As a boy I learnt that it grew with the giving Any way I have acted in that belief and have, therefore traded on the ancestral capital. It has never failed me This, however, does not mean that I must act like a frog in the well There is nothing to prevent me from profiting by the light that may come from the West Only I must take care that I am not overpowered by the glamour of the West I must not mistake the glamour for true light (*Harijan*, 13-1-'40)

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FAMILY PLANNING — THE INDIAN WAY

(By Bharatan Kumarappa)

With food shortage in various parts of the globe, and especially in countries like ours, thinking men and women are concerned to find means whereby population will not outstrip food supply. One way that suggests itself is of course to limit population increase through birth control Also it is well known that the poor who constitute the bulk of our population are altogether incapable of feeding or looking after the numerous children they beget, that our infant and maternal mortality is unconscionably high, and ill-nourished mothers are unable to bear the strain of frequent child-birth Primarily for these reasons it is held that population should be restricted. But the question is how?

The method which at once suggests itself, and which is one of the matters to be considered by those meeting in conference on Planned Parenthood from November 24th in Bombay, is that of birth control through contraceptives It is necessary that in making up our minds on this topic certain important issues are not overlooked.

1 Physiologically, the sex secretion is vital to human development. If you tamper with the sex glands you change a person's development. Castrate a male calf, for example, and his physical and mental development is retarded He is and looks not unlike a cow in appearance He is meek and mild with none of the ferociousness that characterizes the properly developed bull. If, on the other hand, you overwork the sex glands also, you impede the development of an individual Thus people given to sex abuse in their youth are often of poor build, neurotic and weak. Masturbation is condemned precisely because it wastes the sex secretion. And yet what will be the result of the use of contraceptives but the reckless waste of this valuable element? Indeed, from this point of view, contraception appears to be worse even than masturbation, for it involves sex abuse on the part of two instead of one When there is no fear of conception couples are apt to indulge themselves freely and become a prey to lust, weak-willed, emasculated and lacking in vigour and energy It is well known that excessive sex indulgence leads even to insanity. Is it right for us

to put in the hands of our p[illegible] and likely to sap thus the very [illegible] physical, mental and moral de[illegible]

2 What it may be asked, is the alt[illegible]

(a) A practical way of preventing too many births is to cut short the child-bearing period of couples by bringing about late marriages. Public opinion should be built up against early marriage, and even legislation may be adopted for the purpose

(b) Our people had various devices for checking indiscriminate sex indulgence Couples were separated from time to time when the girl was sent away to her parents' home for long periods There were rules laid down, whereby the husband was not so much as to touch his wife during certain days Couples whose children were married were not supposed to mate and beget children themselves Widows were not permitted to remarry, although this is something we may not approve of today

(c) With the spread of education and a higher standard of living we may expect that people will be reluctant to marry early or bear children as wife and children mean so much more expense in the way of food clothes education, medical care and such like Everything done to promote education and profitable employment leading to a higher standard of living will therefore act as a preventive to indiscriminate breeding

(d) Above all, in line with our ancient traditions, we need to revive the ideal of self-restraint. Our ancestors had practised great austerities to achieve mastery over the body They did not however merely seek to deny the flesh its cravings Such a procedure would have been negative, leading to frustration and nervous disorders had they not sublimated their sex craving to something which they regarded as supremely worthwhile, whether it was devotion to the Deity realization of Self or attainment of salvation When on the other hand one's life lacks purpose and is dull and empty as is often the rule under modern conditions one seeks an outlet through sex. What is required to draw the mind away from sex is, therefore, it would seem, some positive life-purpose which will keep the mind entirely absorbed Some may find it in social service, some in politics, some in pursuit of truth, some in business or an occupation, some in religion and others in art Our aim then should be through our educational system to provide our people with such positive ends which are capable of absorbing their time and energy This will also enable them to practise self-restraint

These are some methods which might be adopted to control birth without resort to contraceptives

But, it may be argued that sex indulgence even apart from parenthood is necessary for marital love and happiness. As against this [illegible] from my own ex[illegible] I looked upon my wife [illegible] understanding Our love [illegible] a high plane There was affection between us always, but we came closer and closer the more we, or rather I, became restrained All the time I wanted carnal pleasure I could not serve her The moment I bade goodbye to a life of carnal pleasure our whole relationship became spiritual Lust died and 'love reigned instead' (*Harijan*, 25 1 36)

Further, Gandhiji's experience was that self-restraint led to beneficial results So he said, 'I can clearly recall the fact that this indulgence interfered with my work It was the consciousness of this limitation that put me on the track of self-restraint and I have no manner of doubt that the self-restraint is responsible for the comparative freedom from illness that I have enjoyed for long periods and for my output of energy and work both physical and mental which eyewitnesses have described as phenomenal' (*Harijan*, 4-4-'36)

Not only so Indian literature is full of instances of the remarkable powers acquired by the *brahmachari* or one who practises chastity Our seers and thinkers who spent long years reflecting over life and human conduct, had for centuries taught self restraint as the way to attain *moksha* or the *summum bonum* The West in comparison is like an infant in this matter It does not have the advantage of centuries of experience and thought that we have. It is impatient and looks for methods which produce immediate results. Owing to the bane of specialization it seeks to solve each problem separately apart from every other, and fails to see that while, for instance, contraception may control birth, it may have disastrous effects on the virility and character of the nation It behoves us who are heirs to a great spiritual heritage (i) to weigh and consider the effect of such methods on human beings, and (ii) to study the methods evolved by our ancestors to teach self-control.

Let us not in seeking quick remedies set at naught our own best traditions Let us remember that according to us marriage is an *ashrama* or a stage in man's spiritual development a schooling or process of discipline through which he passes on his way to spiritual fruition The element of personal infatuation which underlies marriage in the West, and which in the last analysis is nothing but primitive sex urge, is carefully excluded thus from our conception of marriage, so much so that two persons who have never set eyes on each other are often united in our country and expected to get on together Marriage for us is therefore primarily a social affair a sacrament, where the individual's desires are of little account It is instituted merely for the purpose of progeny and discipline On such a hypothesis, married love or sex indulgence can hardly be an end in itself. Indeed, according to the rule of *ashramas* the

husband is even required after a certain period of life as a householder to renounce his wife and children for further spiritual progress This being so it is obvious that the view that marriage should mean sex indulgence for its own sake, without reference to parenthood — which is the assumption underlying the use of contraceptives — is entirely contrary to our own tradition in the matter With remarkable foresight the founders of our civilization as already pointed out had harnessed to higher ends this powerful urge within us, which left to itself is capable of leading to dissipation and savagery They called self-restraint *brahmacharya* or conduct capable of leading one to *Brahma* or the Infinite

Should we turn away today from this work of centuries and open for our people the flood-gates of sex indulgence through teaching them artificial birth control?

NOTES

'Animal Welfare'

Lovers of animal life — and who should not be one? — will be interested to learn of the following movement for the welfare and protection of animals Those that desire to join it are requested to send their signatures as directed in the notice reproduced below

'A *Provisional Charter of Rights* has been prepared and is set forth hereunder Groups and individuals, whether humanitarian or religious, who approve are invited to append their signatures and to send their observations suggestions or criticisms to (Mr Ernest Swift 12 The Down Trowbridge, Wiltshire, England)

Charter of Rights

1 Wanton use of the Creatures should not involve any form of cruel exploitation.

2 Greater care should be taken in the transport and use of animals in an effort to avoid suffering

3 All blood sports should be condemned as morally degrading and measures taken to secure their prohibition

4 Amusements exhibitions and sports which involve cruelty and suffering to the animals used should be discontinued.

5 The practice of vivisection and the use of animals in the physical laboratories should be abolished as being incompatible with the true application of the Law of Love

6 All who have the welfare of the Creatures at heart should encourage the adoption of a humane diet and dress and in this way help to reduce the colossal slaughter and incidental suffering of the innocents

7 The support of all Christians and other religious Communities should be obtained in a world-wide effort to remove a stain on our civilization.

Signatures

We the undersigned unitedly declare that man has a definite responsibility for the Welfare and Protection from cruelty of the sub-human kingdom. To fulfil this responsibility it is essential that the terms of this Charter be observed everywhere"

11-11-'52 M P

A Timely Publication *

Demographers in the name of science as they know it cry hoarse that we are too many and hence must [illegible] lies through the us[illegible] Conference is being held in [illegible] to propagate this [illegible] from papers that there [illegible] Planning Commission blessing [illegible] highly controversial [illegible] in India is well known And well might the Planning Commission save its precious time for worthier and more agreed purposes like Prohibition Basic Education etc. and not involve itself in such controversies Gandhiji strongly fought against this danger of 'moral bankruptcy' and there are innumerable other people who sense in it danger and disease for the human family The point of difference was well put by Gandhiji through the title of his book on the subject viz *Self-restraint vs Self indulgence* † Should we restrain ourselves or should we slip down to irresponsible sex-indulgence made easy and possible through mechanical or chemical devices controlling birth? This is essentially a human and spiritual question and not merely mechanical or material as is made out by the scientific school Do we succumb to our animal weakness and glorify it in the name of science? Or do we as human beings try to assert ourselves howsoever little it may be, against it and strive in strength? — This is a spiritual problem too its consideration, therefore, must be not merely demographic but must essentially be from the point of view of the whole man — from all sides of his manifold nature — social moral, and spiritual It is not only a question '*how many* we are', but also '*what* we are and wish to be' The book though named *Too Many of Us*? considers all these aspects of the question in a convincing manner, and is hence a timely publication and may be studied with profit by all interested in the subject

19 11-'52 M P

Massacre of the Innocents

On the one hand the distinguished Chief Minister of Madras State has appealed to the people to buy handloom cloth On the other hand during the first six months of 1952 our Minister of Commerce in Delhi ordered out from Britain about two crores and thirty-eight lakhs of rupees worth of cotton yarns and manufactures including over twenty-eight lakhs square yards of woven mill goods We appeal to Rajaji to persuade the Union Officials in New Delhi to desist from such massacre of the innocent Indian weavers

The sterling balances being already down to an alarmingly low level, must we continue to indulge in the orgy of buying Swiss tapestry, English art silk dressing gowns costing Rs 55 each, English wool overcoating and hosiery, English white twill bush shirts English hide suit cases at Rs 135 each, moss crepe made in France and what not?

V. G D

* *Too Many of Us* † by Albert Navell, Indian Institute of Social Orders Poona, 1952 p 188 Rs 3/-.

† Price Rs 2, postage etc as 13 Navajivan Karyalaya, Ahmedabad 3

HARIJAN

Nov. 22 1952

THE BASIC FRONT

(By Maganbhai P Desai)

Shri Rajaji has repeated his demand for the reservation of the manufacture of bordered *dhotis* and coloured *saris* solely to handloom and for the supply to weavers of cheap yarn spun from Indian cotton, now with the added sanction of the unanimous vote of the Madras Legislative Assembly A resolution on the matter was moved on behalf of his Government and it is noteworthy that the whole House voted in its favour It surely demonstrates the strength of public opinion about the need of such a step in the planning of our composite textile industry consisting of the Charkha, the handloom and the mill

Since Rajaji first expressed this demand, there has been going on a keen controversy in the Press and on the platform about it The mill industry immediately came out to oppose it for obvious reasons of self-interest Queerly enough, the Union Minister of Industries also did not quite favour it However, coming as it was from a man of Shri Rajaji's status and eminence, the demand had to be heeded to; and it seems the Union Government would move somewhat and in some manner It has reacted to the proposal by an announcement to appoint a Handloom Board, a high-powered Textile Inquiry Committee, and to create a Handloom Fund From the point of view of the precise demand made by Shri Rajaji this is neither here nor there As I had said before there is no need for wasting time and money by having a Committee in this regard, except that the Union Government, for some reason or another, is not quite prepared to do a very obvious thing of giving much needed protection to one of our greatest cottage industries.

The nature of the opposition to the demand might be imagined from a cryptic remark Shri Rajaji made when replying to the debate in the Assembly He said that,

> "he was happy that all sections of the House, whatever the reasons supported the resolution. That, he considered, was a great gain for those who had to struggle in this matter He would confess to the House that it was necessary for him to secure the support of the House as the battle had been very difficult The Government of India though they understood and appreciated the position, seemed to find 'some difficulty in making the change and accepting the principle of protection in this regard The difficulty was one of taking the step Such difficulty was natural In the old [illegible] industry of India had to struggle [illegible] industry there was protection. That [illegible] given by the British Government [illegible] all the time They should [illegible] a [illegible] matter" (*The Hindu* [illegible])

To put it in other words the difficulty is simple and clear It is to make the beginning, in howsoever small a measure, in the revolutionary task of turning the course of economic and industrial history of the last few centuries in India It is a big question before the Union Government, viz how it will fulfil the great historical role it is called upon to play as the first Swaraj Government in our country I may explain myself

Whatever might have happened elsewhere or even in our own country, during the last two or three centuries of the modern industrial age, India still has the following two as her basic industries on which depends the largest number of her population 1 Agriculture, 2 Textiles The foreign rulers of our land adversely affected both of them, obviously in a manner that was mainly in their own interest And their interest was as history abundantly shows revenue from the *ryot* and the ruination of our world famous textile industry so that the British textile industry might be built up on its ashes For the furtherance of this twofold object, railways were constructed in utter disregard of our irrigational needs and a system of land tenure was instituted which progressively resulted into neglect of the tiller of the soil, making of him the proverbial hewer of wood and drawer of water for the imperial master and his Indian accomplices. The textile trade was treated with a more direct and drastic policy It was actually throttled to extinction by a studied policy of tariff and protection in the interest of the British textile trade The result was our proverbial unemployment and forced idleness A country which for ages exported its textiles over the whole world came to importing crores worth of them from outside And we now witness an equally distressing phenomenon that we yearly import crores worth of food grains from outside The cycle of ruination of our chief basic industries is almost complete, and we are now required to change and break through this vicious circle left to us as a legacy The problem that Rajaji has raised by his demand must be viewed in this background And he has actually pointed it out in clear words As *The Hindu* of 6 11-'52 reports,

> ' Pointing out that the East India Company in the olden days and the British Government in the eighteenth century and in the early decades of the nineteenth century carried out a policy by which India became subservient to the industry of Great

Britain, Mr Rajagopalachari [illegible] policy was now sought [illegible] mill in India and their [illegible] handloom weavers to p[illegible] million of skilled [illegible] tender mercies of the mills the Chief Minister added

Shri Rajaji s remark applies to lakhs of spinners also who are also struggling today for their very bread and against the unequal competition from the mill industry Unhappily enough, the last centuries of imperialist trade and commerce almost killed out the hand-spinner, leaving his counterpart only viz the handloom weaver The latter could survive the blow only because he tacitly agreed to submit to a minor role of living on the mercy of mills for his basic need of yarn which ceased to come to him from his brother spinner The mills know well the vantage ground they occupy in their unfair struggle against the handloom The advantage they have may not be envied if it does not go against the general good The resolution of the Madras Legislative Assembly says that textile mills need to be controlled in a manner consistent with the requirements of the handloom and I may also add, those of the Charkha as well We might say, we are living today under a Control Raj that the British rulers had established specially for their Second World War needs The time is now ripe for a fundamental change in that set-up Both on the food front as also in regard to the cloth question, we are keenly thinking of revising our policies The Planning Commission is also possessed of these questions Shri Rajaji deserves the sincere congratulations of the dumb millions of our country in bringing to the forefront the fundamental nature of the basic front before us viz to provide food and raiment to every citizen by assuring him honourable work giving him security and economic freedom as a necessary basis for his so-called political freedom I propose to discuss this question further later on

10-11-'52

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BIRTH CONTROL

(By Gandhiji)

There can be no two opinions about the necessity of birth control But the only method handed down from ages past is self control or *brahmacharya* It is an infallible sovereign remedy doing good to those who practise it And medical men will earn the gratitude of mankind, if instead of devising artificial means of birth control they will find out the means of self-control The union is meant not for pleasure but for bringing forth progeny And union is a crime when the desire for progeny is absent

Artificial methods are like putting a premium upon vice They make man and woman reckless And respectability that is being given to the methods must hasten the dissolution of the restraints that public opinion puts upon one Adoption of artificial methods must result in imbecility and nervous prostration The remedy will be found to be worse than the disease It is wrong and immoral to seek to escape the consequences of one's acts. It is good for a person who overeats to have an ache and a fast It is bad for him to indulge his appetite and then escape the consequences by taking tonics or other medicine It is still worse for a person to indulge his animal passions and escape the consequences of his acts Nature is relentless and will have full revenge for any such violation of her laws Moral results can only be produced by moral restraints All other restraints defeat the very purpose for which they are intended The reasoning underlying the use of artificial methods is that indulgence is a necessity of life Nothing can be more fallacious Let those who are eager to see the births regulated explore the lawful means devised by the ancients and try to find out how they can be revived An enormous amount of spade-work lies in front of them Early marriages are a fruitful source of adding to the population The present mode of life has also a great deal to do with the evil of unchecked procreation If those causes are investigated and dealt with society will be morally elevated If they are ignored by impatient zealots and if artificial methods become the order of the day, nothing but moral degradation can be the result A society that has already become enervated through a variety of causes will become still further enervated by the adoption of artificial methods. Those men therefore who are light-heartedly advocating artificial methods cannot do better than study the subject afresh stay their injurious activity and popularize *brahmacharya* both for the married and the unmarried That is the only noble and straight method of birth control (*Young India*, 12-3-'25)

If it is contended that birth control is necessary for the nation because of over-population, I dispute the proposition It has never been proved. In my opinion, by a proper land-system, better agriculture and a supplementary industry this country is capable of supporting twice as

many people [illegible] be today (*Young India* 2-4-'25)

If contraceptives are resorted to, frightful results will follow [illegible] and women will be living for sex alone [illegible] become soft brained, unhinged in fact [illegible] and moral wrecks

If you eliminate birth control there would be other [illegible] you agree to eliminate contraception [illegible] as harmful you are bound to find others

(Mrs Margaret Sanger Report in *Asia*, November 1952 of a discussion with Gandhiji)

THE REGIONAL LANGUAGE OF U. P

(*By Giriraj Kishore*)

Babu Purushottamdas Tandon inaugurating the Durgami Mandal Hindi Sabha in Allahabad on 11 October 3 1952 is reported to have said that he denounced the anti-national move to harm the cause of Hindi through a campaign to make Urdu a regional language of U P He added that he was not an opponent of Urdu and wished that people should read Urdu and Persian And he made an impassioned plea to create Hindi consciousness among people so that none could dare to disrupt the Indian culture or ignore the national language Hindi

The decision of the U P Government in not recognizing Urdu along with Hindi as a language of the province, was to say the least quite undemocratic and against the spirit of the Constitution It is childish to deny the fact that lakhs of people in U P, irrespective of religious beliefs, know no other language than Urdu The decision of the U P Government puts many people to great inconvenience and it is quite fair and reasonable if such people mobilize themselves and put their grievance before the Government The saner elements in U P and elsewhere should use their good offices to get this just demand accepted It must also be noted that the President of the Union is empowered under Article 347 of the Constitution to direct the U P Government to recognize Urdu as a State language The Article runs "On a demand being made in that behalf, the President may [illegible] satisfied that a substantial proportion of the population of a State desire the use of any language spoken by them to be recognized by that State, direct that such language shall also be officially recognized throughout that State or any part thereof for such purpose as he may specify" When such is the constitutional position how can the move of the people to get Urdu recognized as a language of the province be called anti-national ?

When Gujarati, Marathi Hindi Bengali and other regional languages can do no harm to the cause of the National language, it is beyond comprehension how Urdu which is *de facto* a language of U P and a style of Hindi in another script can harm it If it is recognized *de jure* too ?

There [illegible] Urdu feeling which [illegible] thought that is responsible [illegible]

There [illegible] Hindi was in the process of [illegible] of Indian culture, but for reasons [illegible] it is not possible to go in here its [illegible] all inclusive growth was checked [illegible] in the hands of the 'Purists' [illegible] itself of its rich heritage to be [illegible] Sanskritized language Urdu [illegible] similar mistake in favour of a [illegible] style Mahatma Gandhi made very [illegible] its to lift up both and make of them [illegible] of the common man which both [illegible] But the protagonists of the Pu[illegible] home province came in the way [illegible] we have two *pradesh* languages in U P [illegible] present — the Hindi and the Urdu Consequently the Hindi as it is today in its home p[illegible] and as separate from Urdu rendered itself a regional language and hence it is not capable of delivering the goods on an all-India basis And hence in Article 351 of the Constitution the line of growth of all India Hindi has been clearly chalked out as follows

> It shall be the duty of the Union to promote the spread of Hindi language develop it so that it may serve as a medium of expression for all the elements of the composite culture of India and to secure its enrichment by assimilating without interfering with its genius the forms style and expressions used in Hindustani and other languages of India specified in the eighth schedule and by drawing wherever necessary or desirable for its vocabulary primarily on Sanskrit and secondarily on other languages'

As long as the people of the Hindi-speaking provinces consider the spread of Hindi in the country as their closed preserve the people of non-Hindi provinces will smell some sort of language imperialism But if they are left to themselves they will surely make their best efforts — as some are making even now — to teach Hindi to their people and to make their contribution in the growth of the language in the light of the directive in Article 351 The problem therefore is for all in U P to acknowledge Hindi and Urdu both as regional languages of U P, evolve a happy common simple amalgam of the two styles and allow all-India Hindi to develop itself freely and fully to become in a true sense the medium of the composite culture of India"

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WHAT NEEDS CONTROLS AND HOW

(By J C Kumarappa)

(A Memorandum submitted to the Planning Commission by J C Kumarappa)

Rationing and controls have played havoc and have helped to create black markets Money crops enable the middleman to export raw materials

The Two Types of Controls

Control of Consumption

Our Government has been blindly following the methods adopted by countries like Great Britain and that indiferently They export manufactures and import food materials There all food coming into the country is known and that, when it is divided by the population, gives the ration per head They place their control at the consumption stage regulating distribution which is suited to their economy Thus rationing and control of prices can serve to alleviate the situation in Great Britain.

Control of Production

Ours is an agricultural country that should produce a good deal of the food we need At best the stock available is but an estimate In the absence of an intensive production drive the mere rationing of existing stocks, with an illiterate population places an undue strain on the distributing mechanism and encourages black marketing. Our approach should be from the other end. Consumption control will not help us. We have to control production by a proper crop planning We have to afford facilities for increasing such production as the country needs. This indicates licensing and regulating production rather than rationing and doling out existing stock of goods. This sphere the Government has not explored to meet the present situation nor are they even conscious of it. While the character of the problem in Great Britain admits of placing it under the administrative machinery for its solution, the situation in our country on the other hand calls for technical experts from the Agricultural Department.

Scarcity in consumer goods has called for regulations of some kind to ensure certain measure of social justice Rationing is still with us Black marketing and profiteering seem to be flourishing and the Government is busy with controls To an onlooker there seems to be something wrong in the State of Denmark' What that is many people are not able to tell

Function of Price Control

The mechanism of price has its main spring in the law of supply and demand Therefore any control of commodities and their prices must take the form of regulating the supply and the demand Rationing attempts to regulate the demand but there is a complete absence of any attempt to regulate the supply by crop planning and controlling foreign trade

The present method adopted by the Government to control prices, is like setting the clock going by constantly turning the minute hand. What we want is to set the mechanism in proper order then the clock ought to move on its own This artificial regulation of prices has been largely responsible for black marketing The prices have to be regulated automatically not by a fiat of the Government The Government has been playing King Canute trying to stop the rising tide of black markets and profiteering, but the method adopted has been a total failure. In fact great many of the dealers in commodities desire to have the present types of controls on a permanent basis, because it provides the opportunity for black marketing Corruption in high places has also been interested in perpetuating controls It is high time that these matters are set right.

Control of Prices

If we wish to avoid black marketing and control the supply and demand in the natural way rationing will take care of the demand but the supply side has to be regulated in the natural way not by merely setting up the prices artificially but by controlling the supply Government can [illegible] this by [illegible] sought to [illegible] and [illegible] fixed at [illegible] price [illegible] in the [illegible] ing to [illegible] price Of [illegible] ment [illegible] market [illegible] the [illegible] high [illegible] The [illegible] as [illegible] and by [illegible] ing to see that [illegible] advance the price of [illegible] The moment [illegible] tend to go up the Government godown [illegible] and the stock dumped in the market to [illegible] prices The Government holdings need [illegible] 10 to 15 per cent [illegible] stock required [illegible] tively affect the market

This is not a novel measure It has [illegible] successfully in the [illegible] of the Bihar Committee under private agencies with [illegible] law or other Government powers — but [illegible] purely on persuasion Again in finance [illegible] used by the central banks to regulate interest [illegible] are but market prices for money For reason the Government has not follow [illegible] path but have taken to the King Canute [illegible] prices arbitrarily and by so doing driving the [illegible] underground It is not too late even now [illegible] ments to change over and gradually decontrol [illegible] dities as the market assumes normal condition [illegible] steps should be taken to relieve the distress the [illegible] suffering from because of the present method of [illegible]

In Industries

As regards industries controls are being used [illegible] minatively and their very purpose is being frustrated

Where return on capital and profits in the old [illegible] a business — as in centralized industries — prevent [illegible] checks accumulation of wealth and profiteering On the other hand, in decentralized industries where the return the artisan gets is a wage such price control will act as an obstacle on distribution of wealth. The latter is harmful in a poor country like ours

Where certain articles are produced both by the centralized methods and by the decentralized as in the case of cloth or oil price controls may be applied to mill products but not in handmade goods If we follow the fundamental principles of public finance and abstain from restricting the much desired distribution of wealth

Many Provincial Governments are killing village industries by their indiscriminate use of price controls. Practically they have brought the *ghani* oil pressing to the brink of ruin by their control of prices of oil seeds, *ghani* oil-cakes and oils

'Witch Doctoring'

The following report which appeared in *Glasgow Record* has been reproduced in *The Vaccination Inquirer* of July August 1952 (p 68) :

'At a meeting held in Edinburgh Dr Lipetz said, "In medical circles there is not complete unanimity about B C G *Under present regulations it is only close contacts in T B cases who are vaccinated*

In Scotland, where T B is said to be a scourge it would be advisable for B C G to be available in the same way as vaccine for diphtheria."

Professor J W Cotton, of the chair of T B at Edinburgh University, replied that at the moment the Medical Research Council were investigating the potentialities of B C G and their answer was expected in about two years. He advised waiting until the findings of the Council were published.

'We *should not go into the witch doctoring phase* until *we have definitely proved the usefulness of B C G.*, he maintained (Italics mine)

Can undafed, underclothed, underhoused India afford to rush in where Britain fears to tread ?

V. G. D.

A MEANINGLESS RESOLUTION

(By Vinoba)

I came across a curious news-item in yesterday's daily paper.* It says that the Peasants' and Workers' Party (a political party in Maharashtra) has expressed opposition to the Bhoodan Yajna Movement and has asked the people to beware of it. What is one to make of this resolution?

Does it mean that those who are donating land should stop doing so? People have till now been occupied with the acquisition of wealth, regardless of the means for it. If, instead of this the mentality of the people is directed towards the equal distribution of wealth, how would it harm any one? One may well say that the giver should not feel vain over his gift. I agree and say so.

Does it mean that the landless should refuse the gift when it is offered to them? How will this benefit the landless? One may well say that they should not receive them in the spirit of servility. I have been saying from the beginning of my campaign that we are not conferring any favour on the landless, we are merely restoring to them what is theirs by right.

Does it mean that when land-owners holding 100 or 200 acres offer only a petty acre or two the offer should be refused? If this is what is suggested, I am in agreement with the suggestion and, I have been acting accordingly. Lately I have started asking for the one-sixth share. If a man who owns ten thousand acres has offered only a hundred, I have openly declined to accept the gift, and there are several examples of this. Moreover the demand for the one-sixth share is made of men of moderate means only. I have stated that in case of the rich the one-sixth share will only be a first instalment to be followed by more.

Does it mean that this movement would hinder or in any way interfere with the passage of a more radical land reform legislation by the Government? But those who are interested in the passing of legislation are free to proceed with their efforts in that direction. I do not stand in their way. On the other hand, the awakening which the movement is creating on every side is bound to give a fillip to the question of legislation on this subject.

Is it feared that the movement may take off the edge from the resistance against the iniquities of the existing order? I feel on the contrary it will sharpen it. I have been asked why I ask for land even from the poor. I have adduced several reasons for it, one of which is that I want to raise an army of adherents of my idea. Those who are participating in this sacrifice by voluntary acceptance of poverty are, so to say, registering themselves as the soldiers of this non-violent army. Where the Zamindars are evicting tenants from the lands which the latter have been cultivating over years, I have asked them to offer non-violent resistance. This has produced good results in Uttar Pradesh. It has heartened the tenants and the Government has also instructed its officers to give just protection to them. I have only recently come to Bihar. Here too, I am doing the same thing and hope that the result will be as good as elsewhere.

To conclude, the said resolution of the Peasants' and Workers' Party is to all intents and purposes meaningless. I know there are some very sincere workers in that party. I should like to request them that if they have the uplift of the landless at their heart they should shake off all misgivings and co-operate with me for the success of the Bhoodan Yajna. Even after that if they still have some of their doubts left with them, I invite them to discuss their doubts with me. Either they will have their doubts removed, or they will convince me of what they think right. I am a friend to them and am ever ready to explain as also to understand any view-point.

Tikari (Bihar), 31-10-'52

(From Hindi)

* Vide — *Times of India*, 20-10-'52.

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THE ZAMINDARS

(By Gandhiji)

I do not want to destroy the zamindar, but neither do I feel that the zamindar is inevitable I expect to convert the zamindars and other capitalists by the non violent method, and therefore there is for me nothing like an inevitability of class conflict For it is an essential part of non-violence to go along the line of least resistance The moment the cultivators of the soil realise their power the zamindari evil will be sterilized. What can the poor zamindar do when they say that they will simply not work the land unless they are paid enough to feed and clothe and educate themselves and their children in a decent manner? In reality the toiler is the owner of what he produces If the toilers intelligently combine, they will become an irresistible power That is how I do not see the necessity of class conflict. If I thought it inevitable, I should not hesitate to preach it and teach it (*Harijan*, 5-12-'36)

A model zamindar would at once reduce much of the burden the ryot is now bearing He would come in intimate touch with the ryot and know their wants and inject hope into them in the place of despair which is killing the very life out of them He will not be satisfied with the ryot's ignorance of the laws of sanitation and hygiene He will reduce himself to poverty in order that the ryot may have the necessaries of life He will study the economic condition of the ryots under his care, establish schools in which he will educate his own children side by side with those of the ryots He will purify the village well and the village tank He will teach the ryot to sweep his roads and clean his latrines by himself doing this necessary labour He will throw open without reserve his own gardens for the unrestricted use of the ryot He will use as hospital, school or the like most of the unnecessary buildings which he keeps for his pleasure If only the capitalist class will read the signs of the times revise their notions of God given right to all they possess, in an incredibly short space of time the seven hundred thousand dung heaps which today pass muster as villages can be turned into abodes of peace, health and comfort I am convinced that the capitalist, if he follows the Samurai of Japan, has nothing really to lose and everything to gain There is no other choice than between voluntary surrender on the part of the capitalist of superfluities and consequent acquisition of the real happiness of all on the one hand and on the other, the impending chaos into which if the capitalist does not wake up betimes awakened but ignorant famishing millions will plunge the country and which not even the armed force that a powerful Government can bring into play can avert (*Young India* 5-12-'29)

CONSTRUCTIVE WORKERS' WORRY

(By Maganbhai P Desai)

A valued friend and co-worker from Maharashtra sent me for publication a note, entitled "Decontrol and Congress Workers" It was when the Union Food Minister Shri Kidwai was discussing, or say thinking aloud, with various State ministries and public workers about decontrol in some commonly agreed manner That state is now passed, thanks to the victory of the planning experts at the Centre over Shri Kidwai's proposal for change in the Union's food policy However it does not bring the matter at rest, as there seems to be no convincing or clear objective of the policy as it obtains at present and under such circumstances it is a doubtful if not a dangerous proposition to be guided by experts who are proverbially one-sided Workers are therefore naturally worried over this state of affairs and hence the questions raised by the note mentioned above still remain with us. I replied to this note by a personal letter, to which the friend has replied by now Relevant parts of the note and my reply to it are given below

I

Decontrol and Congress Workers

The Union Food Minister while in Poona last week very lucidly and emphatically explained his Decontrol Policy' to a Representative Group of responsible workers.

The Food Minister is strongly convinced of the inevitability of the reorientation of the control policy leading to gradual decontrol.

Most of the eminent economists including the members of the Advisory Council of the Planning Commission are it seems, against decontrol particularly of food grains The workers mind is naturally divided Propaganda, main motive of which is political is also going on in the country That prejudices clear thinking and right judgment.

It is a fact that controls form the basis of planned economy. But is it not a fact that planned economy

[illegible] effective [illegible] executive machinery [illegible] essential things for his functioning [illegible] India today bethinkers things have been [illegible]

[illegible] controls as we have seen them during the past [illegible] have not only taxed the State coffer very [illegible] but have also immensely damaged our morals [illegible] and in his own way perceived these dangers very [illegible] had also warned against them The Government [illegible] lifted the controls, but the experiment was a [illegible]

[illegible] the objective conditions have changed and we have [illegible] also seen that the controls are not being operated effectively and in a healthy manner They have also failed in supplying proper incentive to production. Here also the advice of the economists not to increase prices of food grains has not proved useful.

[illegible] the present state of affairs under control is also most unsatisfactory and the gradual decentral policy has [illegible] of success This may relieve the country from [illegible] huge economic burden and also a perpetual source of moral degradation. It is this factor which the worker must take into consideration before finally ceasing [illegible] functions" (Poona, 29-10-52)

My reply (dated 5 11-52) to the note given above is reproduced below

II

Our True Objective

"I quite agree with you that the question of food-control is very vital and demands one closest consideration [illegible] Education You will agree with me that this question [illegible] difficult, specially because experts are keenly divided on this matter and statistics if there are any [illegible] are confusing if not misleading or wrong [illegible] the Trade interests and the interests of bureaucracy [illegible] factor demanding their own consideration. The matter at present is whether a policy of decentral[illegible] or whatever it is, that is being thought of by Shri Kidwai is helpful today or whether the economists who advised the Planning Commission are right in their fears regarding Shri Kidwai's proposals I for my all and speaking personally am worried about how it will affect poor farmers landless labourers and tenants who have to depend on local supply of corn As you probably know when summer sets in very many of these are hard-pressed for supply as they cannot have work and therefore no purchasing power These were assured of some supply by Government through their control policy Again a very peculiar feature of our rural economy has been that in the time harvest is over the poor peasants have to sell away their corn to local traders in order to pay the rent and debt charges etc. The prices offered are very low indeed A few months after they have to buy back their own cereals at a considerably high price This has been a feature of our rural peasant economy for generations on till now Obviously this is not in the interest of the peasant but it is in the interest of trade and commerce. The question before me was and really is to find out how to remedy this state of affairs in a permanent way and to [illegible] the rest of the poor consumer Can control what ever its nature help us? Can we find out a way so to control and direct as to bring about a better state of affairs in this sector of our rural economy? The study of controls as obtaining at present from this point of view is, I think very necessary before we can formulate our own mind on this question

I quite agree with you that a policy of control is more criticized for the defects and incapacity in implementing it rather than for some specific drawback of its own. It is a common feature of our social behaviour at present that the moment there is regulation or control in some manner it reacts in the growth of black market hoarding and cursing bribery etc This is almost uncontrollable by Government measures Therefore, it is better for Government to restrict in their own interest the nature of control and not aim too high From that point of view it seems that the careful and cautious line for some decentral may be advisable at this stage It is bound to be well received by our people But ultimately it is true that some kind of overall control in the interest of the poor can be there in the hands of the popular Government unless trade interests can take that responsibility of supplying food in an honest manner Can Government take that responsibility constituted as it is today? Can we rely on trade interests doing their job well? These are the questions on the answers to which ultimately will depend the fate of our food policy what ever it is"

20-11-52

BACKWARD CLASS DEPARTMENT OF BOMBAY STATE

(By P L Mazumdar)

The Annual report of the working of the Backward Class Department State of Bombay, for the years 1947-'48, 1948-'49 and 1949-'50 is out

The Department deals with the welfare of all the three shades of Backward Classes viz, the Scheduled Castes (Harijan), the Scheduled Tribes (*Adivasis*), and others The period under report covers the time when a large area of about 37 000 square miles was added to the old Bombay Province adding a total population of about 83 lakhs of people of whom about 21 lakhs are Backward Classes. As the Criminal Tribes Act was repealed in 1949 the persons coming under that Act were also added to the list of Backward Classes Thus the total population of B C people in Bombay State now comes to 75 lakhs out of the total of 292 lakhs according to 1941 census.

This Department is now headed by the Director of Backward Class Welfare and he works with the help of 5 divisional Assistants and 17 district Backward Class Welfare officers Their duty is to look after the interests of Backward Classes in all direction These officers are also expected to inspect all aided B C hostels in the State which are 167 in number and are run by voluntary agencies working in the State, and which receive State aid

The report describes the progress made by B C boys and girls in the field of primary, secondary, and teachers' training college education

Another important field of work in which the Department is supposed to take interest is improving the economic condition of B C. classes This is to be done chiefly by securing agricultural lands for these people The question of securing housing sites for B C s in villages by forming co-operatives or otherwise also receives the attention of the Department. The special problem for Harijans, i e Scheduled Castes people among B C s, is the removal of untouchability and the Department is expected to make propaganda and secure civic rights for Harijans For the Scheduled Tribes i e the *Adivasis*, the problem is to remove them from the clutches of jungle contractors and others who exploit them economically

and so [illegible] voluntary agencies [illegible] among them to start co-operative societies for cutting jungle wood and making charcoal etc The report narrates the progress made in this direction

It would be better for the Department if it tries to give figures about actual achievement in the various types of work that is being done As the financing of various schemes through which Backward Classes are helped is being done through different Departments it is difficult to see actual figures of total financial help rendered to Backward Classes It is good to see from the Report that on the whole the Department is doing useful work in safeguarding the interests of Backward Classes in the State, which is its statutory duty

14 8 '52

REORIENTATION OF THE A.I S A WORK

(By A V Sahasrabuddhe)

The activities of A I S A till now were confined to the production and sale of Khadi along with the propagation of scientific and self-sufficiency aspects of Khadi But lately a crisis has developed in Khadi centres locking up invested capital in the accumulated stocks of Khadi. In some places payment of the wages to the spinners is suspended for the last six months and at others the production of Khadi has to be curtailed The accumulated stock is estimated at Rs 60 lakhs In some centres acute famine conditions prevail and yet Khadi work had to be stopped In some places nobody offers to buy yarn even for 1½ annas per hank which was previously sold for 3½ annas to 4 annas In Bihar about 80 000 spinners have become unemployed now and the Bihar Khadi Samiti had to retrench about 250 workers

Faced with this crisis we are now called upon to go to the root of the problem and reorient our basic policy

The question now before us is how to dispose of the stock and provide work to the artisans On previous occasions of similar crises we resorted to hawking from door to door and issuing *hundis* These may be resorted to even at present But we must go deeper up to the root cause of this recurring crisis in Khadi work and find out a permanent and radical remedy This is possible only when the villagers work towards the achievement of village self-sufficiency It requires educating our village folk We have therefore, now to apply ourselves to that work The workers till now did serve the village people by buying yarn from the spinners and getting it woven into Khadi But it was only a small bit of relief This way the spinners could not organize themselves and stand on their own feet with self-confidence We see today the helpless condition of weavers also Thousands as they are though they are deprived of the meagre daily earning they used to get they do not raise a voice of protest On the other hand we know how the industrial workers react when there is even a small cut in their wages

The [illegible] has now launched the Khadi Movement in the villages from the 16th September last to make them understand the present situation and their duty to use the local village products for the welfare of the village This will help them organize the boycott of mill-cloth and city-made articles The workers of the Charkha Sangh should now apply themselves in the propagation of the idea of village self-sufficiency in villages

The All India Khadi Board if it desires to function successfully should undertake the following responsibilities

1 The Government should buy all the surplus yarn of the spinner after meeting his or her cloth requirements under normal conditions. But in times of extreme famine conditions the Government shall undertake to buy the entire yarn of the spinner, so long as it cannot give any other alternative employment to these spinners

2 The Government should be prepared, for this purpose to enforce some effective method of control over the textile mills

3 The Government should persuade their officers to take to Khadi dress as the national dress It should make arrangements to purchase Khadi alone for all its departmental requirements

4 Keeping in view the fundamental principle behind Khadi the Government should give protection to all cottage industries along with Khadi It should also make it a rule to buy cottage industry products only in all its purchases for stores

However Government efforts alone will not be enough to attain the idea of self-sufficiency Government cannot solve the widespread unemployment prevailing in the country, without the active co-operation of the people We should therefore educate the masses to that end If the people realize their duty to themselves and put forth organized efforts their collective organized strength will compel the Government to implement this programme If for any reason it is not willing to do so But if the Government accepts it their organized efforts will give strength to the Government to achieve the ideal

Till now we have been selling in towns all the Khadi produced in the villages In future also we may continue to sell a portion of it in towns But if the production of Khadi is to be increased on a wide scale throughout the country it should be done only with the object of village self sufficiency Thus only will the Khadi Movement pave the way for *Gramarajya*

Naturally Bhoodan Yajna will also come in our programme of work For full employment to all the villagers, equitable distribution of land is also necessary Both these programmes will enable the villagers to progress towards complete self-sufficiency

Sevagram

(Abridged)

HARIJAN

Nov. 29 1952

ALL WEALTH BELONGS TO GOD

(By Vinoba)

It was on the 28th day of April 1951 that the idea of launching the Bhoodan Movement flashed into my mind And it may now be safely said that it has drawn the attention of the people all over the country and won their approval From *Bhoomidan* to *Sampattidan* (i e from land-gift to gift of wealth) was a natural step and the idea that along with Bhoodan, I should also ask for *Sampattidan* did occur to me and held my mind But the land problem was a basic one and I saw that unless something was done to meet it, it might develop into a big danger detrimental to the security of the nation I therefore, thought it fit first to concentrate my energy only on that question Besides in case of land all could easily see that it was the direct gift of God Again it is the basic factor in the production of wealth This was another reason why, in the beginning, I preferred to limit myself to the land-problem alone Moreover to proceed step by step was also in keeping with the technique of Ahimsa

But as the work of Bhoodan progressed, it became increasingly clear that the idea behind the movement could not be fulfilled unless we went further and asked for a portion of wealth and property And hence, I made up my mind that I must also ask for a share of wealth and property from the people I have now done it and placed my demand at one-sixth of it, but it is upto the people to decide what they can and will give me The idea behind the demand is that all wealth, even though we may acquire it with our individual effort and skill is not for us alone, but has been granted to us by God for all of us The energy and initiative which went into the making of this wealth are themselves a gift of God

I have said on and again in the course of my walking tours that I do not want money Now however I am asking for a portion of wealth How are the two to be reconciled then? The answer is that I am not going to take charge of it nor will I shoulder the responsibility of managing and spending it and keeping the accounts I will remain free as always I also do not envisage creating trusts as is often done in the case of funds collected for public good There is another vital difference between these funds which are raised from time to time for various purposes and this *Sampattidan Yajna* it is this that a portion of the income will have to be donated to this *yajna* recurringly year after year I have therefore decided that the money will remain with the donor himself but he will use it as we want him to do and annually render us the account It means that the donor will not only donate a portion of his property but also give us the benefit of his skill and intelligence in the use of it It is true I want the donor to spend the money as we desire him to do but he may also put forward his suggestions in this regard

Obviously, I am putting the entire responsibility on the donor himself and am proceeding on trust in his integrity The critics may find fault with this procedure But then righteousness cannot stand on anything other than trust No legal safeguards can give us the protection which trust can It is from this point of view that I have laid down this procedure

Those who desire to take part in this movement should do so joyfully, after fully satisfying themselves and after consulting other members of their family I believe that if men of faith and goodwill come forward and help the movement grow then this idea which opens out a new way of life will spread in our country and pave the way for *Samya Yoga* — social equality And in that belief I put it forward for consideration by the good and the virtuous

(From Hindi)

THE IDEAL OF NON-POSSESSING SOCIETY *

(By Vinoba)

The work I am doing is based on the perception of a certain philosophy of life No idea would endure for long unless it probed deep into the root of the matter And so I have been continuously meditating in quest of the root of the change that we want to bring about in society, and having got at it I go about my work with a firm step No problem frightens me for I believe that there is no human problem but can be solved by human intelligence

Non-possession *vs* Divestment

The ideology which seems to be in ascendent at the moment and which stands pitted against my teaching may be called *Apaharana* — divestment. Advocates of this ideology believe that ultimately the individual is for the society and therefore there is nothing wrong in divesting him of his property rather whatever goes against this idea of divestment is wrong Today good many countries of the world have been drawn to this doctrine As against this I put forth the ideology of *Aparigraha* — non possession

Theft and Property

It is generally held (quite wrongly of course) that non possession is only for *sannyasis* — saints like Gandhi and Vinoba the common mass of people cannot do without possession That is why though we respect the *sannyasis* we do not follow them though we accept *sannyasa* as the ultimate ideal of life in our mundane world possession continues to hold the field When a truth is thus truncated and accepted only in part it can yield only partial good The result has been that to fight an evil, one is led to take recourse to the very evil one wants to drive out. And if we succeed even in such an attempt we only succeed in destroying it physically, but immortalise its essential spirit. Hence at present greed and possession are the order of the day, the ruling principle the world over What is more an imposing legal frame-work has been raised around it giving it a look of respectability and therefore it does not strike one as wrong We consider stealing to be a crime but connive at those who encourage this anti social activity by amassing heaps of money In a story in the Upanishad a king says 'In my kingdom there is neither a thief nor a miser" As we know it is the miser who gives rise to the thief We condemn the thieves to rot in the prison-house but let their creators roam about in complete freedom. They even occupy seats —

* Speech delivered at Tikari (Bihar)

[illegible] will [illegible] [illegible] and

Possessing through Dedication

At all the time of putting oblations into the sacrificial fire I say This is for Indra not for me' so we should offer whatever we produce in fields or factories that [illegible] for the community for the nation. It is not for [illegible] We should dedicate all that we have to society And [illegible] what we receive back from society according as we need will be life-giving like nectar

An Anomaly of the Present Order

This is the ideal but what do we find actually? The high v expensive administrative and other departments of the Government are known as services And there are services galore Civil Service Medical Service Educational Service The officials of the Civil Service are paid four figure salaries while their masters the poor of the country whom they profess to serve have to live on a pittance of annas 8 a day It is a tragic paradox that those who earn lakhs are called servants while those who produce food for the nation are regarded as self-seekers who work merely to feather their nest What is one to say of these services? If words are not to be deprived of their meaning then this is nothing but cant and hypocrisy It is in order to put an end to this hypocrisy that I have put forward the idea of land being the common property of all All that we have our land and property and intelligence everything has to be an offering to society Let there be no fear that non-possession will impoverish us It will surely enrich us as members of a community though not as individuals with separate interests Thus shall we on the basis of non-possession, build up a grand and beautiful society My mission of land gift is to achieve this great end

Changing Order through Non-possession

Today he who earns money does also earn worry and disease Though he may make money he loses something more precious than money viz the love of his fellowmen, the love of friends and neighbours That is why even the moneyed are unhappy in the existing society Both the rich and the poor are unhappy The remedy is to change the order and place it on the secure basis of non-possession

I should caution you against a possible misconception. What I am propounding is an ethical idea I want you to set yourselves free from attachment and accept non-possession to the greater good of society It should not therefore be assumed that we have to appreciate only those who have heaps of wealth Attachment may lurk even in a loin-cloth Therefore we have to go to every one irrespective of whether he is rich or poor and convince him of the truth of this idea and secure gift-deeds. These gift-deeds will betoken the acceptance of this new way of life — a documentary evidence of it

Non-possessing Social Order

When people get so far prepared as to offer their all to society, we will build up a Government which will not need to seek help from America nor the paper-money from the Nasik Press Every Indian home will be its bank People will readily comply with whatever demand it may choose to make on them People will leave all their worries to the care of society and be themselves free from any worry or insecurity But today they are not prepared for it So to begin with I have placed my demand at only one-sixth of one's property I had declared quite early about a year and a half ago that I was going the way of Lord Vamana* My first step was Bhoodan next is this sampattidan i.e donation of property I will take a third step which will be nothing less than surrender of everything in the interest of the poor the acceptance of poverty that all may equally partake of God's good riches

(Adapted from Hindi)

*An incarnation of Vishnu, literally a dwarf He covered the whole universe in three steps

SATYAGRAHA IN SOUTH AFRICA

(By Bharatan Kumarappa)

Mr Petrick Gordon Walker, Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations in the first Labour Government of Britain, writing in the *African World* about the non violent resistance movement now being conducted in South Africa by Africans and Asians, is reported to have said:

> 'It is a form of political activity that could not work against a Hitler or a Stalin. Sustained and organized passive resistance also implies a high general standard of education and political disciplina It involves leadership and the capacity to follow leaders. In South Africa this campaign is the consequence of the great improvement in the standards and education of Africans in the Union during the last half century"

Two points in this connection are worthy of comment

1 That Satyagraha presupposes a high general standard of education among the people.

2 That though Satyagraha succeeded with the British it cannot hope to succeed with a Hitler or a Stalin

However flattering it may be to a Briton to feel that Satyagraha was possible only because of the education the British conferred on us, and also because the British as a people have a more sensitive conscience than some others it is necessary to ask ourselves whether these assumptions in regard to Satyagraha are as a matter of fact true

1 In regard to education as a requirement for Satyagraha Gandhiji tells us that he learnt Satyagraha not from the schools he attended, but from his wife who was innocent of all literary education

"I learnt the lesson of non violence from my wife, when I tried to bend her to my will Her determined resistance to my will on the one hand and her quiet submission to the suffering of my stupidity involved on the other, ultimately made me ashamed of myself, and cured me of my stupidity in thinking that I was born to rule over her and in the end she became my teacher in non-violence And what I did in South Africa was but an extension of the rule of Satyagraha which she unwillingly practised in her own person" (*Harijan*, 24-12-'38)

Besides if we may judge from what happened both here and in South Africa under Gandhiji's leadership, it would appear that so far as his followers went also most of them were lacking in education such as the British introduced Thousands of humble men and women who faced *lathi* charges and bullets in our country, as well as those led by Gandhiji in South Africa were illiterate In fact Western education, if anything, tended to prevent people from joining the movement as such education made them look for comfortable jobs and a high standard of living while Satyagraha entailed unemployment loss of Government favour and service, confiscation of property, fines and

imprisonment [illegible] Satyagraha presupposes [illegible] to be roused to action to follow [illegible] to face suffering unflinchingly This is certainly not what was imparted to us through the British system of education So the credit for the Satyagraha movement cannot it is clear be put down to British education The only element of truth in Mr Walker's statement appears to be that British education awakened the leaders to a realization of what was happening to them under foreign rule But, as Gandhiji often said so far as leadership goes even one good man and true suffices If he selflessly clings to the right and is prepared to fight to the finish the forces of evil non-violently he is bound to succeed for he inevitably gets a following and converts in the end even the oppressor by his voluntary suffering and uncompromising adherence to truth and non-violence Jesus also as typifying vicarious suffering in his own person testified to this when he said "I If I be lifted up will draw all men unto myself" Human nature the world over, whether educated or not, responds to suffering meekly borne in the cause of truth and justice and for such suffering British education is by no means a requisite

2 In regard to Mr Walker's contention that Satyagraha cannot avail with a Hitler or a Stalin we cannot do better than let Gandhiji answer

"You may be right History has no record of a nation having adopted non-violent resistance If Hitler is unaffected by my suffering, it does not matter For I shall have lost nothing worth My honour is the only thing worth preserving That is independent of Hitler's pity But as a believer in non-violence I may not limit its possibilities Hitherto he and his likes have built upon their invariable experience that men yield to force Unarmed men, women and children offering non violent resistance without any bitterness in them will be a novel experience for them Who can dare say it is not in their nature to respond to the higher and finer forces? They have the same soul that I have" (*Harijan* 15-10-'38)

'It is highly probable that a 'Jewish Gandhi' in Germany should one arise could function for about five minutes and would be promptly taken to the guillotine But that will not disprove my case or shake my belief in the efficacy of *ahimsa* I can conceive the necessity of the immolation of hundreds if not thousands to appease the hunger of dictators who have no belief in *ahimsa* Indeed the maxim is that *ahimsa* is the most efficacious in front of the greatest *himsa* Its quality is really tested only in such cases Sufferers need not see the result during their lifetime They must have faith that if their cult survives the result is a certainty The method of violence gives no greater guarantee than that of non violence It gives infinitely less For the faith of the votary of *ahimsa* is lacking" (*Harijan* 27 5-'39)

Further [illegible] points out that though the dictator may [illegible] to [illegible] violence, ultimately his people [illegible]

"Herr Hitler is but one man enjoying no more than the average span of life He would be a spent force, if he had not the backing of his people I do not despair of his responding to human suffering even though caused by him But I must refuse to believe that the Germans as a nation have no heart or markedly less than the other nations of the earth They will some-day or other rebel against their own adored hero, if he does not wake up betimes" (*Harijan* 24-12-'38)

And as for the suggestion that the British are easier for a Satyagrahi to appeal to than the Germans or the Russians, Gandhiji observed

"They are as easy, in terms of non-violence to deal with as anyone else But not having dealt with anyone else I cannot say from practical experience All conquerors of India have reacted to what is noble in Indian culture and Indian nature the Muslims included I believe the Germans would have done likewise It may even be that the English reaction has been less than what others' may have been because of their insularity and colour prejudice" (*Harijan* 13-4-'40)

Comparisons are odious and are not decisive All that matters is that Satyagraha recognizes no limits The Satyagrahi believes that it will triumph against all odds So Gandhiji said

We may not despair of touching the hearts even of gangsters even if for the moment we may seem to be striking our heads against a blind wall (*Harijan* 10-12-'38)

The trouble with most Westerners is that they do not have this undying faith in non-violence On the contrary they hold that violence alone can cope with a Hitler or a Stalin not non violence So they arm themselves to the teeth on both sides and plunge the world in devastating wars As long as the West remains thus unconverted to the limitless potency of non violence the United Nations, in which the Western Powers have an over ruling voice, must per force continue to be more or less futile as an instrument of peace This is the tragic implication of Mr Walker's contention that Satyagraha cannot expect to succeed with a Hitler or a Stalin

Commerce Ministry Progress

We are deeply indebted to the Press Trust of India for the information that this Ministry is buying more liquor abroad than before During 9 months in 1950 it imported over one lakh gallons of ale beer stout and what not while the figure for the same period in 1951 was four lakhs and a half gallons That is the quantity quadrupled in two years

If this note is lucky enough to catch the eye of some good members of Parliament will they ask the Minister for Commerce if this geometrical progress is calculated to lead us to the nation cherished goal of prohibition which Gandhiji described as one of the four pillars of Swaraj?

V G D

PLANNING AND SELF-RELIANCE

(By Suresh Ramabhai)

While on visit to his home province in August last the Union Finance Minister, Shri C D Deshmukh made a number of speeches at various places Addressing on August 27, the citizens of Karjat about 40 miles from Bombay city he observed

> If the [illegible] *Community Projects* which [illegible] capital proved to be successful [illegible] projects might be launched [illegible] substantial results and 25 [illegible] would be financed by the [illegible] and Reserve Bank of India [illegible]
>
> While [illegible] Projects failed there would be [illegible] for achieving the betterment of conditions of the vast masses of people in India."

Thus one can only conclude that India's fate, hanging as it is in the balance depends on 55 Community Projects financed by American capital This is one side of the picture

On the other it may be noted that the draft report of the Planning Commission was released to the public on [illegible] and it was told that the detailed report would be out shortly after, within the period of not more than one year It has however not yet seen the light of the day The cause of the delay [illegible] pointed out by a message published in the *Amrit Bazar Patrika* dated 4th September 1952, from its Delhi office is attributed to American meagre response to India's needs' The correspondent also says

> Nothing, [illegible] the forthcoming budget is cover the Five [illegible] estimated at 200 crores of [illegible] our yearly budgetary situation is [illegible]

Without going into the details of the U S policy it can be safely said that it is one of preservation of U S interests as has been shown by U S rejection of S African plea at Mexico to increase the price of gold Its characteristic trait was also recently revealed by Britain's former Prime Minister, Mr Clement Attlee Addressing a conference in the North London Borough on September 6 1952 he remarked

> It is difficult to sell British manufactured goods in the U S partly because though they profess free trade on everyone else they protect themselves and partly because America has enormous productive capacity
>
> A very slight recession of trade in the U S affects them affects the rest of the world because they are such an enormous mass It has [illegible] to me a little curious that the U S [illegible] that all of us in Europe should plan our [illegible] that they [illegible] themselves

Surely U S capital is export is not coming here and quite naturally so, to protect any interest save that of U S A country has to look after its economic interests itself And so should India too

Here are figures for India's foreign trade

(In [illegible] of rupees)

No	Year	Import	Export	Deficit
1	1951 (1st half)	473	355	118
2.	1952 (1st half)	444	312	132

Again India's trade with East Asian countries (which are perhaps less industrialized than India has [illegible] Rs 79.98 [illegible]

[illegible] balance of payment [illegible] July-December, [illegible] from the figure of sterling [illegible] dropped from Rs 781 crores in December [illegible] to Rs 683 crores in June, 1952

All this goes to show that the Government is moving in a shadow of bankruptcy Yet our authorities feel that "there is no cause for alarm" Do they propose to meet the situation by bringing in foreign finance — from America, Canada Australia or Norway etc ? Is this the way that can ever make us self-reliant or self-sufficient ?

Allahabad, 29 9-'52

FOR BALANCED DIET

(By M P T Acharya)

(For yearly consumption by 360 million Indians)

Cereals	14 oz	per day	50 4	million	tons
Pulses	3 oz.	"	10 8	"	"
Milk	14 oz	"	50 4	"	"
Non-leafy vegetables	6 oz	"	21 6	"	"
Leafy "	4 oz.	"	14 4	"	"
Fruits	2 oz	"	7 2	"	"
Fat & Oil	2 oz	"	7 2	"	"
Sugar & Gur	2 oz	"	7 2	"	"
Meat & Fish	3 oz	"	10 8	"	"
Eggs	1 piece	"	1,31,400	"	pieces

Non-vegetarians require 1 oz. less of pulses and 4 oz less of milk per day Only Brahmins i e 20 million persons do not eat meat except in Kashmir, and Bengal Brahmins eat fish The above total annual requirements include 20 per cent for seed, waste, loss damage pilfering and failure of production

All this can be produced with materials and labour alone and distributed without trade or exchange or barter But they cannot be produced with money, business and State which require taking rent, interest profits and taxes — all of which restrict both production and consumption, i e distribution, since unless these are paid, there can be no access to the materials needed for production nor distribution of the products There can never be so much money as to produce as much food and other necessaries at the same time Even if food is produced for all, there will be over-production, due to money, business and State which restrict and reduce buying Hence there can be neither full production nor full consumption under money, business and State carried on by whomsoever it be

All the food production efforts within money, business and State are bound to fail so that there can be only scarcity — and even then more and more people will not be able to buy food It is both useless and blindness to make food plans within this set up It is dangerous not to know it No hope that way No Government can feed people — the people alone can do It The people must be prepared to do so by destroying illusions

"OUR MENTAL LAZINESS"

(By Maganbhai P Desai)

The English have gone back leaving our land to the Indians, ourselves but English has remained still persists to rule our minds and education still There are various kinds of pockets among our people who desire that English might continue as of old in spite of the Constitution of India laying down the limit of 15 years (up upto 1965) for the transition from English to our Indian languages These pockets are born of the various kinds of vested interests that have gathered round the anti national use of English during the last century The habit persists and has brought in its wake what Gandhiji had so aptly described as *our mental laziness* If we only shed that mental laziness corroding our creativeness and freedom of the mind It can be clearly felt that the change-over from English to Indian languages is natural and can easily be achieved within 15 years if not earlier

Queerly enough the spokesmen of these pockets at present are crying out against the natural need of readjusting the place of English in our national life and education, in the name of nationalism and India's unity through English! They forget that English India was only a microscopic minority in the great ocean of India's illiterate crores However they harp on these old slogans forgetting that the so-called unity through English was, like the Brahminical unity of a superior caste born through Sanskrit, only an English educated aristocracy lording over the millions of India in collusion with the order established by their English overlords What good came to us through English was in spite of them and only as its by-product. I may not pursue this painful point further

I have said above that the change-over is to Indian languages and not Hindi only This needs explanation There are various ways in which English is being used by us today The chief are We use it,

a As the language of legislation and administration for the Centre as well as the States,

b As the language of our courts,

c As the medium of education partially the Secondary and exclusively the Higher,

d As the medium of inter-State communication for certain functions of the upper few

The question is to dislodge English from these and substitute suitable media in their proper places. It will not do to put Hindi in all these places For example, the Centre may take Hindi as its official language The States for their inter-state business may well adopt Hindi, the official language of the Union, but they will do it with peril to the cause of democracy culture and education if they commit the mistake of using it in their regions and thus give [illegible] to the legitimate claim of the regional [illegible] True education requires that the language of the region should be the medium of [illegible] As the Radhakrishnan Report aptly [illegible] Through the federal language Indian solidarity must be secured and strengthened but without sacrificing the educational and cultural [illegible] of the use of the mother tongue at all stages of education"

All this is very clear and is accepted by most people Naturally therefore one feels, what is the difficulty then? I feel it is the question, "Who will bell the cat?" It is the question of the courage of conviction and boldly acting upon it, in other words of endeavouring to remove the "mental laziness" by our educationalists

7 11 52

British Minister of Health and B.C.G. Vaccination

To

The Editor of *Harijan*

The *Vaccination Inquirer and Health Review* which is published every two months by the National Anti-Vaccination League Westminster London S W 1 in its issue of September-October 1952 has published an editorial article in which it says that in a speech in the third Commonwealth Health and Tuberculosis Congress in London (July 8 1952) Mr Iain Macleod British Minister for Health said in reference to B C G Vaccination for tuberculosis

> "It is not yet felt that the time has come to make the B C G vaccine available for general or indiscriminate use among the population at large This view, although may be thought unduly restrictive by some, is based on responsible expert judgment and is not due to the limitation of the supply of vaccine or to financial economy"

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru Prime Minister of India now desires at request of doctors here to introduce B C G vaccination for tuberculosis on a mass scale among the people of India But on the contrary the Minister of Health of the Government of Britain on the advice of medical experts says that B C G vaccination for tuberculosis is "not yet for common use. What has the Government of India to say on this?

Vaccine being made evil by God in its very nature like human slavery cannot be ever made good contrary to the will of God by even the most brilliant medical experts

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HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)
Editor MAGANBHAI P. DESAI

VOL XVI No 11 AHMEDABAD — SATURDAY, DECEMBER 6, 1952 TWO ANNAS

MASS-PRODUCTION AND WORLD-CRISIS

(*By M K Gandhi*)

[The following from Gandhiji's writings will interest the reader vis-a-vis Stalin's latest thesis about capitalist economy tumbling under its own inherent weakness We may only add to this thesis that state capitalism, which is another name for what obtains in Russia under Stalinism, is also as bad as the other viz. private capitalism. While the latter provokes civil war and conflict in the people the former becomes a bed-bed of war and conflict among the peoples of the world. If at all the difference is only of degree, not of kind, if we look at them from the point of world peace, which is only another name for a non violent society of Gandhiji's conception. —M P]

I would categorically state my conviction that the mania for mass-production is responsible for the world-crisis Granting for the moment that machinery may supply all the needs of humanity, still, it would concentrate production in particular areas, so that you would have to go about in a round about way to regulate distribution, whereas, if there is production and distribution both in the respective areas where things are required, it is automatically regulated, and there is less chance for fraud, none for speculation.

You see that these nations (Europe and America) are able to exploit the so-called weaker or unorganized races of the world. Once these races gain an elementary knowledge and decide that they are no more going to be exploited, they will simply be satisfied with what they can provide themselves Mass-production, then, at least where the vital necessities are concerned, will disappear

When production and consumption both become localized the temptation to speed up production indefinitely and at any price, disappears. All the endless difficulties and problems that our present-day economic system presents, too, would then come to an end

There could be no unnatural accumulation of hoards in the pockets of the few, and want in the midst of plenty in regard to the rest

'Then you do not envisage mass-production as an ideal future of India ?'

Oh yes, mass-production, certainly, but not based on force After all the message of the spinning wheel is that It is mass-production, but mass-production in people's own homes. If you multiply individual production to millions of times would it not give you mass-production on a tremendous scale ? But I quite understand that your 'mass-production" is a technical term for production by the fewest possible number through the aid of highly complicated machinery I have said to myself that that is wrong My machinery must be of the most elementary type which I can put in the homes of the millions

'So, you are opposed to machinery, only because and when it concentrates production and distribution in the hands of the few ''

You are right, I hate privilege and monopoly Whatever cannot be shared with the masses is taboo to me That is all

(*Harijan* 2 11-'34)

THE CHARKHA AND THE HANDLOOM

(*By Maganbhai P Desai*)

The mill-owners associations and the merchants' chambers of Bombay and Ahmedabad have issued statements regarding Shri Rajaji's suggestion to control the production of *saris* and *dhotis* in mills in oeder to protect the handloom industry and have on the whole expressed their disapproval of it. This is in no way surprising Shri Rajaji and others possibly never expected they would do otherwise We in India have not yet hod a just order so thet we would expect such associations and chambers representing deeply entrenched vested interests to say anything else If, however, they had understood the spirit of the times we are living in and shown a different trend, it would surely have done them credit.

One need not go into various things these associations and chambers have said in opposition to Shri Rajaji's suggestion. One thing they have said, however, deserves notice. If the suggestion is accepted and carried out, they say, the people and the country will have to suffer from shortage of *saris* and *dhotis* Obviously, when they said this, they must have believed the argument would work But the argument is really very thin. It is time the country learnt to refuse to be scared by threats of all shortage but that of food We of this land have to shed the fear of all such empty threats if we are to progress as we should The standard of life of tens of millions of our people is such that for years past they feel exercised over only one sort of famine — that of food Threats of other shortages do not work with them, do not as if concern them. And indeed, even if there was an abundance of those other things, where have they the money to buy them ? What

has to be attended to is to find ways and means so that they can earn a little more money And the only way to that end, the royal road to it is to find work for all of them, to get them all usefully employed Once work is found and they are all employed families and shortages will make themselves scarce

But here we are faced with a distressing legacy Our Government circles who have been ill trained during the past foreign regime to view all such threats of shortages through lifeless figures and statistics are scared out of their wits as soon as one is held out to them Statistics is such a convenient science that it can find and prove for you whatever you want And who in this scientific age will dare to be condemned as unscientific by letting figures and statistics alone? But the reassuring feature of this controversy is that it is not a battle of figures, the way for men to useful employment and resulting mental peace and happiness is sought to be obstructed by a dead heap of figures It is pleasing to see that except for interested oodles like merchants chambers and mill-owners' associations, the country on the whole has expressed sympathy for our handloom industry, and the Prime Minister in his speeches at Madras and in the South has held out hopes that after enquiry into the state of the handloom industry, the question of rendering aid and necessary protection to it will be given full consideration

The issue however means something further and the country has to devote special attention to its solution It is well known that the handloom weaver depends on the mill-owner for his yarn Hence perhaps the mill-owner believes he has the handloom weaver under his thumb at his mercy To a certain extent this is true Those employed in the handloom industry should give earnest thought to this their position At present they do not seem to do it This sorry plight of the handloom industry and the question involved therein is nothing new for the weavers. The Government and the people have been considering this question for years Gandhiji also had made it plain that if the handloom depended solely on the textile mill for his yarn it will surely invite its death, even as the Charkha died out in the end in the past The handloom weaver should realize that his true friend is the spinner at the spinning-wheel, for fundamentally their interests do not clash in fact their interests are mutual and conduce to the well-being of the whole nation If they both co-operated and if the nation understood their message of mutual aid and co-operation, we would successfully fight unemployment and our villages would take a turn for peace and happiness Gandhiji had further said that if this happy state came about and the mills had to close down as a consequence, none need be sorry for it, indeed he himself would welcome the result In the past it was the mills alone that received everyone's consideration. Now under Swaraj this must change — has to change Our mills alone do not constitute our composite textile industry The time has come now when we should realize that the handloom and the Charkha are also part of it The abstract and dry science called economics will not help us to this realization Here statesmen who have a deep love for their people have to give thought to the real problem form and lay down policies and have to find out and employ economic experts who will plan and devise ways and means to carry them out Our textile industry should be reshaped and conducted on these lines

13-11-52

(From the original in Gujarati)

TOWARDS THE GOLDEN AGE *

Nature's Law

There lies endless creation around us and man stands in its midst with his puny body How is it that he does not get crushed under the vast forces of nature which are infinitely stronger than he? This is because nature is helpful to man She has always been acting the giver the nourisher The sun rises in the morning and comes down from his heavenly height to embrace us with his thousand rays Mighty as he is he enters our homes as a servant enters the house of the master And mark the high standard of conduct he observes as a servant, for he stands waiting outside if he finds the door closed and never pushes it open. He just stands ready to get in the moment we open the door The wind blows on without a moment's rest Who knows where it comes from and where it goes? It is the breath of our breath It is always exerting itself to foster our frail life If it ceases for a moment, we will be no more Look at the Ganga which flows on endlessly to serve us Whatever the tree we plant, whether it is babul or aam (mango) she waters it and gives life to it. She the giver of boon has pledged herself to the service of the children. And the clouds they too are serving us without any expectation of a return from us. Thus we find that the universe is teaching us to give ourselves up in service without end

Altruism Our Innate Nature

Proceeding further Vinoba said. The parents sacrifice for our sake that is how we live The mother is more anxious to suckle the child than he is to suck. Thus God has taught us the lesson of giving ourselves in service from the childhood It is said at times by the critics that I am trying to alter the course of things that I am trying to shape them into the mould which their nature resists The charge has no substance, for what I am saying is in harmony with the whole trend of nature On the contrary what prevails at present is really very unnatural and wholly against the right. After all, how is a child brought up? What is the law behind it? How happy do we feel living as a family? If only we could extend the same love so as to encompass the entire society would not our happiness go up to the 10th degree?

Not Conflict but Love Is the Basis of Life

Referring to the Communists and the Forward Blocists who criticize Bhoodan programme and ask people to keep away from it, Vinobaji said "These people hold conflict to be the foundation of existence They view life as a conflict. Even the mother suckling her dear child (most sacred example of love) is for them a conflict between the breasts of the mother on the one side and the child on the other But this is an error The world proceeds not on conflict but on love A dying man feels consoled to see his dear ones. Are we to believe this is the outcome of a conflict between his eyes and the dear ones? But these people do not stop to think and so their attempts for the betterment of things come to naught. The Upanishads sang verily the world has come

* Vinoba's Prayer-speech at Gaya on 10-11-'52.

from anand i.e. bliss. Indeed life moves and has its being in anand. It needs no attempt on our part to partake of it, for we have it in our very being. If any attempt needs to be made it is to get pain, and that is what we are doing. What we have to do is not to try to get anand, but to purify it. The purer our anand the higher will be the quality of our life. I therefore ask you the city-dwellers to take to the service of the villagers, who have ever given you in full measure.

Too Tall an Order?

It is said how will it happen in this Kali age? But if I could get 100 acres of land in Shravasti, where in years gone by land had to be purchased for no less a person than the Great Buddha at the terrible cost of heaps of gold coins as many as were required to cover the entire area purchased, then tell me whether this is Kaliyuga or Satyayuga. The age does not make us. It is we who make the age. We are conscious beings and therefore we can control this inconscient world. Whatever shape we may give to the clay it will not grumble. We have risen to such a stage today that we could see the most impactant event in the history of mankind. Can we quote even a solitary instance from the annals of history that the struggle for Independence was fought with the weapon of Ahimsa? Therefore my brothers don't remain in delusion. The Satya Age is fast approaching even before our own eyes.

The Futility of the World Wars

People say that the world war is approaching. I say let it come. For even through world wars will people learn the futility of violence in the solution of any problems. I visualize that people after tasting the bitter fruits of war will repent and say that violence is in no way any sure for human life and may take to the path of Ahimsa.

Science and Ahimsa

Violence coupled with science will bring nothing but disaster to the whole world. If we really desire the advancement of science we will have to go by Ahimsa. To make our life science higher and nobler we need science still more. With science in alliance with Ahimsa — non violence we can change this earth into the veritable heaven. There never occurred such a favourable ground for the spread of Ahimsa before as today. A mere child even talks of Ahimsa. Everyone thinks today whether this or that problem can be tackled by Ahimsa. Previously we had taken for granted the indispensability of violence to some extent. Therefore a great glorious age in the making of which we all have to partake is dawning before us. What a great joy it is when I see everyday that the land is being literally showered on me! Wherefrom this inspiration to the donor? It is the religious instinct of the Great Bharata which is inspiring them all.

The Erring Opponents of Bhoodan

Forward Blocists have warned people to remain aloof from my mission. What do they want to achieve thereby? Are they warning the landless people who are receiving land not to accept it? Or do they wish to prevail upon the landholders who are parting with their land not to donate it? These people have miserably failed on such historic occasions. In the struggle for Independence too Communists had lost a golden opportunity by refusing to take part in it. Therefore I exhort them all to come and join me in this great task. But how can they if they have shut their doors of heart and intellect? In this Age of Science we should rather always be open minded.

The place where Lord Buddha taught religion with great compassion to the people in that very place, I am explaining this religious thought with the same compassion to the people. Brothers a new religion is spreading in our land and I have become an instrument for bringing it about. I exhort you too to play the same role in it.

(The total land collected in the Gaya District figured 6 000 acres. The district has pledged to collect one lakh acres upto 26th January.)

(Abridged from Hindi) D. M.

NOTES

The Progress of Bhoodan

The reader must have seen the table showing the names of the Pradesh conveners of the Bhoodan Committees the quota of land donation fixed for various Pradeshas and the land received till 15th June 1952 which was given in the July 26 1952, number of the *Harijan*.

The Office Secretary of the Akhil Bharat Sarva Seva Sangh Sevagram, Wardha now gives the total amount of land and other collections made upto 5-11-1952. It is given below.

Province	Quota fixed to be collected	Land Collected upto 5-11-52	Other Collections
Assam	36,000		
Andhra	1 00 000	7 021 91	
Uttar Pradesh	5,00 000	3 10,728 74	1 well
Bihar	1,50 000	1,352.66	1 bullock
Karnatak		99.14	
Kerala	25,000		
Gujarat	75 000	4,108 03	
Tamilnad	1 50 000	3 713 77	
Delhi	10,000	1 124.50	
Punjab-Pepsu	1 00 000	61 00	
Bihar	4,00 000	7 559,00	
Bengal	2,00 000	32 48	
Bombay (Div (not yet fixed)			
Madhya Pradesh	1 00 000	11,421.22	
Madhya Bharat	1 25,000	2 490 59	4 bullocks 1 *kahi* 7 ploughs
Maharashtra	1,00,000	233 19	
Mysore (not yet fixed)			
Rajasthan	2,00,000	1,386.50	
Vindhya Pradesh	49,000	1 271.66	
Saurashtra			
Himachal Pradesh		1,005.50	1 hanal utensils costing about 1 lakh
Hyderabad (South)	1,00,000	30,234.38	Rs 8593/-
	Total	3 84-036 62	

A few of the provinces have not still sent us the needed information and the land collected upto date. Also land quota has still to be fixed for a few other provinces. This list is not exhaustive. Here we have indicated only such of those donations that have been received through the authoritative reports of the Provincial Samitis.

A Healthy Step in Education

A refreshing piece of news came last week from Vindhya Pradesh that its Government are "pushing through their scheme of making a certain amount of manual labour compulsory for all school and college students." It is said that for the present there will be four hours' work a week in construction of houses and roads and the work will count for promotion of the students to higher standards. The experiment of the Vindhya Pradesh State will not only direct the youthful energy in the right and healthy channel but will also harness it to an activity which is of great social utility. The experiment will be watched with interest by all interested in the education of our youth. It is hoped other States also will emulate this step of Vindhya Pradesh.

25-11-'52 R. S.

HARIJAN

Dec. 6 1952

THE INNER CONFLICT

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

One view of how 'Others See Us' was given to us by Shri Pyarelal reproducing Mr Musie's article and giving his own comments on it (vide *Harijan*, Nov 1, 1952, 'As Others See Us' and 'The Third Force') This he followed up by giving his own view of how workers wedded to the 'Third Force' should behave vis-a-vis 'Power Politics' — things and affairs that are going on in our country at present (vide *Harijan* Nov 15 1952) There is another statement of how others are watching and viewing the Indian situation at present, to which a friend incidentally drew my attention a few days ago He placed before me the American Weekly *Manas* of May 7, 1952, and asked me to go through its leading article under the caption "What is Happening in India?" The reader will find its relevant parts reproduced in this number, under the heading 'Gandhi and Nehru'

The article is a thoughtful contribution revealing in a brief compass the picture of an inner conflict that has set in amongst us, after Gandhiji's departure from our midst. Chiefly it is a conflict of outlook and approach amongst those that had been jointly working in the service of the motherland under Gandhiji's leadership during the last whole generation The conflict is very deep indeed and unless it is resolved in a proper manner, it may perhaps weaken and scatter away the very forces that were made operative among our people under Gandhiji's leadership, and that too without giving birth to any workable substitute in their stead

This conflict is becoming apparent in the political sector of our life, as can be seen in the metamorphosis that the Congress is today The splinter movements of groups like the Praja Party under Shri Kripalaniji and the Socialists under Shri J P Narain are only outward signs of this inner malaise The constructive workers also, though unorganized as a political group and not functioning as one, are formulating their mind and trying to become articulate on various questions of national policy and programme, under the Sarva Seva Sangh, the A I S A — A I V I.A. etc, that is, the institutions that were established by Gandhiji for the work of regeneration *among* and *through* our people and not *from above*.

This way of Gandhiji had a technique and approach of its own It appealed to our people The technique and approach which the Government in India are taking to and organizing at present under Shri Jawaharlal's leadership and at the instance of the Planning Commission, with such instruments as the Indo-U S T A., the Community Projects, etc is new and different It seems to be not catching the popular mind so well; it does not seem to enthuse

The slogan for this new approach as given out by Shri Jawaharlaji in the course of the Food Debate in Parliament the other day is "Machinery *vs* Butter" The truth behind the slogan is rather the cry of our people for honest bread-giving work It was that cry that Gandhiji listened and reacted to The question is, will the machine which is the emblem of the West really help us in this or will it lead us astray as it has done in the West? Is there a way to bring the machine in the service of man situated as he is in India today, and for his growth and development? Or should the machine come to us in the same way as it did in the West? Is there not a lesson to the world from that way of the machine in the West? Gandhiji stood for that lesson and strove with his whole life to teach it to us It was not opposition to the machine *per se* Nor was it the way of quarrel among the human family with the help of the machine But it was the way to subdue it and make it subserve the common interest of the whole human family Surely the West has not developed the latter, but has wielded the machine as its weapon to subjugate the backward peoples and races of the world and to create in their own land an unwanted capitalist or acquisitive society Therefore there is a lesson from Gandhiji for the erring West also It is his message of peace or no war, which he symbolically described as the message of the Charkha, the Khadi and Swadeshi It is well to remember this at present when we are deciding the main lines of our future economic and cultural life May we decide aright at this critical juncture of our national progress and destiny

24-11-'52

Good Beginning

"In reply to a question by Shri Sivamurthi Swami regarding the proposal to introduce Khadi dresses for all the Postal as well as Railway workers, Shri V V Giri, Minister for Labour, stated in the House of the People today (November 14, 1952)

'The question of using Khadi for supply of uniforms to all the Posts and Telegraphs staff has been examined and it has been decided as a matter of policy that Khadi should be used on as large a scale as possible for uniforms and other miscellaneous purposes.

"As regards Railway workers the question is still under consideration'"

This step was long overdue However as the proverb goes 'It is never too late to mend' Other Union Ministers as well as State Ministries may well follow up the good beginning made by Shri Giri It must be remembered that it is the duty of the State in India to encourage village industries and see that all get work which is their right under the Constitution, and Khadi is pre eminently suited for providing work to all in their very homes and villages

25-11-'52 M P

GANDHI AND NEHRU

India is not an easy country for the Westerner to understand. We have all heard of Gandhi and of Prime Minister Nehru, just as we have heard of the Himalayas mountains and perhaps the Khyber Pass, but "hearing" of these great Indian leaders is not the same as understanding them. Actually the average Westerner is likely to be more puzzled than enlightened if he tries to go beyond the newspaper headlines and to find out what exactly, is happening in India, today.

How should one attempt to define what is happening in India supposing he had reason to believe he actually *knew*? Should he—as the United States Ambassador to India, Chester Bowles did—write an article telling how the Soviets and the Chinese are wooing Indian public opinion?

Mr Bowles believes that winning the Indians for democracy will be easy if we (1) talk less to them about our material blessings and more about the great American tradition of freedom (2) give greater financial aid to India, (3) remember that India is an Asiatic country.

It is necessary we suppose for Mr Bowles to discuss India in terms of getting them firmly on 'our side'. That is what his readers are wondering about, and that is what he, as an American diplomat is supposed to be interested in. So far as we know Mr Bowles is a well-intentioned man who is in the diplomatic service from a sense of duty and a desire to serve the public good. But he might have given a little more attention to the Indians as having ends of their own. Conceivably other great decisions which lie ahead for India are more important than a choice in the next five years, between Russia and the United States.

Having heard Mr Bowles on India, let us now listen to an Indian on the well intentioned Mr Bowles and the country he represents. J C Kumarappa, editor of *Gram Udyog Patrika* writes in the February issue of this organ of the All India Village Industries Association:

"About a month ago an agreement was signed between the U.S.A. and India, by which a grant of 50 million dollars was made available for development purposes. The U.S.A. has been an octopus with financial tentacles in all other parts of the world. Britain specialised in political imperialism while the American speciality is financial imperialism. Is this going to gag us on world questions? Let us beware of bait of all kinds including 'rural urban development'.

"Not content with a contribution of a mere 50 million dollars, the American Ambassador, Mr Chester Bowles, suggests an aid of 1 000 millions to push forward the 'progress' of India. American 'experts' have already begun to come in.

"There is danger in all this. The American penetration will bring commercialism and tractors. Basing our agriculture on crude oil and machines will deliver us body, soul and spirit into American hands. If we chafe at anything that the Americans dictate later, all that they will have to do to 'bring us to our senses' is to stop crude oil supplies. Then we shall be starved into subjection. Prior to the last war some well to-do cultivators had installed crude oil pump sets in some district places near Madras. Their economy was dislocated during the war, as they could not get any supplies of the needed fuel. Some of them were even ruined by this handicap.

'To base our economic order on things our country does not possess or produce is suicidal. Let us profit by Japan's experience. Japan surrendered not so much for fear of the Atom Bomb but because they had no stock of petrol to carry on the war any longer. Hiroshima provided only an honourable excuse. Humble though our progress may be let it be on our own legs. Any attempt to hasten the pace may be fatal. In the end any foreign aid of this magnitude, from which we cannot easily shake ourselves free will prove a halter around our neck and jeopardise our newly found independence."

Confronted by this statement, Mr Bowles would undoubtedly expostulate: 'But Kumarappa represents only a small minority segment of Indian opinion—he is one of the leaders of the Gandhi extremists. Prime Minister Nehru *told* me . . . And Mr Bowles would be technically right. But the fragment of ideas coming from the Gandhians who live and work on, although Gandhi died in 1948, is an important part of what is going on in India.

The India of today is haunted by strange contradictions. Here is an incredibly proud people—her having been the authentic motherland of several great civilizations, and the source of the profoundest philosophical thinking known to man are reason enough for this pride—who after a century of oppression and exploitation have suddenly become free on their own, in a world of fiercely competing national economies and ideologies. Even if material wealth and power are not the greatest things in the world material wealth and power have been the symbols of India's long subjection to a foreign imperialism. Imagine the temptation to seize these symbols to say to the West: "We too are a people to be reckoned with. Now we are as great as you are *in your terms!*" How could there fail to be this smouldering emotion beneath the surface throughout India, today? Then there is the further reaction of a proud people to the charge of "backwardness"—the insult of a book like *Mother India*.

Gandhi, with his extraordinary moral sensibility, his love of his country and his indomitable will touched—there is no other word for it—the soul of India. He awoke sleeping memories of ancient greatness. He went to the villages where, as Chester Bowles has noted, the destiny of India is hammered out. Like Gautama Buddha who, nearly two thousand years before had wandered over the peninsular continent from village to village, Gandhi went to and won the Indian masses. He did something that gifts of money or foreign assistance in technology can never do—he helped the Indian masses to rediscover the hidden sources of their self-respect, and, therefore of moral power. Through Gandhi, India became capable of independence.

Gandhi if may be said, was a moral genius. He became a moral genius by understanding the delusion of the West and the potential greatness of the East and by seeing as clearly the vulnerability of the East of India in particular to the Western delusion. He spoke to the masses of the Indian people in terms they could understand. To Westerners Gandhi often sounded like a 'fanatic'. This man they said is against railroads, hospitals, machinery, birth-control, modern medicine—practically everything good our civilization stands for. He goes round in a breechclout and after having a fine education in European terms he wants to throw it all away, not only for himself but for his country, too!

It seems evident that the victim of the Western delusion cannot possibly understand Gandhi. Gandhi was not really against any "thing" he was for human beings. He dealt with things according to their moral effects upon the Indian people—their effects in his time. He was fighting delusions while the West with its wonderful inventions and methods of prophylaxis, sanitation, and immunization was fighting bacteria, with its mass production and technical genius was fighting for a "standard of living". Gandhi was not against these things the West was fighting for but he was *for* the things this battle of the West had been allowed to obscure. Mr Kumarappa speaks for Gandhi in this although a little stridently, perhaps.

Obviously the West has its own legitimate greatness. It has produced the tools of a wonderful civilisation. It has created the *possibility* of leisure for everyone in the world. It has announced through its great political documents, the social meaning of profound philosophical ideas on the nature of man. But the West is seriously infected

[illegible] *The search for enlight[illegible]* [illegible] Western life The drama of a [illegible] not stopped the heart's longing of Western [illegible] West is like a great caterpillar that wants to [illegible] all [illegible] rich substance manufacturing mecha[illegible] and of preparing a chrysalis for its rebirth [illegible] form evolved from within for natural [illegible]

[illegible] just feels and is affected by the ten[illegible] For now whether we like it or not [illegible] or not the world is one No longer [illegible] individual salvation for nations and [illegible] West — how can we doubt it? — [illegible] to grow together either inter[illegible] and [illegible] or locked in the bitter [illegible] rivalry and mutual rejection.

[illegible] longer [illegible] any room for pride of race and [illegible] — not while the great synthesis is taking place [illegible] Eastern and the Western races are alike struggling [illegible] tremendous obstacles — obstacles both material and moral [illegible] *Here are we going?* This is the basic problem for both [illegible] Scores of little groups in the United States are giving [illegible] study to this question They are never heard of or almost never in other countries To them however belongs the future The Renaissance was [illegible] not more than a few "little groups" in the centres [illegible] European culture Every great reform as Emerson [illegible] has come a private thought in one mans mind. There are groups in India too — groups such as Mr Kuma[illegible] and the several educational and other [illegible] organisations founded by Gandhi or under his [illegible] This does not mean that Gandhi [illegible] India has been a land of personal leaders Gandhi [illegible] on this and was content to go knowing [illegible] such as a great idea, could [illegible] the [illegible] And this perhaps [illegible] for the West — that a great [illegible] a great man for men [illegible] by adopting and living by great ideas.

Meanwhile [illegible] may go out to Mr Nehru a man who [illegible] to an extraordinary degree the first step [illegible] East and West He moves [illegible] moved — by a great and powerful [illegible] need — but more as a [illegible] thinking after meanings with [illegible] mind [illegible] asking is synthesis of the nation [illegible] more abandon his people to their own devices [illegible] will not follow Gandhi [illegible] alone than he can follow [illegible] heart alone He is trying [illegible] perhaps this means he must [illegible] a portion of the West's [illegible] into the forest. A [illegible] Hindus call an avatar [illegible] one of the limitations of [illegible] — nehru [illegible] show him to [illegible]

And [illegible] again without [illegible] in an river [illegible]

[illegible] What is Happening in India? — Mount May [illegible]

WHICH WAY LIES HOPE?

By Richard B Gregg

This essay is a thorough examination of Capitalism, Communism Socialism and Gandhi's Programme and would be of immense help to all the readers

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TRAINING FOR HAPPY HOME

Shri Rajaji is our venerable wise old man of India to [illegible] Whatever he speaks is always refreshing and has [illegible] rare originality and affectionate wisdom chastened [illegible] and experience profound learning and deep meditation The other day at Madras he was called upon to address the All India Home Science Conference which was having its second session in that city In his unique simple style he gave to his audience some plain home truths which are worthy of our attention Home Science is a new Art in our college studies I think imported from America It is fast on its way to becoming fashionable in educational circles It is therefore well to go into it It seems it is taken for granted that this old art of home-keeping is a science and is meant for girls Is it so? I think the art is good for boys as well Much of this subject will be examinable be found to be useful to us irrespective of our sex The following is reproduced from the report that appeared in *The Hindu* Madras of September 24 1952. — M. P.]

'Among the many things that confused a person like me who belongs to an older generation Mr Rajagopalachari said was the holding of such All-India Conferences' It seemed to him that by such conferences, they were trying to make a very big country a small place of compressed size They wished to have All-India conferences for everything conceivable. He thought that the limit was reached when somebody proposed an All India Children's Conference! He could not understand how all the children could be brought together or the few brought together could be made to represent the whole of India Home Science was again a matter concerning every home and they wished to have an All India gathering to discuss principles of running homes which were different from one another and of infinite variety So he would congratulate the adventurous ladies and gentlemen who had organised the conference

Asking the gathering to forgive his ignorance of the subject, Mr Rajagopalachari said that 'now all culture especially home culture in India has been raised about four feet from the old level" The old level was on the ground They sat on the ground ate on the ground and taught on the ground Now they slept on a cot and dared not sleep on the ground They ate from a table and sat on a chair In fact we do everything four feet above ground level That is the great difference between the old culture in which I was born and the present culture for which you are preparing through Home Science classes in secondary schools and colleges" Saying that he was not joking but only expressing 'a universally applicable truth' Mr Rajagopalachari observed that today even the fire-place was four feet above ground and they cooked either standing or sitting on a chair Do not go away with the impression that I do not like change I like change But let us not imagine that we have lifted the whole of India by four feet We have raised only a few families to this extent The older home science was practised entirely on the floor and it would be some time before you can fit the new science into it

Science of [illegible] Happiness

Nobody would [illegible] Science was 'taught [illegible] laundry work or some cooking [illegible] and Home Science [illegible] It is the science of [illegible] includes quite a number of sub[illegible] good house-keeping and [illegible] themselves would not make [illegible] you must learn how to [illegible] life That is true Home Science [illegible] married people [illegible] deals with that subject Please [illegible] Home Science is not preparation for a profession or a trade, but it is preparation for marriage' They might imagine that he had said something funny or the laughter might be the natural reaction to mention of marriage "I am telling the plain truth here Home Science is conceived for helping young people to live a good married life and make the home happy'

Pointing out that training in courses like this was utilized by people to become teachers in such courses Rajaji observed that in this manner most of their attempts in this world got amputated' They prepared a number of young people to serve as teachers in the very process without getting to the end of the training namely getting homes filled with mothers who knew how to make a home happy Rajaji said that what he wanted was that the aim of the Home Science curriculum, whether in the secondary school or in the college, should be to deal with the science of happiness in the home and education should end in 'a practical application of what they learn to the homes to which they go"

The first thing a girl should learn Rajaji observed was how to make her husband happy and her children happy Most college girls easily lost their temper The loss of temper was due to strain — the strain of too much study for the purpose of passing examinations He would warn young girls that "married life will involve greater strain, more even than the examination-life you are going through You must know how to control your temper and how to speak the truth. When speaking the truth to one you love and for whose feeling you care, truth must be soaked in affection"

Mr Rajagopalachari pointed out how strain made husbands lose temper when speaking to their wives and wives when speaking to their husbands, and said that the marital loyalty preached to them would enable husbands to bear with the temper of their wives and *vice versa* but would not make for happiness or positively for joy in the family They might be able to iron the cloth especially when they were provided with a four-feet high table But it was difficult to iron out the wrinkles on the husband's face For that, they require [illegible] rol all this was [illegible] aspects of the science [illegible] to teach. That was why he said that [illegible] supplemented in certain respects what the [illegible] to learn generally They had to learn [illegible] rol kindness affection and very many other things from literature and poetry Thus what they learnt as Home Science was not the whole of Home Science A truly scientifically trained young man would learn to work with very little apparatus or sometimes with no apparatus Similarly, the Home Science must be capable of being practised without electrical switches and tables "You must know how to get down from the fourth potential to a lower potential", Rajaji concluded

PANDIT JAWAHARLALJI ON BASIC EDUCATION

Readers know that Pandit Jawaharlalji addressed the All India Basic Education Conference on November 1, 1952, at Sevagram, Wardha. A number of Press reporters attended the meeting and made records of the address When it was published in the newspapers, it was found that the impression given of the Prime Minister's speech was misleading It appeared to imply that the fundamental principles and methods of Nai Talim were still to be regarded as matters of debate and experiment What Shri Jawaharlal said, as is made absolutely clear in his letter to Shrimati Asha Devi, the secretary of the Talimi Sangh, given below, was that the details of the syllabus must and should be planned in different states, localities and circumstances in accordance with local needs This principle of flexibility and responsiveness to the real needs of the children is one which the Hindustani Talimi Sangh has emphasized from the beginning It is implicit in the very conception of education for life, and we are glad that the Prime Minister has emphasized it

Shri Jawaharlal in his letter (7-11-'52) referred to above writes

"The Press report is not correct in many respects The world situation does not come in the picture at all What I said was (speaking from memory) that while the Government had generally accepted Basic Education, there were many varieties of it. Speaking in my personal capacity, I wanted to give my full support to Basic Education or Nai Talim It had already passed the stage of experiment and had justified itself It might have to be adapted to different parts of the country having regard to conditions there We should proceed experimentally from this point of view that is to say, the basis was accepted, but variations might be made where necessary I was referring rather

to minor variations and not to anything fundamental

"A very minor variation which appears to me quite necessary is not to thrust down our songs, etc, as they are, on the tribal areas Thus, *Raghupati Raghava Rajaram* is totally incomprehensible and without meaning to the tribes of the North-East Frontier So also some other minor parts of the curriculum which might not suit there"

MAGANBHAI P DESAI

A VERY INTRICATE PROBLEM

[Following is the text of the message sent by the Prime Minister to the Third International Conference on Planned Parenthood, Bombay Nov 24, 1952.]

I am glad to learn that the Third International Conference on Planned Parenthood is going to meet in Bombay in the near future Whatever individual views may be on this question it seems to me clear that we should give it the fullest consideration from all points of view The approach should be scientific and the aim social good Any scientific approach must not be inhibited by preconceptions or convictions already held. We must approach the question with a completely open mind and examine every aspect of it Any question that involves the intimate lives of human beings produces psychological and other reactions which must necessarily be kept in view

The Government of India have an open mind on this subject and do not wish any discussion or consideration of it to be limited in any way They are not committed finally to any special approach, although they may encourage experiments of a particular type

In a country like India, with a very large population, this question has an even greater significance than elsewhere It deserves, therefore, the fullest study here and the application of such methods as are found suitable from all points of view There is one aspect of this, however, which should not mislead us. Some people imagine that almost all the ills of India are due to over-population and, therefore, the basic remedy for those ills is to try to limit the growth of this population. This approach, to some extent, diverts attention from important social problems to the population aspect of them. I think this is wrong While I am convinced that it would be desirable to limit the growth of India's population by proper methods, where feasible, I do not think that social and economic problems are solved merely by this approach The other day the President of the British Association of Science, a very eminent scientist, posed a dilemma of science. By the advance of scientific methods in dealing with disease etc, the death rate was falling and, therefore, population tended to increase. This, according to him, created fresh problems and resulted in lower standards and even in gross poverty, especially in the less developed countries Was science therefore to give up dealing with the eradication of disease etc ?

Of course, science has another and harsher aspect also It produces and deals with weapons of mass destruction The dilemma posed by the British scientist is there, but only so if we have no other social aspect or solution of the problem As a matter of fact, there can be and are social approaches In regard to food and other necessaries of life, there is no limit to production, if properly organized.

India is certainly heavily populated and yet taking India as a whole it is not as densely populated as many other countries with higher standards of living The question is of higher production per capita and proper distribution

There is another rather curious aspect of this problem It is held by some scientists that poverty, hunger and undernourishment themselves lead to greater fertility and, therefore, to a higher rate of increase of population, even allowing for a higher death rate. This argument is based on biological reasoning If this is so, then one of the methods of restricting population growth is obviously to raise standards and try to prevent hunger and undernourishment.

I have indicated some approaches to this problem which is obviously very intricate. Many people are inclined to look at it in a very simple way

I wish all success to the Conference

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

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(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)
Editor: MAGANBHAI P. DESAI

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INDUSTRIALISM — A PROPHECY

(By Gandhiji)

Industrialism is I am afraid, going to be a curse for mankind Industrialism depends entirely on your capacity to exploit, on foreign markets being open to you and on the absence of competitors It is because these factors are getting less and less every day for England, that its number of unemployed is mounting up daily The Indian [illegible] it was but a flea-bite And if that is the [illegible] of England, a vast country like India cannot [illegible] to benefit by industrialization. In fact, [illegible] when it begins to exploit other nations — as it must do if it becomes industrialized — will be a curse for other nations, a menace to the world And why should I think of industrializing India to exploit other nations? Don't you see the tragedy of the situation viz., that we can find work for our 300 million unemployed, but England can find none for its three millions and is faced with a problem that baffles the greatest intellects of England? The future of industrialism is dark. England has got successful competitors in America, Japan, France, Germany It has competitors in the handful of mills in India and as there has been an awakening in India, even so there will be an awakening in South Africa with its vastly richer resources — natural, mineral and human The mighty English look quite pigmies before the mighty races of Africa. They are noble savages after all you will say They are certainly noble but no savages and in the course of a few years the Western nations may cease to find in Africa a dumping ground for their wares And if the future of industrialism is dark for the West, would it not be darker still for India?

Young India, 12 11-31

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NEGLECT OR REPUDIATION?

(By Maganbhai P Desai)

A few days ago we came across statements by important dignitaries of some States in India which amount to neglecting if not repudiating the directive principle of the Constitution regarding Prohibition Thus, for example, as the PTI reports,

> "Hyderabad's Excise Minister Mr K V Ranga Reddy said at Khammamett on October 29 that Hyderabad could not introduce Prohibition as excise was a major source of income for the State Replying to an address presented to him jointly by the Taluk and Town Congress Committees of Khammameth asking for the introduction of Prohibition in the State, Mr Reddy said that the income of the State has suffered due to the abolition of import and export customs duty Under these circumstances they could not think of Prohibition. (*The Hindu*, November 2 1952)

Sheikh Abdulla is reported to have expressed himself as follows for his State, Jammu and Kashmir

> Shrinagar Nov 18
>
> "It would not be in the State's interests to enforce Prohibition, because the tourist trade, which was the major trade in the State, would be adversely hit." (*The Times of India*, Nov 17, 1952)

Further, I have before me valid and just complaints from the Punjab and Bihar asking why Prohibition is not being thought of by those State Governments The people ask for it, but their Governments do not heed to them.

The explanation for such a tragic situation is simple It is drink-revenue and absolutely nothing else that is the cause for this overt disregard of the plighted word of the Nation.

The main question that arises from this is, does the Constitution permit these dignitaries of the States to circumscribe by, or subordinate to, the greedy claims of revenue, the paramount directive of " bringing about Prohibition of the consumption except for medicinal purposes of intoxicating drinks and of drugs which are injurious to health'? Obviously not How then do these servants of the people, who swore allegiance to the Constitution, dare violate its spirit by such bold disregard? The reason is ultimately to be found in the Congress and the Central Government going lukewarm and indifferent regarding the directive The very salt as if loseth its savour It is the same old greed of revenue cramping thus also in their work which, the

[illegible] will be d[illegible] immediately [illegible] power

The question then remains what to do then? The answer is equally simple and clear The people must move on their own, as they did for their fight for Swaraj Workers should organize the people to demand of their Government to do what they had pledged to do Ministers of States should be wiser in their statements regarding the implementation of Prohibition in their territories they might go slow if at all they should, but they cannot deny the directive as they virtually seem to do in their speeches as reported in the Press It must be noted that the plea of revenue not to legislate for Prohibition is *ultra vires* of the Indian Constitution, and we all have to see that the respect for the Constitution is not allowed to be belittled in any manner by anybody in the country

2 11-'52

LAND REFORMS IN BOMBAY

(By Vasant Nargolkar)

The Bombay Tenancy and Agricultural Lands Act 1948 as amended recently bids fair to be a bold step for a Government which seems to be wedded to an over-cautious gradualism in the matter of land reforms The Government expects to achieve the following results through the amendments adopted :

1 The tenancy of a ten-year tenant would be continued for another lease of ten years automatically at the end of the first period of ten years unless the landlord then requires it for his personal cultivation

2 In case of partial or complete failure of rains or similar calamity, the affected tenant would get one year's grace time to pay the arrears of rent.

3 A protected tenant would be in a position to compel the landlord to sell the land leased to himself at a reasonable price if the latter owns more than fifty acres of land. The tenant has been given the option to pay the price in a lump sum or in not more than ten instalments spread over 15 years If he chooses the latter course he must continue to pay the fixed annual rent till the last instalment is paid.

4 A landlord would not be able to terminate the tenancy of a protected tenant under the pretext of his requiring it for personal cultivation unless he proves that agriculture is going to be his main source of income

A landlord owning only four acres of paddy or bagayat land or sixteen acres of jirayat land would be able to take away all the land leased to a protected tenant Those holding more would be entitled to terminate the tenancy of a protected tenant with regard to only half the area leased to him thus leaving with him the other half

5 Those tenants who belong to classes declared by the State Government as socially and educationally backward or who are members of the Scheduled Castes or the Scheduled Tribes would be [illegible] to purchase land at a special concessional rate [illegible] fixed by Government

It would thus be seen that the total effect of the amendments passed would be, firstly, to give further security to the two types of tenants and secondly, to enable the protected tenants to become owners of land by facilitating to a certain extent the purchase of leased lands

It is not much of a surprise that the radical suggestion made both by Shri Mashruwala and Shri Narhariibhai Parikh in the columns of *Harijan* that under no circumstances should the landlord be allowed to terminate the tenancy of a tenant on the ground of failure to pay rent for a year, has not found favour with the Bombay Government. But it is certainly surprising that Government thought it expedient to yield to pressure from certain quarters and to go back on the official draft of the Bill as originally published with regard to another type of eviction, namely, termination of tenancy on the ground of the landlord requiring the land for personal cultivation The original draft provided that other conditions being fulfilled, a landlord could take away only half of the land leased to a protected tenant who held on lease less than 30 acres of land The Bill as it has emerged from the legislature allows, as mentioned above small landlords to take away all the land from their protected tenants This is regrettable.

Another anomaly that has crept in is the provision making it obligatory upon a protected tenant who intends to purchase land by paying the price in instalments to continue to pay the fixed annual rent until the last instalment is made This is nothing but compelling the tenant by law to pay an exorbitant rate of interest on the purchase price fixed by the Mamlatdar or the Tribunal What would have been equitable was to have made a provision in the amendment for automatic proportional reduction in rent on payment by the tenant of each successive instalment

The Bombay Government deserve sincere congratulations for one bold step they have taken in issuing a notification on the 21st of August, 1952, reducing the rate of rent in all Adivasi areas of the State The maximum permissible rate of rent in Thana District, for example, was ¼ of the total crop, which in actuality amounted to anything between 20 and 30 times of the assessment Under the new notification the rent has been fixed at only *five times* the assessment or Rs 20 per acre whichever is less This welcome measure of Government would give considerable relief to poor Adivasi tenants in Thana District who were hard hit by failure of rains during the last four years successively In fact, it was long overdue Would it be too much to expect that Government would follow this up by issuing another notification under powers conferred by the amended Act, fixing the rate of amount of the maximum price for purchase of land by Adivasi tenants at, say, forty times the assessment?

IN THE CITY OF LORD BUDDHA*

The Three Great Avataras

It has been a great pleasure to me to have come to this holy city. The scene of Lord Buddha's austerities, it has given me the joy of feeling his presence. Lord Buddha was the ninth *avatar* (i.e. incarnation) of Vishnu. Rama and Krishna and Buddha the three best known *avataras* blessed our land one after another. They were and still are our great teachers. They rendered great service to our people and saved us from many pitfalls to which man is prone as an individual or as a group. That is why we honour them as *avataras*.

Shri Rama

Shri Ramachandra placed before us the supreme example of right conduct. One should perform one's duty with absolute honesty — this is the essence of his life. He illustrated right conduct in various capacities and varying situations and laid before us the standard of a righteous life. His great name still serves to inspire innumerable men and women throughout our country.

Shri Krishna

Rama was followed by Shri Krishna. He taught us that we should go about all that we have to do in life in the spirit of detachment. That is without any desire for the fruit. Whatever the duty we may be called to, we should do it without any hesitation and without losing our mental equipoise. He thus popularised in us the great lesson of detachment. His teaching is still before us in the form of the Gita which has inspired numberless men in every age to a noble life and sustained them in their endeavours. Great men throughout our history from Shankararharya to Gandhiji, have drawn inspiration from the Gita.

Bhagawan Buddha

After Krishna came the Buddha who was the very embodiment of compassion. He taught us that so long as there is poverty and oppression it would not do for us to enjoy complacently our individual happiness. We must also share the sufferings of our less fortunate brethren. So long as the oppressed of society unshelterd and unprotected are not restored to happiness, we must also abjure happiness as taboo. The Buddha said that sorrow and suffering are in the world because we lack sympathy and do not care for their victims. We just look to our own narrow interests. On the other hand if we set out to care for these our unfortunate brethren sorrow and suffering may be rooted out, and all may be happy — the as well as we. Thus Buddha showed us the way to true happiness.

The Hindus are greatly indebted to Lord Buddha. He was a Hindu and he died a Hindu. He had never intended to found a new faith but after him his disciples started one in his name. They carried it into countries outside India. And people in those countries also had the benefit of Buddhist teachings which provided them with a sustaining faith. It spread to the East as far as Japan and also to the West. There is a reference in the Bible about the wise men of the East being present at the time of the birth of Christ. And scholars are of the opinion that those wise men were no other than the disciples of the Buddha. Thus the disciples of the Buddha had the credit of propagating India's culture and message in countries outside India. And though they classed themselves under a new religion yet the difference between them and the Hindus is only this that though the Hindus respect Buddha very much they do not worship him as they do Rama and Krishna. They accept his teachings and class him among the *avataras*. In our rituals we always speak of the present Hindu as belonging to Buddha-avatara though he is not worshipped.

But we do not also worship Gandhi, for the simple reason that he belongs to our age. Buddha also belongs to our own age. [illegible] Yuga. Rama [illegible] to an older age. Rama flourish[illegible] and Krishna in Dwapar. And becau[illegible] they have become objects of worship. W[illegible] the contemporaries whose life has b[illegible] own eyes. The followers of the Buddh[illegible] and we who do not, are both correct. We [illegible] tion while the way we look on great men like the Bu[illegible] inclines us to follow them. We cannot follow Rama [illegible] Krishna they seem as far away from us. So we worsh[illegible] them, but in the case of the Buddha we do hope to follow him. In the same way we also hope to follow Tulsi[illegible]. And it is right that we should like to fellow men and worship the great men of our age. This [illegible] But the followers of the Buddhist faith worship him as a [illegible]. That is also right. This is the only difference between them and us.

Hinduism and Buddhism

In my studies of the Buddha's utterances I have never come across any which I may not accept as a Hindu. In my opinion there is close similarity between what he preached and the Gita. The saints of India were brought up under the influence of the Gita, the Bhagavata and Buddha and Mahavir. This has enabled them to put before us a body of teaching which is whole and complete. They have assimilated into their sayings the essence of Hinduism and Krishna and Buddha. Thus I do not see any differences between Hinduism and Buddhism. There can be superficial differences as there are between the different branches of the same tree. Even Hindu sects belonging to one and the same religion differ in the way they follow to reach the same goal: each sees only part of the aspect which most appeals to him. Tulsidas was devoted to Rama while Surdas was devoted to Krishna, on the other hand Kabir spoke of atmism. However it is said that each practised a different religion. There are different forms of *upasanas* only. Therefore this city is very sacred to the Hindus, and worthy of their profoundest veneration or *shraddha*.

Buddha Gaya

At the place where Lord Buddha performed his *tapasya*, there is a temple which should certainly be regarded as truly great. Then there is the Bodhi Vriksha i.e. the tree under which Bhagawan Buddha attained enlightenment. The old tree does not exist today but the present one has grown from an offshoot of the old and hence is equally sacred.

Thus, this place is as important to the Hindus as to the Buddhists for the followers of the Buddha did so much to spread the message of India. They carried our wisdom and our love to distant lands. It is our duty to respect this place and to keep it immaculately clean. All *tirthas* i.e. the holy places should be kept clean but specially this one because it is visited by pilgrims from all over the world. The slightest appearance of dirt and untidiness here may sell our reputation abroad. And we must also accord the most loving welcome to these foreign pilgrims and provide every convenience to them. As foreigners they will be different from us in many ways in their physical features and complexion and language and dress but they should be received as our own. This affords to the inhabitants of this place a great opportunity for promoting love and understanding between us and the various countries of the world.

As to the mission which has brought me here let me tell you that I am but following the footprints of the Buddha. The essence of Buddha's teaching is to deliver the unhappy amongst us from their misery by to render succour to those who live uncared for as the castaways of society. This is also the teaching of the Vedas and the saints. We have now to practise this teaching. And hence I have taken up the land problem. I invite you all to co-operate with me and carry this task to a successful conclusion.

(Adapted from Hindi)

*Shri Vinoba's speech at Gaya, 2.11.52.

HARIJAN

Dec. 13 1952

THE THIRD STAGE

(By Maganbhai P Desai)

The country will be observing the anniversary of the death of one of the most eminent of its servants on the fifteenth of this month Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel departed from our midst on that day two years ago It is in the fitness of things that we on that day remember him with gratitude and remembering him think of the next stage in our journey to our goal as a nation

As time passes we are able to understand and appreciate more and more the immense task the Sardar has performed in the service of the country And we also wish along with this feeling of growing appreciation, how well it would be for us if he were still with us in the difficult and perplexing times we are facing today ! But man has to carry on his journey with the faith and knowledge that only God's will prevails in His world

To deal with the thing on hand and to find out and concentrate all one's energy and attention on the immediate task the particular occasion demanded was the most valuable quality of the Sardar's personality This singular virtue has been of immense advantage to the country Till the country was under foreign domination the Sardar devoted all his energies to the cause of our freedom from it. This was the first stage in the nation's journey to its goal

Gandhiji proposed to the nation that it should adopt the self-reliant and brave but novel method of constructive work and Satyagraha as a means to cover this first stage The Sardar immediately saw the latent power of the method and devoted himself with all his means and capacities to its development and perfection It was indeed a very fortunate and momentous circumstance that Gandhiji met, in the very beginning of his mission in India a leader of men of the Sardar's calibre a man of efficiency and insight in affairs and having an almost uncanny gift for judging men This new method sponsored by Gandhiji demonstrated its unique power at the Sardar's hands the country began to feel assured that this method will lead it to its goal To go to the people and organize and perform work in their service , to enter their hearts by adopting programmes that would make them self-reliant and brave , thus to share their joys and their sorrows—this the Sardar saw was the secret of the method of work and organization proposed by Gandhiji And he clearly saw that if the people were approached and served in this manner, they would not only become of one mind and organize themselves but would be trained and prepared to stake their lives in times of crises also The Sardar understood the power of organizing men to effective activity that was latent in constructive work , he also fully understood that service won the hearts of the people

But to him all this work was but a means to an end He never for a moment forgot that our original purpose and aim was to drive the foreigner out of our land and to establish our own rule He never allowed his mind to waver or move away from this aim.

After the advent of Swaraj the Sardar's energies were devoted to the immediate problems of its consolidation The first task he devoted himself to was to bring the whole country under one government This was the second stage in our journey to our goal. The Sardar could see that if we could not solve the problem of evolving our Constitution and adopting it as the fundamental law of our new State the people would not be able to visualize the next stage In their journey, they would not take to the democratic way, and would be wandering aimlessly now in one direction, and now in another But framing the constitution of a country fa not a mere lawyer's legal business Unless all classes of our people undertook the work as their own loyally and with full heart and unless it was achieved with the consent of them all, it would not unite us into a strong and powerful nation, nor would it build up for us the power and strength to carry us to our ultimate aim To this end the minority communities and the Princes had to be persuaded to recognize the spirit of the times The third power that stood between the communities and prevented their unification into one community had gone the foreign backing that incited the Princes against their own people was removed , and the power to rule was now in the hands of the people This happy circumstance had to be exploited to the Nation's best advantage It was not to be that the minority communities and the Princes would by themselves readily appreciate and wisely decide about their own true interest Someone from amongst us had to rise to the occasion and show intelligence, foresight and the capacity to have a clear realistic view of the future so that we could take full advantage of the favourable conditions created by the advent of independence The Sardar manifested all these necessary virtues and thereby rendered a great service The English statesmen who had during their rule driven wedges in the fundamental unity of our people had so spoilt the situation that they were led to believe and hope that India would be so miserable after they left it that she would call them back, or seek their help and would be under their sphere of control. This dream of some of those who were reluctant to leave their hold on India was destroyed at one stroke and we could quickly make and adopt our Constitution and put it into force The country considered this achievement a miracle, it could perceive the sound advantages it brought to it so quickly

[illegible] down the country [illegible] bureaucracy There was of [illegible] of destroying it Public ser[illegible] would always have a place in a well-ordered [illegible] What was however necessary was to [illegible] them function for a self governing people The Sardar adopted the first measure to this end He brought the bureaucracy under the control of the Government of India The Indian Civil Service was also placed under the Government of India and whatever settlement in this regard was necessary was concluded with the British people

The Sardar during all his life was doing the nation's work step by step and went away while doing it. Latterly he had come to feel that the time to turn to the work of building up the prosperity of the nation had arrived He had expressed himself that if it was necessary to take aid from foreign countries there should be no objection to it The tiller of the soil had to be looked after and made prosperous Measures to that end had been started By the time our journey to Swaraj had reached this stage he left us Before he left us he had the satisfaction to see the two stages on our journey to our goal the achievement of independence and the consolidation of the State under one government—well completed

Now the third stage has begun The task of this stage is for every one of us—all classes and all individuals—all the various constructive forces in our country to co-operate and turn our national effort to the welfare and progress of *all* This stage of our journey is difficult, it may perhaps prove the longest In the task to be achieved during this stage we have to persuade our vested interests in land, capital trade, industry etc into serving the poor and suppressed masses We have to train our bureaucracy also so that it may perform its part in the service of the people and especially the poor Besides we have to achieve this task by the democratic strength of our people and in a democratic way, we do not wish to achieve it by the methods and power of a dictatorship It means that if the task of the third stage has to be performed and achieved in the manner indicated above, we have to adopt the same old way of serving our people and thereby conserving and marshalling our energies to the fulfilment of the great task before us At the time when this task stands before us the question arises Is the one organization of the people—the Congress— which is expected to undertake it and achieve it prepared to do it? The Sardar, during the whole of his life of service knew this institution alone and devoted his time and energy to make it a strong and efficient instrument in our people's service. But it appears as if this organization so beloved of the Sardar is not able to see or do its work On the other hand the rich and the advantaged [illegible] of our people seem to be in a hurry to take care of what they have and to see an order brought about in which what they have remains with them The government servants too seem to be behaving in such a manner that one does not feel confident that much could be done by depending upon their strength However our work must go on Our journey to our goal has to continue The stage we have begun has to be passed. The map of the stage is clear before us The large masses of the people of our country who under foreign domination were forced into poverty, unemployment and driven to wretched helplessness have to be made to realize their strength and to do their work on their own. Such a task does not belong to governments And surely no government can prevent the people who wanted to turn to this task, rather the government should cultivate their fitnes to be helpful in this work That the people themselves should have to undertake this task means that they should mobilize their strength and energy to undertake their own small and big schemes of work Popular organizations should persuade and lead the people to this way When Gandhiji said that the Congress should turn itself into a Lok Sevak Sangh now under Swaraj he meant to suggest that the Congress must organize itself so as to be able to perform the new task before it in the manner suggested The question one is drawn to ask is Is the Congress able to see its work appreciate its function in the third stage? There is none and there cannot be any objection to granting and accepting that to form governments in the country and to make them work properly is also one of its functions But even in order to properly perform this obligation it should train and organize the people to undertake and finish their own small and big schemes of work Even governments can hope to succeed and achieve something if the people were so trained and organized This method of work was the secret of the Sardar's power and strength Let us remember it and make it our own, for unless we do so we will not be able to progress on the third stage of our journey to our goal We must cover and go ahead on this stage quickly, because otherwise our poor and suppressed masses who have become conscious of the power of Swaraj will not be able to organize and go ahead In our progress along the Stage the heaviest and foremost responsibility lies on our vested interests and on the Government Servants It is essential they recognized the spirit of the times and realized their duty and the representatives of the people should see to it that Governments' authority is not misguided by their narrow selfish interests and does not play into their hands

5-12-'52

(From the original in Gujarati)

INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION IN REVERSE

(By Wilfred Wellock)

[Wilfred Wellock is well known as one of those in the West who have to see established a peaceful and natural land order of society in the world and are wide awake that such an order requires us to begin with probing deep into things as they are today and why, without which we cannot arrive at what truly should be done to change them. It is such self introspection in the search for true means to achieve true ends that he is at present devoting himself to and has proposed to issue its results from time to time in the form of a series of articles named 'The Orchard Leaf Papers'. He has kindly sent us first two numbers to me with a request to make the best use of them through the *Harijan*. The first is "The Supreme Crisis of Our Civilization". The second, "The Economics of a Livelihood Society". He has cared to see that these papers might be made available in India and tells me that they will be stocked at—*Sarvodaya* Sarvodaya Prachurelayam Devji Colony, Tirupur (S. I.)

The following is adapted from the first paper and is given below as the first instalment under a suitably changed heading 'Industrial Revolution in Reverse'. At a time when we are trying to industrialise our country the lesson contained in this first instalment becomes even more noteworthy. Let it not be said again about us that we are mere blotting papers of Western civilisation.

19-11-52 M. P.]

The Present Crisis

At this moment the whole world is in a major crisis. In our age of super science every country is confronted with a daily problem of scarcity either of food or raw materials or both of rising prices and falling markets, of fear and military preparations of deepening social divisions and international conflicts of increasing hopelessness before gigantic power blocs, a Russian an American and in embryo, an Eastern.

Superficially the crisis is economic and political, but its roots are spiritual. Our ideological conflicts have sprung from the economic conflicts born of capitalist industrialism which arose and flourished in a period when culture and religion were in decline whence for nearly two centuries a tidal wave of materialism has swept across the Western world.

The Industrial Revolution

We are still in the era of the Industrial Revolution, which has revolutionised much more than industry indeed our entire civilisation — personal and social life all our valuations our principles failths and hopes our outlook and way of life.

The origin of that Revolution was very simple, namely the application of steam through compression as a driving power to machinery. It quickly led to the factory system and ultimately to giantism in machines factories, industrial towns business organizations Trade Unions, and so on. As machines rose in power and importance the importance and value of men declined the ancient Freeman became the modern Mass-man.

Fundamental Changes in Social Order

These outward transformations were responsible for fundamental changes in the social order in personal and social habits in international relations later in men's values and the quality of their life and finally in man's nature itself.

Speaking internationally the new industrialism soon became the monopoly of a very few powers which down to very recent years consisted of some half-dozen West European countries and the United States. Japan forced her way into it at the end of the last century. These countries amassed great riches and thus developed considerable military power which became the basis of modern power politics. They thus forced their machine-[illegible] other country thereby destroying [illegible] village industries and upsetting the balance [illegible] economy thereafter they pinned them down [illegible] raw production and thus became the Imperial Powers of the modern world.

Monopoly of Economic Power

By these and other means in a very short time the world's economy was revolutionised on a pattern which was designed and controlled by a small monopoly of powers which for over a century — down to the second world war to be precise — sold dear and bought cheap, while their victims were doomed to buy dear and sell cheap and thus to live in abject poverty a condition from which only recently they have begun to emerge. At long last, in the second world war Nemesis stepped in to square accounts whereby today the once mighty Colonial Powers are verging on bankruptcy and becoming increasingly dependent upon American dollars. The necessities of "total" war demanded that all those who took part in it should secure the aid of every country willing to render it, even if it meant supplying them with machinery in order that they might do so. As a result, nearly all the pre-war primary producing countries are now on the industrial road and doing their utmost to achieve a well balanced agro-industrial economy and their financial and economic independence. Thus have the tables turned and one aspect of the Industrial Revolution been put in reverse.

Its Disintegration

Indeed the world economy established by the Industrial Revolution has been in process of disintegration ever since 1914. Its complete collapse would have occurred long ago but for the intervention of two world wars and the present cold war. In crisis after crisis since 1914 rearmament and war have provided the markets and the demands necessary to maintain a world industrial productive power which invariably outstrips the world's purchasing power. Only a few weeks before the Korean trouble arose O.E.E.C. estimated that by 1952 Western Europe would have a 5,000,000 tons surplus steel production, and by 1953 a surplus of 8,000,000 tons. That annual surplus foreshadowed a major economic breakdown. Rearmament saved the situation.

Latterly a new problem has arisen. To the struggle for markets has been added a struggle for food and raw materials. The problem of a long-continuing world food shortage first became apparent during the closing years of the war, that of a long-continuing raw materials shortage during the Korean war. This new problem has four primary causes: a new high rate of world population expansion; the industrialisation of the primary producing countries; the enormous demands of highly mechanized warfare in the era of permanent war, hot or cold, and a worldwide movement for maximum material living standards.

Birth of a Bitter Conflict

The economic, military and ideological upheavals of the last forty years have produced a revolutionary upsurge throughout the Near, Middle and Far East. A bitter conflict looms ahead between the just demands of an impoverished East for a substantial rise in living standards and the irrational demands of a wasteful West for soaring standards of material living. This new hot Gospel reaches its maximum intensity in the U.S.A. whose demands upon the earth's resources are rapidly becoming a world problem.

A New World Situation

This new situation, moreover, indicates a serious change in the terms of trade for most countries and that from now on the advantages of trade will pass from the secondary to the primary producers, since food and raw materials will be in short supply while new competitors in industrial production will lower the prices of most consumer goods. It is now the turn of the primary producers to sell dear and buy cheap.

Despite the warnings of this new revolution, which is the Industrial Revolution in reverse the Big Industrial Powers are slow to learn the lesson Amidst palpable disintegration they fail to see that the world's economic contours are rapidly changing and that unless they adjust their economic policies to the new situation a major economic and political impasse is inevitable Britain, who occupies a pivotal position in the world's economic life pursues with the frenzy of growing uncertainty an economy which daily reveals a widening incompatibility with world economic facts trends and prospects, and indeed belongs to a world order that is rapidly passing It is pathetic to see so great a country preparing to capture more markets than ever to meet her expanding domestic and military demands at the very moment when markets are contracting in every direction. Even the timely, forceful warning of the recession in Lancashire cotton industry is being ignored

British Example

Britain has overlooked the fact that owing to the complete absence of German and Japanese competition and the weakening of French, Dutch and other competition, due to the disabilities caused by the war, she and the U.S.A have had the run of the world's markets for close on six years after the close of the Second World War It was in that period that she built her Welfare State — a highly artificial period which, as above stated, is rapidly passing If we add the fact that the markets of the Commonwealth bloc cannot be relied upon in a crisis, it becomes clear that Britain, with her heavily over-balanced industrial economy, will soon have to choose between bankruptcy servitude to the U.S.A. and a complete recasting of her economy.

A Useful Brochure

The All-India Spinners' Association and its Work (published by the A.I.S.A., Sevagram, Wardha, price Annas Six) is a brief account (upto 1951) of the work of our great national institution, the A. I. Charkha Sangh. The account is given by Shri Jajuji, who has been in and of the institution almost the whole period from 1925 when it was established up till now Every lover of India should go through this account of a heroic story of our people trying to fight through the Charkha the colossal might of the Western machine The fight is very very unequal indeed — almost ridiculous, like an urchin challenging a formidable Ravana — a giant However there it is and the Charkha did and does challenge the gigantic mills even today The crying need of today is full employment of our whole people to produce our first needs of food and cloth and to *distribute them equitably and well* The machine has failed to do it, rather worse It has created new worries and numerous questions involving the very peace and safety of the human world The new turn of events both in science and politics after the two world wars shows abundantly that we need a new way and a different approach. The Charkha and the handloom reveal themselves in this context as emblems of such new approach. This booklet will help the reader to recollect what has been done by us till now in this matter and how and why we should go further on, as the Charkha has a message even now,

M. P.

FROM PILLAR TO POST

The Editor, Harijan Ahmedabad

It is strange that those who want decontrol should ask the Government to carry it out They must organize to carry it out themselves

The Government would, however, be glad to free itself from the trouble of organizing food production, procurement, prices and distribution But it feels it will be accused of leaving the people to their fate in regard to food at least Who wants to take responsibility for others' wellbeing? None

Food control and distribution were started during the First World War by the Germans, they just introduced the ration system but it was complete Later on other belligerent powers considered it necessary to introduce it Since then the Bolsheviks took over the rationing system from the German militarists Neutrals also introduced rationing of some articles

But the rationing in Germany was not only for household consumption alone — so that a person could eat either at house or in the restaurant only In India I think also in England, one can eat both at home and in restaurant One can eat in several restaurants in a day also The rationing here is child's play

It is taken for granted that supply and demand keep the prices as low as possible But an artificial scarcity can upset even supply — by resorting to hoarding or some "natural" bottleneck Why should a businessman go in for considerable trouble of having to replenish his stocks at uncertain prices when he can sell a small stock by creating artificial scarcity and make more money on it than going in for further stocks?

I was living in 1921 in far off Ferghana (near Sinkiang border) There were some people who were selling rice and even matches in the black-market They did not know each other and were selling at competitive secret rates Later on they discovered one another and put up a higher price. The Government officials who had been sent to shoot black-market dealers had to tolerate them, in order to find rice and matches, because the Government did not provide them with these. They had to send friends and servants to fetch them secretly, There was black-marketing without rationing! (Our Sindhi merchants in Central Asia were also black-marketing there!)

I have seen during the First World War in 1916 in Iraq that prices were put up because the Turkish Government withdrew gold coins from circulation and issued paper currency The merchants refused to accept paper currency, but the Turkish Government threatened them with shooting. Some traded secretly with gold coins — 4 currency notes to 1 The consequence was all prices went up 4 times and even more Since no Government official could buy anything with his paper currency salary, the Government threatened to shoot shop-keepers. The shop-keepers kept

[illegible] and offered to [illegible] to pay black-market prices The Government threatened to shoot those who hoarded the goods and sold secretly Even though shops were open, they said they could not replenish goods and sold from home or friends' houses at black market prices Black-marketing has come to stay whether there is going to be control or not Letting black market *loose* is not the way to reduce prices.

I have heard that in many parts of India, peasants themselves practise black-marketing They sell small quantities at a time at high prices!

Cheap prices of food-grains are not also advantageous to peasants for the middlemen get *too cheap* from the peasants to sell at a lower price in the market As the peasants are divided and have to pay cash to buy other things and to pay taxes they have to sell as early as possible to meet their requirements which they do by selling away at a very low price to middlemen who come to them with money The peasants do not unite and cannot hold out to sell only when they get an economic price.

Formerly whole crops of villages were mortgaged by peasants, who received loans from Volkart and Rally Brothers I do not know if this practice continues Naturally the crop estimators put a very low value for the crop

The solution is not control or free-marketing but treating food as social goods, not to be sold at all, but distributed where needed, i.e for producers. Food must be owned not privately, not Governmentally, but *socially* No food for sale All others are patch solutions which will create other black-marketing — piously All other proposed solutions are quackery

Shri Kumarappa says that the Government must interfere only when the market is upset but wait till that time with stocks of food and keep the organization of rationing ready Shri Rajagopalachari said the supply regulation and rationing apparatus is costing plenty of money So this Government apparatus must be paid regularly to keep it ready for intervention In that case the cost of the apparatus must be added to the prices of goods even when goods are not distributed by it Is it economical?

The peasants have supplied food to all for thousands of years, but have been starved all over the world Because although, unlike manufactures with hand or machine which are quantitatively less when finished, nature, soil and climate have enabled them to increase production beyond the seeds planted, many hundreds of times more *The peasant's poverty cannot be abolished through the market* whether State or private persons run it. They are *but* wage-workers running production on their own responsibility and at their own risks They will remain victims of the market — regulation of "supply and demand"

I do not for the present deal with control of other goods, not even textiles

Control and decontrol experts alike are wandering from pillar to post or playing blind man's buff

Bombay, 21-11-52 M P T ACHARYA

(What to do then will be the natural question on reading the above If decontrol means *laissez faire* delivering the community to the tender mercies of trade and commerce as we see them today surely has the Government of the people to step in with its planned economy and controls as the next best under the circumstances If that is also not what we want then what is left to us? Shri Acharya does not discuss nor describe this aspect of the question, but rests content with saying at the beginning that "those who want decontrol must organize to carry it out themselves" In other words as I understand it, if we are not satisfied with Government's rationing food to us to a sort of nationalization of the distribution of cereals the next course is that the community must *socialize* it, which means that the people themselves must organize proper production and equitable distribution of their food Or as Gandhiji said, people should not depend upon their own Government even for their basic need of food and cloth These two things must be socialized Just as we mostly cook our food in our homes, so also corn and cloth should be produced on such a localised and socialized basis and thereby they should at least be taken out of the clutches of big markets and the stranglehold of modern money economy The orthodox economist, like the old politician who laughed at Satyagraha in the twenties of this century will also perhaps laugh at this idea however it is there and if the Indian people will it they can easily move to implement it It is surely as new a thing as Satyagraha but then Satyagraha did work and do the trick, so also if we in India aspire to bring about and evolve a non-violent and peaceful social order, we have to find out appropriate economics also for it. The people should organize themselves so as to assure to themselves the supply of their own need of food and cloth and Government as well as trade and commerce need not be depended upon for it This is our next great task In the meanwhile we have to see that Government does its job of control-cum-decontrol in the interests of the poor consumer

8-12-52 M. P.)

FOOD SHORTAGE AND AGRICULTURE

By Mahatma Gandhi

My endeavour has been to find ways and means to make ourselves self-supporting If the mercantile community and the official world would become honest... we can just tide over the difficulty" Gandhiji

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(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)
Editor: MAGANBHAI P. DESAI

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THE BOMBAY BIRTH-CONTROL CONFERENCE

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

An International Conference was held at Bombay on 24-11-'52 to consider the problem of birth-control Men and women who are alarmed at the rate at which population is increasing and who therefore believe that means to prevent births should be adopted came together at the Conference.

If these men and women had gone out into the villages of India and there began talking about contraceptives they would not have been understood All talk of controlling births, and that too merely to prevent conception, would sound strange to the ears of people who are born and bred in a civilization teaching them eagerly to await the birth of a son and enjoining on them the very ancient tradition 'Thou shalt not attempt to break the thread of progeny'. But prophets of civilization are cropping up, and that even outside of India, seeking to spread their newly found knowledge all over the world

Actually however, control of births is not a brand-new discovery Our ancient books bear ample testimony to the fact that it was seriously considered and became an integral part of the life of the ancients Witness only the four fold plan of life for the individual worked out and practised by them the four *ashramas* In those days no one did and why, even today no one in India does strut out as a bridegroom to take a wife at the patriarchal age of eighty Although the state of retirement from the householder's state, is not generally practised today, the idea that one must give up certain practices of the householder's way of life persists as a commonly accepted idea in our society This is because continence is considered essential not only for the spiritual life but also for all the four stages of an individual's life Continence in a definite manner was specially laid down as the duty of the householder The *Smritis* lay down all sorts of injunctions as to what a householder shall and shall not do in this behalf All this goes to show that the ancient Indians were not indifferent to the idea of planned parenthood

But they did not think of control only in regard to births. On the other hand, they believed that discriminating self-control was essential in all fields of human activity. This characteristic way of viewing life and living it as one whole is an element of our ancient civilization well worth preserving Man's life is not to be viewed and considered separately, in watertight compartments but treated as a whole and comprehensively.

If there is one essential difference between the civilization of India and of the West it is to be seen in this attitude towards life Our forefathers regarded life as one comprehensive whole, its essence being one and indivisible. All knowledge and science, all art and skill that was cultivated and developed in India was therefore pursued for and in the service of this 'One and Only and taking it as its basis. Because of this supreme faith, our ancestors did not live life piecemeal believing in the gospel of eat, drink and be merry. There were some exceptions of course, but their ideas did not long survive In Europe and America, on the other hand, the tendency seems to be to regard raising the standard of living anyhow and at any cost as the only end. From the beginning India did not fall a prey to this mistaken trend. That the one and only, the absolute unrelated Truth does exist, that life is given to us to reach it and realize it, and that life has to be organized and planned and has to be subordinated solely to the achievement of this all pervading single aim became the fundamental slogan of the civilization that has flowered here in our land and has retained its power to influence man's minds till this day It was believed that if this were not so, a great catastrophe would descend on man and all life would be but one long drawn out misery Therefore, though our ancestors did perceive the significance of controlling births they did not regard it as an unrelated absolute ideal. In fact it never can be one But it is claimed that the sun of civilization has now risen in the West and some people have heard the call to fetch its light to the East

What does this light descending upon us from the West tell us? It says in effect, "children are very much on the increase, the way of continence is surely a way to check it; but how can every one take to it? It is very difficult, nay, impossible for almost all men and women, what then shall we do? Science shows the way. We have discovered the means Our

science has found out medicines and various types of rubber and other pessaries as remedies for this evil We will show them to you and you will be happy to be rid of births and children and we will then be able to check this evil of the uncontrollably increasing human population "* The Bombay Conference met to carry this light to our land

The Conference was declared open by Shri Sarvapelli Radhakrishnan He is well known to the English reading world as a philosopher from the East he is especially famed all over the world, as one deeply learned in the lore and religions of India and he enjoys the reputation of being an expert physician able to diagnose the ill-health besetting the various trends in civilization One therefore expected an original contribution from him on this subject of controlling births.

Driven by anxiety for the welfare and the progress of his people Gandhiji had also studied this question of birth-control by mechanical and artificial means He came to the conclusion that if we were bamboozled into adopting artificial contraceptives we as a people would be set on the downward road to moral and spiritual perdition, the true remedy, according to him, was self control and making our lives cleaner, better and more decent by cultivating wholesome social customs begetting children may be a social duty, but sexual indulgence could never, never be man's or woman's duty. He gave his views in a book — *Self-Restraint v Self-Indulgence* †

It was but natural to hope that as at one time Shri Radhakrishnan had explained to the Western World the Hindu View of Life in his beautiful style and enchanting English, he would on this occasion give us something to think about in the light of the ancient Hindu view of life on this problem which touches the very core of the religion and life of man. For after all this question of controlling births is not an insignificant matter Of the four incentives which urge humanity to purposeful action and living it touches the two most universal, namely sexual and economic activities which concern all men and women It is also concerned with the most significant social activity of men and women, viz procreation which deeply affects humanity and its future An issue which is so vital to the human race should not be considered or discussed merely from a paltry view of life like indulgence and satisfaction of the senses, or a physically healthy and merry life which makes a ready appeal to the brute in us, it deserves to be considered and discussed from a point of view which is based on and appeals to the religious instinct of man and conduces to his salvation Shri Radhakrishnan did nothing of the kind, on the contrary, one is compelled to have to say regretfully, he talked in easy generalizations which were but meaningless platitudes, he seemed to want to placate both parties to the dispute From all that he said on the occasion one fails even to perceive whether he welcomes birth-control by artificial means or condemns it!

Shri Radhakrishnan discussed Gandhiji's opinion on the question also but it was merely to ask (I am saying this depending on the report of his speech that has appeared in the newspapers) whether the method of self-control advocated by Gandhiji was also not an interference with the ways of nature! And going ahead with an air of propounding a universal truth he asked if civilization itself was not an interference with nature * Granted that it was, what of it? The real question is how man should interfere with nature as befits him and helps his development Shri Radhakrishnan's treatment of the subject leaves the ordinary man perplexed and confused

A supreme rule or principle of a truthful life is that both the end as well as the means must be good; a good and true end can never be achieved by any and every means whatever the means for a truthful end must be truthful In fact it is ultimately the means which shape and determine the end If birth control is accepted as an end it is surely not the ultimate end humanity wants to achieve Even birth-control is a means conceived for the good and welfare of mankind But keeping it in view as a limited aim to be immediately and for the time being achieved, the means conceived to serve it should be clean, consistent with the ultimate aim of mankind, conducive to the welfare of man, of his life and of his progeny The inevitable law of the identity of ends and means applies here also Shri Radhakrishnan is however reported to have said, "If the end is served there is nothing ethically or spiritually harmful in the particular method adopted or means employed" On reading these words one is left wondering whether Shri Radhakrishnan has unconsciously borrowed his doctrine regarding ends and means from the Communists in whose land he recently stayed for some time Birth-control is not mere mechanical means It arises from and touches the innermost being and the deepest nature of the human individual. It is also a matter which has living concern with the welfare of society as a whole It should therefore be considered and discussed keeping the depth of human nature and the whole of human society in view. For no reason should we be hurried into hasty action.

This idea of controlling births started as a remedy for the supposed evil of mordinately increasing population But thinkers of Europe and

* If India saw the light and took to this craze the contraceptive manufacturers of Europe and America would incidentally have a roaring trade.

† Price Re 2, postage etc As. 10, Navajivan Karyalaya, Ahmedabad-9

* In terms of philosophy any change in or interference with nature is impossible What we can do is but to understand nature and use our knowledge derived from such understanding So the question before man is one of a proper use of that knowledge

of the West have now begun to realize that the scare raised is false. It is obvious that if population increased workers too will increase And nature with its unlimited resources has not lost its capacity to yield food No one believes or says that it has But these advocates of artificial means for birth-control obstinately persist in saying that the one serious calamity which threatens mankind is one of over-population, take measures to remedy it or we are doomed Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in his message to the Conference has indicated that our troubles of the moment certainly do not arise from over-population alone Scientists like Joshue de Castro definitely assert * that over-population is not the cause of humanity's present troubles, the root of all these troubles is that we men do not justly distribute the wealth of the world for use, that nations and people make war upon one another in their selfish narrow interests and in their arrogance, and that the strong seek to overpower the weak

If we were to consider this question as it applies to India alone our problem is something quite different and much more serious. Our upper classes in India have been importing from the West, and particularly from America, a new view of life and its fulfilment This view is entering and influencing our ways regarding food and entertainment our art of life our habits and customs and relations between the sexes. Those very countries themselves have not yet clearly understood or realized the full implications of this view of life. But it happens to possess the cheap merit of easily appealing to immature intelligence and of titillating the senses This view of life goes ahead in its pride of rationalism born of the knowledge of physical science, in the West it seeks to prevail on the strength of its claim to have succeeded

But has it succeeded? The failure or success of a civilization cannot be judged from a short duration of four or five centuries And the White civilization of the modern age is hardly three centuries old. We witness even at the end of such a short period that its structure is giving way and doubt and anxiety are being expressed regarding its foundation

We have to judge this civilization comprehensively and in all its bearings When we try to see it in that manner we find that war, aggression, exploitation and seeking foreign markets for goods produced in one's own factories are inseparable factors in the make-up of this civilization. The West, on the strength of its newly found instrument — the machine, has lorded over Asia and Africa for a few centuries. But the tide now seems to have turned Not only have bitter rivalries cropped up amongst the Westerners themselves, but also the East which was till now considered backward and Africa have stirred themselves, have begun to understand what is happening and to revolt A new chapter in the life of Western civilization has begun Contraception or birth-control by artificial means is a thing discovered and spread by the West The philosophy and view of life which form its background are different from those of ours The question before us is: Is this philosophy and view of life acceptable to us? Even the West itself is divided in its opinion on the question of contraceptives So if birth-control is to be adopted by us, it should be done only after all these implications are fully considered

During the long course of man's history all sorts of ideas good and bad have come and gone What remains for man on the whole is what he deserves We cannot afford to accept this new-fangled idea of birth-control without question We in India especially cannot ignore the warning held out by Gandhiji and many others This Conference on the whole seems to be an attempt to screen or make people forget that warning This movement for the spread of the knowledge and use of contraceptives which has been sneakingly finding acceptance in the cities of India is now desperately seeking respectability; with the support of such respectability it wants to enter the villages of India in the name of health and economic prosperity Such respectability this movement cannot secure We must remember that the Father of the Nation, the embodied spirit of India was opposed to it We would prove ourselves prudent and would safeguard ourselves against untold evils if we wisely heeded him

26-11-'52

(From the original in Gujarati)

* See articles *Food and Population* (Harijan, June 7 1952), *The Neo-Malthusian Myth* (Harijan, June 21 1952); *Hunger and Politics* (Harijan, July 5, 1952)

An Opportunity to Young Persons

Service-minded young persons determined to dedicate themselves to the cause of the villages of India are cordially invited by the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi to serve as its workers in villages. Suitable arrangements for their training and maintenance after training will be made by the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi The honorarium offered is Rs 75 to Rs 150 per month Those desirous of taking advantage of this opportunity should get into touch with the Secretary, Gandhi Smarak Nidhi, 5, Mansing Road, New Delhi 2

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HARIJAN

Dec. 20 1952

CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAMME AND POWER POLITICS

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

We learn from papers that things in the Bihar Congress have worsened so much that the Congress President had to take resort to an unusually drastic step of cancelling the Congress elections. Similarly bad news about something vitally wrong in the affairs of the Congress comes from various other parts of the country also. To every lover of the land this news is very much distressing indeed.

Gandhiji built up the strength and vitality of the Congress through his Constructive Programme and Satyagraha. Non-violence was its sheet-anchor. There were some at that time who did not have faith in it; they believed in violence. Now with the advent of Swaraj, except the Communist I think no group or party has that faith. But a new danger has arisen in the shape of *Sattagraha* — a craze for capturing political power. We have political power in our hands now, therefore persons and parties or groups are on a mad and unscrupulous run for capturing it in their own interests. There is all fear that such rivalry will mean the death-knell not only of the Congress but also of democratic Swaraj as well. It is really unfortunate that this should be so at the very time when we as a people have to take to various nation-building activities for our progress.

Under these circumstances, some among us feel that it would be better that we might turn off and keep away from power politics. We might say, the constructive workers as a group are of this mind. This is surely good so far as it goes: it means a healthy influence in the situation and less stampede for power. Surely, power politics or what has been called parliamentary work — this alone is not the whole work before the country. However, it must be noted that it has also to be attended to, because we have Swaraj now. We cannot allow ourselves to consider that work as any way untouchable or inferior. We are now called upon to see as to who rules our land and how; we as a people have now the well-earned good fortune of choosing our own rulers, and it is one of our most consequential and important constructive activities. Therefore, although some persons or parties may well decide such salutary self-restraint for themselves, however obviously such a course cannot be adopted by us as a whole. Rather as Gandhiji had said in another situation once, we have to take it that parliamentary activity has come to stay in the land, and therefore we have to find proper people for undertaking and discharging it in due manner, and our people must be trained for it.

But surely, undertaking that new responsibility does not mean *Sattagraha* — rivalry for power for power's sake. The new task also is to be fulfilled in the same old manner of Satyagraha which is the best way. That is to organize ourselves through constructive work and run the governments on the strength acquired that way. People have still to work for themselves even though there is a popular Government. Rather, as we go further in our work, even governments feel that their work even does not progress without public co-operation and the popular sanction of constructive activities; that whatsoever goes on without them is almost lifeless and unanthusing.

The proof of this is the need of forming an institution like the Bharat Sevak Samaj. People of all parties and Government servants even can join it. Hence naturally there is a question among Congressmen whether such a new institution was necessary. Is it proper to enrol Government servants in it? Is not the Congress for the service of the people through constructive activities? Why should we allow ourselves to lose the advantage of and not work further with the prestige and position acquired by that body through national service of so many years' standing? Because of such considerations some feel that while on one hand, the Congress will perhaps forget the mission of popular service, on the other the new body will have to take time to gather enough steam to go ahead, and hence it is not surprising that some do not feel its need even.

What is the way out of such a situation? If the Congress becomes a mere political party only, there is all danger that it will not only spell its own ruin but also of ordered Government even in the country today. It must be remembered that political parties even have their basis in what constructive activities they carry on among the people. That was how the Congress had built its prestige. But it cannot carry on long on that capital only. Other parties also are not free from the rivalry of power politics. Hence there is a question for us, what should we do then? The answer is as simple as it is true: people should free themselves from the ghost of power mongering and return to their old and well-tried way of constructive programme. That is they should apply themselves to it on lines of truth and non-violence as before. The Congress must mobilize enough strength to clearly tell the people as well as the Government what we should do at present. The way to such mobilization of strength, is also as we know by experience to work among the people. It may be that governments might not be agreeable to our doing certain constructive activities. Hence we find among constructive workers a feeling of anger or frustration or a sort of aversion or indifference to the Congress and its Governments. We are also witnessing that some of them begin to look to other countries and their policies and programmes. When the Congress gave bold and clear lead to its workers naturally such a phenomenon had no place. Today

when that strength of bold lead is abating there is a sort of confusion in the ranks Therefore it behoves us that we immediately leave off the scramble for power and return to the way of Satyagraha Otherwise there is ample warning to us that our public life will worsen almost irretrievably

12-12-'52

(From the original in Gujarati)

THE CULTURE WE AIM AT

(By Gandhiji)

The Indian culture of our times is in the making Many of us are striving to produce a blend of all the cultures which seem today to be in clash with one another No culture can live, if it attempts to be exclusive There is no such thing as pure Aryan culture in existence today in India Whether the Aryans were indigenous to India or were unwelcome intruders, does not interest me much What does interest me is the fact that my remote ancestors blended with one another with the utmost freedom and we of the present generation are a result of that blend.

Harijan, 8-5-38

I do not want my house to be walled in on all sides and my windows to be stuffed I want the cultures of all lands to be blown about my house as freely as possible But I refuse to be blown off my feet by any I would have our young men and women with literary tastes to learn as much of English and other world languages as they like, and then expect them to give the benefits of their learning to India and to the world like a Bose a Roy or the Poet himself But I would not have a single Indian to forget, neglect or be ashamed of his mother tongue, or to feel that he or she cannot think or express the best thoughts in his or her own vernacular Mine is not a religion of the prison-house.

Young India, 1-8-21

Nothing can be farther from my thought than that we should become exclusive or erect barriers But I do respectfully contend that an appreciation of other cultures can fitly follow, never precede, an appreciation and assimilation of our own. It is my firm opinion that no culture has treasures so rich as ours has We have not known it, we have been made even to deprecate its study and depreciate its value We have almost ceased to live it. An academic grasp without practice behind it is like an embalmed corpse, perhaps lovely to look at but nothing to inspire or ennoble My religion forbids me to belittle or disregard other cultures, as it insists under pain of civil suicide upon imbibing and living my own

Young India 1 9-21

It stands for synthesis of the different cultures that have come to stay in India, that have influenced Indian life, and that in their turn have themselves been influenced by the spirit of the soil This synthesis will naturally be of the Swadeshi type, where each culture is assured its legitimate place, and not of the American pattern, where one dominant culture absorbs the rest, and where the aim is not towards harmony, but towards an artificial and forced unity

Young India, 17 11 '20

ENGLISH IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS

(By Maganbhai P Desai)

The Director of Education (D E), Bombay State, has circularized secondary schools in the State asking their opinion on a few very important questions of our secondary educational reconstruction One of them is regarding the place of English in national education Another is in regard to the place of secondary education and its control in the total scheme of our educational set-up in general and *vis-a-vis* higher or collegiate education in particular I leave off the latter for the present and note the former here as it is immediate and more important

The question of the place of English in secondary education is not new for the State, as its Government has by now already had its own policy decided on the matter It has laid down that the study of English shall formally begin from the eighth year of a child's schooling and not earlier, i e it will begin at the truly secondary stage, the first seven years being entirely meant for the primary or basic stage This bold policy of reorganization of secondary education in the State was revised last year to allow that the study of English in schools might be earlier by one year only i e at the seventh year and that on a purely voluntary basis. Now it is abundantly clear that this step on the part of the Government was a tactical mistake if not worse and was a bad sort of appeasement of vested interests who were planning to pick a hole if they could, in the truly national principle and policy noted above In the wake of that appeasement the reaction in favour of going back upon that policy is gathering ground in some places and it seems they have succeeded in putting up their move on the official map of reorganization suggested in the D E's circular For it suggests whether English might be further allowed to be begun from standard sixth if not earlier as before from standard fifth That this is very bad from various points of view has been discussed in these columns in various connections. It is enough to note here that this suggestion is wholly reactionary and must be negatived by all who care to see that a new system of national education in India is born and brought about on a firm democratic basis and in the true interests of our people as a whole and not in the vested interests of a few classes as it is today Basic Education requires that the first seven or eight years of a child's schooling are free of the burden of a foreign language like English which can never be for all This principle was accepted by us in the first All-India Basic Education Conference that met at Poona in 1938-39 under the auspices of the Government of Bombay The Government of Bombay deserves congratulations of the country that it was the first State to implement it after mature deliberations of fairly a decade The said reform has been fairly on its way to being a vital part of the system of the State, and we hope it will not succumb to the counter-revolutionary move from the vested interests that have unfortunately been gathering together round English today.

12-12-'52

A CIVILIZATION IN DECAY

(By Wilfred Wellock)

[This is the 2nd instalment from the author's paper, "The Supreme Crisis of Our Civilisation." The first, viz "Industrial Revolution in Reverse", appeared in the issue dated 13-12-'52.]

Civilizations count time in eras which blossom and decay. Life is illimitable and thus progressive and expansive. It bursts into brilliance in periods of vision, contracts and fades and even perishes when vision fails; and vision does sometimes fail. It is a fact of some significance that all Western civilizations have been short-lived. Only Eastern civilisations like the Chinese and the Indian, have survived three millenniums. No outstanding vision has inspired Western civilization for several centuries and such as there have been are now exhausted. A new creative era lies within our reach, but there is no certainty that it will come to birth. Our genius has run to quantitative production and consumption, and to power in order to ensure these. Our lordship is over death and destruction, not over life. We have inaugurated the era of world economics and world wars, and devised the means of world destruction. But we lack the power to save us from that fate which may be nearer than we dream. Is vision, then, to fail? That is the only question that now matters.

A Change in Men and Society

As a result of the changes wrought by the Industrial Revolution on the nature of man and of society the transference by the compulsion of starvation of craft workers from well integrated villages to bleak soulless towns to tend power-driven machines in gaunt new factories, was transference from a life which yielded numerous social and spiritual values and thus had meaning to one which had neither meaning nor a vestige of social or spiritual significance from a status which embraced personal responsibility, creative opportunity, vocational and social value, independence and local standing to a condition of abject dependence upon the will of a rich and powerful employer whose primary aim was professedly to make money.

In due course as competition for world markets grew it became the practice to cheapen production by means of increased specialization. This ultimately led to the technique of the assembling line and the chain of repetitive machines, when the percentage of repetitive labour in some industries reached as high as 95 per cent.

This Spiritual Atrocity

This condition is the negation of everything which has to do with human dignity and the culture of the spirit. It is in fact the negation of spiritual man, man the creator made in the image of God. In this set-up intelligence is a disability, a hindrance to production, as it stimulates a sense of frustration destroys all interest in one's work and thus lowers production, whence all manner of diversions have to be introduced in order to condition people to function at the sub-human level. Increasingly scientists are being introduced for this very purpose to such degradation has modern science sunk.

Neither religion nor culture has protested against this spiritual atrocity. Owing to the dexterity by which the new materialism was clothed with the sanctity of religion a fatal blind-spot has developed to regard it, which even today obscures some of its worst consequences. The glorification of riches, of social status and national power has resulted in a condition of social and spiritual impoverishment, irresponsibility and weakening moral and social sensitivity which is visibly undermining the fabric of our civilisation. The transforming of once responsible well-integrated persons craftsmen with social obligations and recompenses into mechanized robots has caused work for the great majority to have no other significance than that of earning money. We thus arrive at a cash-based materialistic civilisation — a society of fragmented persons who live largely on mass-excitements and spectacles and expect to satisfy all their needs by means of money. In this spiritually barren existence religion has no meaning and the church only a perfunctory mission.

Need we wonder that pilfering among the workers, and conscienceless charging of high prices in the upper reaches of society are rampant and are growing? The course of this evil is the loss of connection between a man's work and his soul. Lack of responsibility in work ends in lack of responsibility in morals. Indeed we are rapidly producing an amoral civilization. Its end will be near unless we reverse many of its processes.

Neo-Materialism of Our Age

To sum up the real problem of our age is spiritual and arises from the rapidly increasing emphasis that has been placed on material values during the advance of the Industrial Revolution which has resulted in the almost complete identification of human wellbeing or the good life with maximum consumption of goods and services.

In the West, greed and the love of riches and material abundance, which from the first have been the primary motives behind capitalism have at last penetrated every section of society. They have neutralized the idealism of the early socialists — the men who stood for a qualitative civilization — and through Marx have passed on the incubus of materialism to Communism. Today a devouring materialism is ravaging the earth's resources at a greater rate than they are being replenished either by maintaining the earth's fertility or by discovery and invention.

Devouring Earth's Resources

In the London *Times* (17-8-'49) an article on "The Wastage of Raw Materials" drew attention to the urgent need for their conservation and quoted Dr. R. P. Linstead, F.R.S. at a meeting of the British Association, as follows:

"Man is now making vast raids upon capital resources. It has been stated that more minerals have been taken out of the ground in the U.S. since 1900 than from the whole world during the whole of previous history.

The article also stated that the American Association was told the year before that

"by the end of 1947 the cumulative production of coal during all past human history amounted to approximately 81,000 million metric tons. Of this, 43,000 millions have been mined and consumed since 1900.

The U.S. uses more iron and steel, more petrol, more news print, and more rubber than all the rest of the world put together. She now imports all these raw materials and over eighty others, having largely exhausted her own supplies. Indeed *Time* (31-12-'51) declared:

"In many ways the U.S. once the owner of seemingly inexhaustible natural treasure was in danger of becoming a have-not nation."

And what is the goal of Western civilization? It is to reach America's standards of living!

Whither Mankind?

Almost throughout the West it appears to be taken for granted that the real issue today is the struggle for supremacy between the Western or American "way of life" and Communism. This is a tragic misreading of the times and a world war fought on that issue would be the greatest calamity imaginable. It is an entirely unreal issue as both these "ways of life" rest on power for the achievement of the highest possible standards of material living. The real difference between them is as to who shall distribute the national wealth and on what principle. As the conflict between these two ideologies deepens, the freedoms of democracy visibly weaken.

From that impasse there is no escape other than that of accepting the guidance of spiritual values and principles. The new materialism, so far from satisfying basic human needs, is producing a spirit of restlessness, and nowhere more strikingly than in the U.S. In the realm of appetites and indulgences there is no end to the multiplication of wants, while the more one has the more restless one becomes.

It is the nature of our life, due to modern industrialism, that is wrong and it is wrong because it does not conform with man's spiritual needs that forgotten better part of his nature. When the main motive of labour and industry is switched from satisfying self-expression to money making, men become machines and societies competitive gladiatorial associations that live on excitements which they miscall sport and on self indulgences, which they call fun.

A Civilization in Decay

Ours is a civilization in decay It has become so outward and unstable that growing fear is shaking its very foundations. If the decay is to be arrested many of the spiritual rights and values that have been lost during the course of the Industrial Revolution must be restored This will involve major changes in our economy in our social, political and industrial organisation and techniques indeed in our entire way of life

OUR HANDLOOM INDUSTRY

(By Benarasilal Bazaj)

The problem of handloom weavers is agitating the minds of our thinkers such as Rajaji and Vinobaji It is undoubtedly the most important cottage industry which must survive if Rama Rajya is to be established in our country for which our leaders fought with the British under Bapu's guidance

Myself a habitual wearer of pure Khadi, I deal in handloom products and mill-made yarn and cloth Hence I take the liberty of placing the following facts so that they may assist the efforts which are being made to revive the handloom industry

During and after the war when mill-made cloth was in short supply, the handloom weavers reaped a rich harvest by weaving loose cloth, dyeing *katcha* shades and charging exhorbitant rates for their products They had no fear then of any competition from any quarter and were unmindful of the fate that always awaits the unscrupulous

During the year 1949-50 when mill-made cloth was plentiful, the handloom weavers were in the same plight as today But as soon as the export of mill-made cloth began, cloth prices went up and the handloom weavers were again at their best till the present slump which began with the fall in prices a few months back

The present situation is that the handloom products can only be sold when the mill-made cloth is in short supply In fact even the Khadi sales are now dependent on the availability or non availability of mill-cloth Formerly Khadi was running its course independently of mill-cloth But now like the ordinary handloom products, pure Khadi sales have also linked up with mill-cloth. Khadi sales shoot up when mill-cloth is scarce and go down as soon as the mill-cloth becomes plentiful

It is within everybody's memory that when cloth was in short supply, people preferred to remain semi-naked and waited in queue for hours together to get a few yards of mill-cloth But they would not spin yarn to work the idle handlooms. Bapu cried in vain to change the mentality of the people He even made changes in the system of Khadi production and sales so that the producers must wear Khadi and consumers must spin yarn How splendid was this scheme to produce more and more cloth? Enough cotton is grown in our land to be spun and turned into cloth to meet the requirements of all the people But the people did not listen and as I have said before, preferred to remain semi naked. The result was setting up of more machinery to accelerate the production of mill-made cloth which caused further decline of the handloom industry

If the mills are asked not to manufacture *dhotis* and *saris* the next step to be taken will be that at least half of the looms, if not more, must stop working so that the mill yarn may be available to the handloom weavers Otherwise wherefrom such a huge quantity of yarn will come? The cry for increasing the production of cloth by the mills must stop as the mill production can only increase at the cost of our handloom weavers

Again the situation in our country has become more grave and complicated due to heavy influx of art silk and rayon products Being cheap and fancy, they are gradually replacing cotton products

In short, I make the following tentative suggestions for consideration by the Government and the people.

(1) Government policy of increasing the production of mill cloth must stop On the other hand gradually the loom capacity of the mills should be decreased say @ 5% per year as the gradual decrease will not upset the present equilibrium. The present spindle capacity should not be decreased for a few years to come as we shall require mill-made yarn till our villages produce their own yarn

(2) Nation-wide drive should be made specially amongst the weaving community to prefer handloom products.

(3) All the Government departments should stop buying mill-made cloth.

(4) Efforts should be made to revive hand spinning in the villages so that in course of time the villages or units of villages may be independent of mill yarn

(5) Government should open dyeing depots in the weaving centres to dye fast colours and to impart knowledge to the weavers.

(6) Import of rayon yarn and its products should be gradually stopped and its manufacturing in our country should not be encouraged It should remain an article of luxury for the rich only

(7) Import of all foreign cloth and yarn must be totally stopped for aver

If the handloom problem is solved, our other cottage industries are bound to revive in its wake.

I hope my suggestions will receive due consideration by all concerned.

Banaras

THE ETERNAL IDEAL OF EQUALITY *

The word 'Swaraj' inspired thousands to brave deeds and acts of sacrifice and delight in sacrifice. People joyfully went to jail and even braved death. Such was the power of this magic word. After independence, we needed another such magic word, expressive of a great ideal to rouse us to activity, and we found it in 'Sarvodaya'. The word was there but I felt that there was needed a programme of work that might catch our imagination and inspire us to great deeds. For a mantra remains unmanifest, unless it is joined to a programme of work and then it activises the general mass of people. I was therefore on the look-out for such a programme and it came to me in the course of my tour in Telangana. My work is not limited to the solution of the land problem. What I want is to initiate and establish a great moral idea which is of the nature of an Eternal Dharma as distinguished from our formal religions like Hinduism, Islam etc.

The Eternal Dharma

We often use the word, 'eternal' but without fully understanding its implications. Dharma has two aspects, one changeless and the other changing. The observance of truth is as much a duty today as it was in days gone by, and as much in other countries as in India. The difference of time and space does not limit it. It is of the kind of eternal verities which are the same always. So are love and compassion. But the rules of conduct through which they are sought to be expressed cannot last for all time. They change according to age and circumstance and country. *Bhakti* i.e. devotion is again an eternal Dharma and equally true for all but form and ceremonial designed to express it will differ. What we must do therefore is to hold fast to this changeless soul of Dharma and keep it continuously in our mind.

I am not concerned with the transitory forms. I am calling you to the changeless essence of Dharma. This changeless essence consists in the establishment of equality and unity, notwithstanding the diversity and differences of outward life. These differences will remain, but there will be equality and an inner unity.

Ideal of Equality

When children are young it is parents duty to keep them under proper discipline. But when they are out of their teens they should have freedom. The parents will then merely advise them. Then when the parents are old, it is the children who look after them and so lay down the discipline to be followed by the latter. Thus the form changes but the essence — in this case the duty of the parents to love their children and provide for their right development, — continues unchanged. It is the same with society. When it was in the infant age, there was need for kings. It was the duty of the kings to keep the people under proper discipline and the duty of the people to follow it. But now when society has outgrown its infancy a monarch is anachronistic and out of place. The power has now passed into the hands of the representatives of the people. The Sanskrit adage that 'the king is the maker of his age' is no longer true. It is now the people who give shape and character to the age. Thus much has changed with the passage of time. But the fundamental truth of equality and harmony being the basis of a right type of a social organisation has not grown stale and remains true to this day as it will in future also.

In olden times, it was not necessary to divide land for promoting equality because there was enough to till and spare but now it is necessary. Of course equality does not mean that every one should have five acres of land, and the same kind of house-building, or an equal yardage of cloth. We only want that the things which are necessary for life, such as air water and land should be equally accessible to all. None will grudge the surplus which may be left over with some after all have had enough of these things.

Discriminative Equality

We want equality tempered with discrimination. The attempts made in other countries to bring about equality by force lacked the light of discrimination. That is why the idea of equality in those countries is proving abortive. The mother does not distribute food among her children on the basis of mathematical equality. To the youngest one she gives only milk, to the next some milk and some bread, and to the grown-up only bread. In the same way in society also we will exercise discrimination and take into account the intensity of hunger and the power of digestion of each in the distribution of food. Where equality is brought about by force all are compelled to conform to the same pattern. We are totally against this kind of regimentation. We aim at spiritual equality based on discrimination.

(From Hindi)

Ramulubhai

Shri Potti Shriramulu of Madras died a martyr to the intransigence of those who could not see their way to deciding upon the quick formation of a separate Andhra State under an agreed formula. I knew him as an old inmate of the Satyagrahashrama, Sabarmati, to which he came leaving off his old job to join the service of the country under Gandhiji's leadership. We of the Ashram called him Ramulubhai. He was one of the Dandi marchers of 1930. He was with us who went to Bihar in 1934 for the Earthquake Relief. For four years after that he was in Saurashtra at the Rajkot Rashtriya Shala. After 1938 he went back to Andhra and was doing constructive work in his home province. A few days back he surprised me by a letter (30-10-'52) telling me that he was fasting unto death for the cause of Separate Andhra State and was running its 12th day. I immediately wrote back to say that fast was no remedy for it and it was not a proper step. But I had all fears that he would not heed to it. He was a brave man with a strong will and unbreakable courage. It was almost impossible to dislodge him from his decision on a matter he might be seized of. Andhra State was such a matter. It is tragic that the Madras leaders could not save him by reconciling their differences in the face of Ramulubhai's self-imposed ordeal. May he rest in peace.

16-12-'52 M. P.

* From Shri Vinoba's prayer-speech at Kudu, Ranchi District, on 25-11-'52.

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(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)
Editor MAGANBHAI P DESAI

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PROHIBITION AND PLANNING

(*By Gandhiji*)

For me, the drink question is one of dealing with a growing social evil against which the State is bound to provide whilst it has got the opportunity The aim is patent. We want to wean the labouring population and the Harijans from the curse It is a gigantic problem, and the best resources of all social workers, especially women, will be taxed to the utmost before the drink habit goes. The prohibition I have adumbrated is but the beginning (undoubtedly indispensable) of the reform. We cannot reach the drinker so long as he has the drink shop near his door to tempt him One might as well prevent an ailing child, nay man from touching sweets so long as he does not remove the open box in front of them.

(*Harijan*, 14-8-'37)

So long as the State not only permits but provides facilities for the addict to satisfy his craving, the reformer has little chance of success. Gipsy Smith was a powerful temperance preacher It was a feature of his huge gatherings that several people took the vow of total abstinence under the spell of his song and precept But I say from my experience of South Africa that the majority of the poor addicts could not resist the temptation to enter the palatial bars that faced them, no matter whether they wandered in the principal thoroughfares of cities, or the wayside inns when they strayed away from cities State prohibition is not the end of this great temperance reform, but it is the indispensable beginning of it

(*Harijan*, 25-9-'37)

Drink Revenue

If you discuss this problem (prohibition) with the administrators they will tell you all sorts of stories and put all manner of difficulties in the way of carrying this legislation through Do not believe these difficulties. There is no difficulty at all beyond the difficulty of making up the deficit of revenue. If you and I have made up our minds that this evil has got to be eradicated and if it can be eradicated only by prohibition legislation, then it is for the Government to find a way out of the deficit difficulty It is not open to it to ask you to suggest ways and means for making up that deficit.

(*Young India*, 18-4-'29)

I count loss of this revenue as of no account whatsoever Prohibition will remain a far cry, if the Congress is to count the cost in a matter of first class national importance

Let it be remembered that this drink and drugs revenue is a form of extremely degrading taxation All taxation to be healthy must return tenfold to the tax-payer in the form of necessary services Excise makes people pay for their own corruption moral mental and physical It falls like a dead weight on those who are least able to bear it The revenue is largely derived, I believe, from industrial labour which together with field labour the Congress almost exclusively represents

The loss of revenue is only apparent Removal of this degrading tax enables the drinker, i e the tax-payer to earn and spend better Apart, therefore from the tremendous gain it means a substantial economic gain to the nation

(*Harijan*, 11-7-'37)

Now as to how to make up for the loss of revenue in some province to the extent of one-third ? I have unhesitatingly suggested cutting out the educational budget for which purpose mainly the excise revenue is used I still maintain that education can be made self-supporting. With this I must deal elsewhere It cannot be made so in a day even if the possibility of its being made self-supporting is accepted Existing obligations have to be met Therefore, fresh sources of revenue have to be tapped Death duties, tax on tobacco including *bidis*, have already been given as some suggestions If these are considered impossible of immediate accomplishment short-term loans may be devised to tide over the deficit, and if even that fails, the Central Government should be approached to curtail the military budget and give the Provinces the proportionate grant

(*Harijan*, 28-8-'37)

Illicit Distillation

The cry of great expenditure in preventing illicit distillation is thoughtless where it is not hypocritical Why should prevention of illicit distillation cost any more than prevention of other crimes ? I should make illicit distillation heavily punishable and think no more about it Some of it will go on perhaps till doomsday as thieving will. I would not set up a special agency to pry

[illegible] But I would punish anyone found drunk [illegible] not disorderly (in the legal sense) in streets or other public places with a substantial fine or alternatively with indeterminate imprisonment to end when the erring one has earned his or her keep

(*Harijan* 31-7 '37)

[In spite of the above from the Father of the Nation which is accepted by us as national policy, it is really painful to learn that the Planning Commission has not seen its way nor felt the great priority prohibition should have in our National Plan as required by the Constitution of India On the other hand we learn from papers that it has found some money to help Birth Control, a measure against which Gandhiji warned us with all his fervour. If deficit financing has a place why should it not be availed of for bringing about immediate prohibition with subventions from the Centre if necessary one does not know

19-12-'52 M P]

FACTS AND FALLACIES ABOUT PROHIBITION

[The following is reproduced from the speech of Dr T R Narayana Deputy Minister for Prohibition, Bombay broadcasting from the Bombay Station of All India Radio, on 28-10-'52. — Ed]

Prohibition and Loss of Revenue

Prohibition has as you are aware become a target of criticism in a section of the Press and among certain groups of people I must therefore at the very outset, tell you that I am going tonight to restrict myself in this talk, to certain facts, particularly in respect of the loss of revenue to the State which I find, here been misrepresented and highly exaggerated. I will also try to demolish some of the fallacies about Prohibition that are being circulated.

Sales Tax Receipts

To begin with I may state that the excise revenue of the Bombay State in 1946-47, i.e during the year prior to the introduction of Prohibition, was about 874 lakhs while the revenue from the sales tax was about Rs 170 lakhs After the introduction of Prohibition the revenue position for the year 1950-51 was that the State derived a revenue of Rs 107 lakhs from excise and Rs 1 517 lakhs from the sales tax. This means a loss of Rs 967 lakhs in excise revenue and a gain of Rs 1 400 lakhs in sales tax revenue. These figures clearly show that the loss in excise revenue has been made up with receipts from a legitimate source of State revenue

Expenditure on Enforcement

Persons who are ignorant of the actual position of our State finances might be gullible enough to believe in the wild and exaggerated stories about the drain on State revenue caused by Prohibition But when some members of some responsible institution, in its recent meeting asserted that Rs 8 crores were being spent on the enforcement of Prohibition, I must hasten to question the accuracy of that assertion. As a matter of fact, the only expenditure on the enforcement of Prohibition policy is about 70 lakhs and not Rs 6 crores The expenditure of Rs 70 lakhs also includes the expenditure on the various activities like welfare and recreation facilities for ex-addicts, propaganda among them, supervision work rehabilitation of prohibition-affected persons, police establishments and other items connected with the implementation of the policy of Total Prohibition.

Hard-Earned Earning of Poor People

As everybody knows the bulk of the excise revenue came out of hard-earned earnings of the lower strata of [illegible]

[illegible] any [illegible] and that we [illegible] ise revenue [illegible]

Illicit Anti-Social Tax

W[illegible] excise [illegible] be called an [illegible] I would bet [illegible] a few scor[illegible] [illegible] Prohibition [illegible] committee's Report [illegible] The excise tax [illegible] can be conceived [illegible] morally [illegible] it is plundering [illegible] drunk The greatest merit of Prohibition is that it abolished this tax

Improvement in Economic Condition

The critics of Prohibition also ignore the obvious fact that even if the Government lost excise revenue this loss actually means a saving of about three times the figure of savings if the people who used to spend such a big amount on drink and other intoxicants. We have to remember that this money saved by the people now which used to be squandered on alcoholic drinks is now being spent on better food better clothing investments education of children savings etc The State therefore could well afford to lose the excise revenue if in return thousands in this State who had been condemned to live even in semi-starvation are enabled to live happy and prosperous life Reports we have received from practically every district speak of the visible prosperity of the population, including a large percentage of the backward classes especially in areas populated by Adivasis who are believed to be incurable addicts of alcoholic drinks

Illicit Distillation and Smuggling

I find that illicit distillation, smuggling and such other activities are played up by persons who are opposed to Prohibition It is quite conceivable that, during the period of transition, that is to say before the new generation comes up which would have had no contact with the former reality of drink allowance has to be made for certain amount of malpractices like illicit distillation smuggling etc. As one scientific observer has put it these things arise because of the temporary natural reaction to this social legislation In the words of Gita, 'all good beginnings are shrouded with some drawbacks just as fire is with smoke' We do not, therefore, give up good things but remove the drawbacks and malpractices After all, malpractices such as illicit distillation, smuggling etc. are even now restricted only to some coastal and urban or suburban areas. But the extent of this evil is exaggerated. I repeat that the remedy lies not in giving up Prohibition or condemning it as a failure but in dealing with it as an evil on the police and penal level and also by creating active mass consciousness.

Not a Legitimate Revenue

From the facts I have given to you you will see that Prohibition has not caused the catastrophe as has been made out by some people The excise revenue has not been regarded at any time as a legitimate revenue and even former British rulers who derived a large excise revenue had always wished to abolish excise revenue at some future date. I may state that as early as 1885 the British Parliament on the motion of Mr Samuel Smith passed a resolution condemning the excise policy of the Government in India and directing it to change it to Prohibition

Prohibition is a Positive Programme

There is another argument that there are more important things than Prohibition which the Government should do first. Prohibition is a positive programme of reconstruction of raising the standard of living of raising the morals and of making life worth living All prosperity

[illegible] y other refer [illegible] f people [illegible] drink [illegible] re of [illegible] that [illegible] ll e [illegible] of can- [illegible] drink and drugs?

[illegible] Suddenly Launched?

[illegible] ment is that it is too sudden and hence [illegible] en made that temperance propaganda [illegible] rried out and educative propaganda [illegible] Prohibition by law. I should like [illegible] nds that we have had temperance prop [illegible] We have had picketing in front of [illegible] to 1910 in the Wang-Bhang Move- [illegible] ent. In [illegible] ral on Movement of the twenties [illegible] of the Civil Disobedience and [illegible] India Mov [illegible] ent. While the anti-liquor movement, [illegible] formed pur [illegible] tion movement did achieve [illegible] sults it [illegible] a clear notice to all concerned [illegible] Prohibi [illegible] was coming when the country be- [illegible] Tilak and Mahatma Gandhi said [illegible] in their speeches and most of the [illegible] have passed resolutions year [illegible] to that effect.

We [illegible] the country became free from foreign domination [illegible] fice we became free in our own country and we [illegible] our Constitution and the directive principle over [illegible] down and incorporated in the Con- [illegible] our duty to implement it?

[illegible] popular Government [illegible] assumed office in Bom- [illegible] 1937 [illegible] (the first reforms) it introduced was [illegible] prohibition of the State as a first step [illegible] The enquiry conducted by the [illegible] 1938 brought out the good results [illegible] prohibition.

[illegible] World War II broke out, the popular [illegible] out of office and the British Advisers' [illegible] over the administration. But it is signi- [illegible] even the foreign Government retained [illegible] of Prohibition [illegible] it had accepted [illegible] Within again the popular [illegible] 1946 it introduced Prohibi- [illegible] to enable the addicts to adapt them- [illegible] that was coming. There was a [illegible] in the number of days during which [illegible] remain open. There was also reduction [illegible] quantity of liquor sold and also reduc- [illegible] of intoxicable drinks and drugs.

[illegible] the argument that the introduc- [illegible] had been too sudden can hardly be [illegible] the one.

Legislation Inevitable

I can [illegible] by recalling the words of Mahatma Gandhi who [illegible] that a revenue which must be sacrificed and which [illegible] should be held as sacrosanct and he wholly [illegible] the purpose of eradicating the drink evil [illegible] is being utilized for educating our children with the result that a tremendous barrier has been put [illegible] necessary temperance legislation. People are [illegible] that they will not be able to educate their children [illegible] stops. If things go unchecked like [illegible] might have to perish. If the evil spreads [illegible] too late to undertake legislation."

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SATYAGRAHA OR DEMAGOGY?

(By Vithaldas Bodani)

Acharya Shri Vinobaji, Maharshi Kishorlalbhai and Pandit Panjli have greatly helped to clear some rather widespread misunderstanding which is prevailing in the country regarding the place of Satyagraha in Democracy (Vide *Harijan*, 20-9-'52). This is timely because, since we attained independence, loud talks and repeated offerings of Satyagraha have become a very very common feature.

Movements or activities carried purely on a political plane 'in the midst of political partisanship" and agitations though held for apparently valid reasons but with some mental reservations and, more likely than not, with some latent motive to earn cheap political advantage from a party point of view — are all misnamed and miscalled 'Satyagraha'. Deliberately, perhaps?

As Shri Vinobaji has rightly pointed out, "Satyagraha is a force of love" and that "it requires the purity of Rama to wield this precious weapon" "Every force requires a right person and a right occasion to use it'. The gist of Shri Vinobaji's views in a nutshell is contained in the following words: '*the whole life of a man wedded to truth is a Satyagraha. He has to practise it at every step in his life*" (italics mine).

From the foregone it becomes quite clear that recently in almost every case, perhaps without exception, the so-called Satyagraha was, and is being, based on false premises and is carried out under a misunderstood or misconstrued concept of the ethics and philosophy of Satyagraha.

Mahatmaji defined 'prayer' as one's burning desire of being wholly truthful and non-violent, of being permanently and tenaciously wedded to truth, which is God in thought, word and deed. *Satyagraha is essentially a form of such mass 'prayer' through action.*

Satyagraha is not a barren or even a cheap philosophy. It is the highest and the best, and yet the last weapon in the armoury of non-violence. As such it is to be judiciously used by proper persons under proper circumstances and for proper reasons. It also calls for weighty considerations as to against whom and how and when it is to be employed. A diamond-studded gold dagger is a beautiful ornament when it adorns waist; but because it is beautiful, it cannot be thrust into the abdomen.

As absence of physical violence is not necessarily non-violence, so also any agitation because it outwardly follows or copies the technique of non-violent resistance, is not necessarily Satyagraha. Far from it, more often it is deliberate harassment and unreasonable obduracy or obstinacy (*duragraha*) and sometimes, even, demagogy pure and simple.

Bombay, 30-9-'52

HARIJAN

Dec. 27 1952

WELFARE STATE AND DEMOCRACY

(*By Maganbhai P Desai*)

The reader is requested to refer to Shri M P T Acharya's article "From Pillar to Post" and my note appended to it at the end (vide, *Harijan*, 13-12-'52) Therein I had said that if decontrol is not helpful and fails, then planned economy with its controls aided by the coercive power of the State steps in We do not seem to like this also, mainly because like trade and commerce those who plan and control our economy do not also seem to be doing their job satisfactorily well Shri Acharya quoting Edward Carpenter asks "Who is to control the controllers?" The answer is obvious: the people who choose their rulers should control them The main problem is how can the people do it? Is it only the ballot-box, the way evolved by democracy in the West? Is it enough or all right? Or is there another way also to do it?

This question is also very relevant at present in another connection as well We have before us now the Five Years' Plan It is being said for that plan that it is going to bring in a new era in our life under a Welfare State It is necessary to examine this claim also before it is too late

Western democracy has allied itself with industrialism and highly centralized ways of mass production Under that holy alliance it has further evolved the idea of a Welfare State, which is only another name for a highly planned and controlled way of life under the total direction of the Government of the State To put it in other terms it is total planning of almost the whole of the economic life of the community under Government monopoly buttressed by the coercive power of the State As late Shri K G Mashruwala categorically put it in his reply to Shri R K Patil (vide *Harijan*, 18-10-'52)

> 'According to the idea of the Welfare State', the State is increasingly made responsible for every item of an individual's needs — not only from birth to death — from conception to cremation If we are to assume that the same historical process is destined to continue, in course of time the U.N O will end in a World Government, in which even big countries like U.S China, U S S R India etc will function more or less like Class A States, and the sanction behind every one of them will be Force
>
> 'I must confess, I do not look upon this as an ideal to be aspired after There might be some, who regard this to be an ideal worthy of man, and some who think that a process destined historically cannot be reversed by the efforts of dreamers of an opposite type and that we must carry the present process to its logical end — namely, the institution of a very strong Central World Government controlled by the strongest group of its units And this logical end will be achieved as this whole process has hitherto developed as a result of wars and violent revolutions
>
> If we are convinced that this is not a worthy ideal and we definitely want to avoid wars violent revolutions and dictatorships either of the Fascist (Individual Capitalist) or of the Bolshevik (State Capitalist) types India must abandon this ideal of the Welfare State We must feel convinced that we must resist this end of humanity and that if we will we can do it, whatever Historian Determinists might say to the contrary
>
> 'We do want every person from the moment of conception till death to enjoy the objectives of the Welfare State But if this can be done only by making him from birth to death something like an A, B, or C class prisoner of the State under the outward semblance of democracy (and U S.S.R. also regards itself to be a democracy of its own type) it is much better to live as we have lived from the birth of humanity till now in some sort of hard struggle for existence than be just comfortable well kept animals by a small powerful group of our own species"

This is planned economy and control *par excellence* — say at its worst or best. This is what planned economy through control for a Welfare State comes to Is this the way to which the Five Years' Plan is leading us? Do we like this way? I feel that this is foreign to our genius as a people We often say that India lives in its villages It has very great meaning and significance We should have a third way different from the holy alliance of centralization and totally planned economy under a benevolent State Our new way has surely to be democratic But should democracy necessarily be wedded to industrialism and consequent economic totalitarianism and urbanization of Rural India, under an army of experts and a bureaucracy armed with coercive powers, to be evolved out of Government monopoly of social services and highly centralized mass-production? Is it not an unholy alliance? Gandhiji taught us that democracy need not, rather should not necessarily be wedded to this aspect of economic, social and political development which we find in the West Even the West is groaning under its baneful effects and is groping its way out of its darkness Not nationalization by the State but socialization by the people without the coercive intervention of their Government of the essentials of life is the right way And that can be achieved only through organizing workable and manageable economic units on the principle of Swadeshi or decentralized economy based on the principle of bread-labour This is a radically new idea in economics and politics as well It is allied to the doctrine of the philosophical anarchists who say that that Government is the best which governs the least That is, there should develop in the people so much of progressive enlightenment and self rule that the need for external government from the State is reduced to the minimum. That is the highest form of

democracy But unfortunately today democracy does not define itself that way In its efforts to be a Welfare State it tends to maximum government of the people by the State Even the Communists accept, in their own manner, that the State will wither away in the ultimate enfoldment of the Communist order Till then they are totalitarian ! And what are the planners for a Welfare State ? Surely, those who swear by democracy should heed to Gandhiji's idea of Sarvodaya and decentralized social and economic order, otherwise they also will unwittingly become tyrannical under their ideas of planned economy and control, which I fear we have unknowingly adopted from the book of Socialism-cum-Communism

17-12-'52

A PERMANENT WAR-MAKING ECONOMY

(By Wilfred Wellock)

(In this article the author further elucidates his thesis, that the processes of the Industrial Revolution are in reverse now and consequently the civilization that the West built up on its basis as the most dominant and domineering type in the world today is now under decay (Vide the previous two articles viz. 'Industrial Revolution in Reverse' Harijan 13-12-52 and 'Civilization in Decay' Harijan, 20-12-52) He says further this is because there are inherent contradictions in it which have been working for social injustice and a war-making economy Therefore we must now find out a peace-making economy and a world-order on the basis of such economics of a peaceful society Wellock enunciates the latter part of this thesis in his second Orchard Lea Paper 'The Economics of a Peaceful Society" The following is its first instalment, to be read in continuation of the previous two articles cited above)

Civilization has reached a situation where either it or war must end. Increasing numbers are beginning to realise this although few have more than the haziest notion as to why it is.

Era of Permanent War, Cold or Hot

The facts are indisputable The Industrial Revolution has developed contradictions it cannot resolve and tensions which it cannot remove except by war which, however, produces still greater tensions We thus jump from war to war achieving nothing and learning nothing and meanwhile proceed with an outworn economy which spreads materialistic values like the plague and leads to war as clouds to rain

From this impasse neither politicians nor Divines have any means of escape — none that they dare trust The former have their World Plan of Mutual Aid which they have devized as the only safeguard against Communism, yet they merely toy with it, while the latter have bowed objectly to politicians and industrialists for so long that their potent granary of Christian Truth has lost its power The living germ has departed only the husks remain. There have been and still are courageous exceptions, but far too few to effect large-scale social changes

Accordingly we have slipped imperceptibly into the era of permanent war cold or hot and into the slough of a permanent war economy We dwell in perpetual and growing fear with power — naked brutal mechanistic nuclear and bacterial — as our only hope

Yet from that impasse there must be a way of escape, of liberation and salvation How and where shall we find it ?

Inherent Violence of Industrialism

In our search for an answer to this question the truth must be firmly grasped that the Industrial Revolution was rooted in injustice, and that violence was inherent in its ends and in its means. The economy which it established has from first to last radiated violence as the sun radiates heat. Its aims were maximum production maximum sales and maximum profit, and its means, minimum wages and maximum hours of labour maximum prices by selling in the dearest markets and minimum costs by buying in the cheapest. It cornered markets, organized scarcity used gunboats to open ports, capture markets and control the customs and ships and troops to capture and rule Colonial territories and monopolize their markets also vital supplies which were procured by cheap labour

By such means a few Western Powers organized a "world" economy which gave them a monopoly of secondary production and enabled them to acquire immense riches and power at the expense of the rest of the world, which was pinned down to primary production and existence at subsistence and even starvation levels It was a policy of naked and unashamed violence which is now terminating in various often dangerous forms of nationalism, and in Communism.

That economy could work only so long as workers and nations could be repressed by starvation or the fear of starvation, and by military force whenever they tried to skip the traces.

Revolt of the Down-trodden

In due course however the determination of the workers to organize themselves in Trades Unions triumphed, and started the long process of emancipation which in Britain has ended in the Welfare State which, however, is basically insecure since it rests on foreign aid, while the primary producing countries possessed their souls in patience until greed over-reached itself and the giants went for each other's throats. Their chance came in the second world war when the tide turned and the mighty were brought low The weak became the creditors of the strong, and are now planning their complete economic independence and their inheritance of a juster share of the earth's resources

Revolt in the East

These painful experiences make it clear that violence aggression and war were inherent in the "world economy which the West has so zealously cultivated during the 170 years of the Industrial Revolution They conclusively prove that all injustice all human exploitation is violence and if continued will stimulate enmity hatred and pent-up resistance until it terminates in revolution or war as the case may be The present revolt of the East of coloured and repressed races everywhere is an instance of this, as is the rise and spread of Communism throughout the world since 1917 Other instances are the revolt of Egypt against Britain's seizure of her territory in the area of the Suez canal in order to protect vital trade routes and of Persia against Britain's monopolization of her oil resources The restriction of Japan's textile exports to British Colonial territories in order to protect Britain's lop-sided economy is the beginning of a new cycle of international tensions and crisis which will make for war and the spread of Communism. We forget that Japan is the natural provider of goods to the countries which Western imperialism has helped to hold in perennial poverty

The Real Problem of Our Age

It is now demonstrable that revolution and war are the end products of vicious national policies and ways of living and that the real problem of our age is to discover and make possible a way of life which harmonizes with man's nature and brings satisfaction contentment and peace to men and to nations This way of life will evolve a new economy which will be a peace-making economy

LAND GIFT MOVEMENT — AN EVER TRUE IDEA

[illegible] young workers from all over India met at [illegible] ter how they could best help the Bhoodan [illegible] They were with Shri Vinoba for two days [illegible] opportunity to have their doubts cleared [illegible] of Shri Vinoba explained [illegible] and was not a product of reaction [illegible] an ideology in the [illegible] on a right based on an integral life-[illegible] He said:

Nature of an Abiding Ideology

Only such rivulets develop into rivers as have their [illegible] sources of water-supply. They do not run out because the carry in themselves a force which ever presses forward without getting exhausted. On the contrary there [illegible] this which, though in the beginning they appear [illegible] big dry up for want of such force. The same [illegible] true of ideological currents also. There are ideas which [illegible] started but pass away quite soon but the stronger ones which are deeply rooted continue to flow. Movements based on such abiding ideologies do not die but grow stronger stronger whatever the appearances. Imperialism had not behind it such ideology as could always conduce to the good of mankind, that is why it could not last notwithstanding the mighty efforts of the great powers to bolster it up. It is frantically trying to save its position even today but those who can see know that this cannot be.

Marxism and Capitalism

In the same way Marxism also held the field for a hundred years but now it is losing its former hold. Because it contained [illegible] of the moment only and therefore ephemeral. Several ideas arose as a reaction against the evils of Imperialism. Marxism was one of them. Many of them [illegible] historical influence in their days but now as Imperialism which they sought to combat is crumbling they are [illegible] passing into desuetude and consequent extinction. It reappears when one ignites a piece of wood, but it goes out soon as the wood gets burnt up. But the rays of the sun which do not burn anything remain constant. Today the attention of the people is getting drawn to the evils of Marxism. This is so because Marxism is not a basic idea. It started as a reaction against the prevailing ideology. On the contrary we are going to give to the world an abiding ideal which is whole and complete.

The Eternal Truth of Buddhism

We know they have started to observe the anniversary of Lord Buddha now. He whose anniversary is being started 25 hundred years after his death — how can he die? The plant which grows rapidly, dies early. Buddha's anniversary is being celebrated because his teaching contains the lesson of *nirvairata* or hatelessness an idea which may enable mankind, if it so chooses, to save itself from the impending disaster and build a happy and prosperous life. And the world will realise the value of this lesson more and more as the forces of hate mount up. Science has put an end to the small-scale battles of yesterday. In new challenges to either to fight out big wars or give up fighting altogether. We have to choose between absolute hatelessness and Ahimsa — non-violence on the one side and after hate along with the violence of global wars on the other. But man dare not choose hate, because that will put an end to his own existence on earth. I am sure therefore that the more science advances the more they will be drawn to study the Gita and the Dhammapada because they contain elements of abiding value for humanity.

Bhoodan a Positive Good

The movement I am carrying on is not as some seem to imagine a counter-action against the Communists. It is based on a positive ideology which stands in its own right. The rays of the sun are not a counter-action against darkness. Indeed they do not know what darkness is, because darkness just melts away at their sight. Our movement stands firmly on a view of life which is not of this [illegible] How otherwise could it [illegible] done? I am not a military [illegible] I yet I am receiving help and [illegible] side. If people are ready to listen [illegible] over 30 years of his life in solitude [illegible] the reason is that what I [illegible] negatively as a counter-action to [illegible] Marxism was conceived as an [illegible] Therefore as Capitalism decays, [illegible] it provides the means for delivering the [illegible] clutches of the evils of Capitalism, and [illegible] very efficacious in those days. But now the world has seen that many of Marx's prophecies have gone wrong.

Appeal to the Youth

I expect much from the youth. If the youth of the country close their minds and cease to think the society cannot progress. It is only the youth who can receive new ideas and examine them with an open mind. They are lusty and can suffer from impatience and inexperience but as against this let us also remember that 90 per cent of the people who accepted extreme renunciation were youth. I therefore ask you not to look at this movement as merely an expedient but as a measure calculated to serve the cause of certain age. It has an ancient idea which is rooted deep in the sacred soil of our land.

The Straightforward Way

I firmly believe that love and peaceful methods provide the surest and quickest means to our success. As Euclid taught us a straight line is the shortest distance between two points. And yet even eminent statesmen follow devious ways to reach the goal quickly. Let us then resolve ourselves that we shall only by following the straight line that we will most quickly reach our destination. The Bhoodan movement is such a straight way.

Tirahin (U.P.) D. M.

(From Hindi)

CRIMINAL JUSTICE IN INDIA

(By A. V. Barve)

As a lawyer with several years' experience as a pleader mainly on the criminal side I am closely acquainted with the procedure and practice followed in the criminal courts in India and want to draw the attention of both the Government and its master the general public, to some of the defects and vagaries of criminal law.

Before the advent of the British Raj, the law as administered under the Mogul and Maratha States was uncodified and the *Kajis* and *Nyayadhishas* relied more or less upon natural and substantial justice being given through the instructive intuition of the individual judges. In the villages the Gram Panchayats decided the petty cases. There was no lawyer class as such, and no artificial law of evidence and the accused persons were sometimes made to go through painful 'ordeals' to prove their innocence.

But with the advent of the British Raj all this changed. The Criminal Law and the Law of Evidence were codified and an exceedingly systematic but very artificial law came to be administered through the Law Courts. A class of very clever but unscrupulous people arose, called the pleaders' class which helped people to avoid the meshes of law. The British system of the administration of justice naturally partook of the characteristics of the English people. They in England are great lovers of individual liberty, but have the 'Robin Hood' instinct inherent in their

character [illegible] has therefore this inherent weakn[illegible]ter, that it favours the accused pe[illegible] the detriment of the private comp[illegible]ate as the case may be Again [illegible] required by the exceedingly art[illegible] of Evidence, to be proved as far as possible [illegible] direct evidence of eye-witnesses Can any one imagine a more foolish thing than that a murderer or robber or dacoit will commit these heinous offences in the presence of others, if he can at all avoid it? But because of this most artificial fad of direct eye-witness evidence being necessary, the police are tempted to concoct false evidence with the result, that it naturally fails in cross-examination and many a murderer and robber and dacoit escapes acot-free Recently, a young girl was raped and then murdered but the accused had to be given the benefit of doubt and escaped from the clutches of justice due to technicality in the High Court. 'Let ten guilty men escape but let not one innocent man suffer' is a high sounding maxim but its strict — nay sometimes loose — application, by the judiciary and the magistracy, has greatly helped real criminals to escape just punishment

India under Swaraj, has continued to follow this most artificial English system, with the result that one side, namely the defence, gets all the advantages and the prosecution is handicapped with all the drawbacks. The accused is never examined on oath nor has he to face the ordeal of cross-examination He can take fancy and palpably false defences and nothing happens to him because of the false nature of his defence I believe that under the French and even the American systems, the accused is given oath, is liable to cross-examination and if his defence proves false, is liable for perjury Under the present Indian system the accused is the 'son-in-law' of the court and the government so to say With the shrewd and often unscrupulous advice of his legal advisers, he can take the fullest advantage of the artificiality and loop-holes of law and escape just punishment Every body out of court is very often satisfied, that the accused is the real culprit, but he is held to be innocent and acquitted by the court The most terrible result is, that there is a belief among the criminals, based on reality, that one can commit robbery, rape or murder even in broad day light and quite often enough escape punishment, if he can pay his legal adviser sufficiently for his aid. Such anti-social activities are increasing by leaps and bounds and unless checked in time, will certainly lead to chaos and anarchy

And now, what is the remedy for this sorry state of things? For one thing, India under Swaraj is under no moral or legal obligation to be in the leading strings of her former British masters and should evolve a new less artificial, and more 'true to human nature,' system of administration of justice If the offenders against law and morality are to be brought to book, then a [illegible] tion of law and [illegible] ought [illegible] to their guilty consciences Let the [illegible] examined on oath and cross exa[illegible] pla Bail should ordinarily be refu[illegible] liable cases at least Wherever [illegible] Gram Panchayats, they should have [illegible] to try all offences, except the most heinous [illegible] murder The cases should be heard from [illegible] both in the Panchayat and Tal[illegible] District courts and decided as a rule in [illegible] fortnight's time, from the opening day Explanation should be asked for more delay than this Let the loose maxim about letting ten guilty men escape, be substituted by the better maxim that 'no guilty person will be allowed to escape just punishment, due to any trickery about the loop-holes or technicality of law' Let Ramshastri Prabhune's pictures be hung in every court He was an ideal judge who had the moral calibre and boldness to tell the ruler of Poona — Raghunathrao Peshva that the punishment for murder even for a king was nothing less than death

If the administration of criminal justice in India follows some such line, there will be more peace and less crime in India This is a consummation devoutly to be wished for

Roha, Dist Kolaba

NOTES

Danger of Employment

The following news-item is sent by a reader for the *Harijan* I reproduce it without any comment, as it is not necessary

> New York Dec 5 (PTI-Reuter) Supreme Court Justice William O Douglas said last night the United States was witnessing perhaps the most widespread suppression of views in its history!
>
> "The Suppression comes not from fear of being gaoled he said 'but from fear of being dismissed from employment banned from radio work disqualified for teaching or unacceptable for the lecture platform.
>
> "These sanctions are effective and powerful They often carry as much sting as a fine or a gaol sentence"

17-12-'52 M P

A Half-True Observation

A reader sends me the following from *The Commonwealth in Asia* (Waynflete Lectures delivered at Oxford in 1949 by Sir Ivor Jennings)

> If Hindi were the national language the Hindi-speaking peoples of the North would become as dominant a class as the English-speaking are now English is at least neutral, a language which all can learn on equal terms Hindi would give a preference to some and so would be anathema to others.'

The above remark was made by Sir Ivor in 1949 At that time it was already decided that Hindi will be the official language of the Union of India Therefore Sir Ivor could have saved himself the conditional statement that he made about Hindi It is at least good that Sir Ivor notes that English has created a dominant class out of English-knowing people in India May our ultra-lovers of English note this fact and realize that what they say for English is not all from pure

[illegible] actuated by considerations [illegible]

[illegible] has, in his remark quoted above, [illegible] Hindi with English and said in favour [illegible] that "English is at least neutral, which all [illegible] learn on equal terms", and against the former that "Hindi would give a preference to some [illegible]" Even if this is true, we know that the preference will be to our own nationals if at all, and not to foreigners But the question is was English neutral really? And could it be learnt on *equal* terms by us? And how many could they at best be? And cannot *non-Hindis* learn Hindi as well at least as we could learn English if not better? Sir Ivor's observation reminds us of the old imperialist days when the existence of Englishmen in India was shown as good and necessary for law and order and peace between the so-called warring elements of our people It is upto us to show that with the third party away from us, there can be no quarrel of the sort insinuated in the half-true observation quoted above

11-12-'52 M. P

Is It Just?

The other day at Delhi there met in conference the All-India Motor-owners These people are a very very small group of people, having in common the attribute of owning a motor vehicle. In what way this attribute can have any serious consideration or importance of some nation-building character and at a time when the bullock-cart-owners in their crores are rendered without work is a different question. But there they are and are vocal in the very capital of the Union What do they say? They demand that there should be no nationalization of road-transport, at least for the time being, and that whenever that calamity comes, they should be compensated for the loss of their business Is this claim any way valid or just? Should the State policy of nationalization depend upon the sweet will of the very persons or interests concerned, and not upon questions of the general good of the whole people? And should nationalization be allowed to be made more difficult by tolerating questionable claims of compensation *for loss of business*? Can it not be legitimately asked of these compensation-mongers as to what they paid to the bullock-cart-owner when that poor man's business along with his bullock was ruined almost to extinction? This was more serious, as it was a step in the ruination of our chief industry, agriculture This wanton talk of compensation is loosely going on in regard to various other organized industries also Both the people as well as their Government cannot surely tolerate such unwarranted claims on the nation. If at all, such claims must be counter-balanced by similar claims against them, of the poor and the downtrodden whose loss of business is as if no concern of anybody but their God-forsaken fate We should beware of such false claims on our national economy

5-12-52 M. P

SHRI VINOBA'S ILL HEALTH

People all over the country are very much concerned over the sudden news that Shri Vinoba is very ill and bed ridden On learning about it the *Harijan* Office wired Shri D M his secretary, inquiring about Shri Vinoba's health Shri D M's reply must be shared with all readers. It is as follows

"The whole atmosphere at Vinobaji's Camp which was surcharged with feeling of helplessness and emotions outbursting into tears was suddenly changed into that of great relief today when Acharya Vinobaji, after a grim ethical struggle acceded to the request of the Chief Minister, Bihar Shri Shrikrishna Sinha and agreed to take medicine

'The Chief Minister touched by Vinobaji's decision expressed with tearful eyes his gratitude on behalf of the State and country.

''Your life is precious and most needed for millions, he said.

'Vinobaji, on being requested by the Chief Minister, discussed the matter with his inmates and those who were present

"'That will free the friends and well-wishers of all the anxiety and strain they are put to Ahimsa demands consideration from that angle also' he said

"Vinobaji's decision was cheered throughout At 1-00 a m Civil Surgeon Das Gupta administered medicine to bring temperature down and tone up the condition of the heart

"Prayers are being offered for Acharyaji's speedy recovery. Earlier Shri Shrimannarayan Agarwal had a telephonic talk with President Rajendraprasad who expressed great anxiety about Vinobaji's health

"Arrangements to avail best possible medical aid are being made by the Chief Minister, Shri Shribabu Despite commencement of medicine from today Vinobaji's health is still critical and a cause for considerable anxiety"

All will join with us in the prayer that God may speedily restore Shri Vinoba to health so that he might be enabled to continue the great national work of Bhoodan movement

22-12-'52 M. P.

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The Spiritual Basis of Democracy

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HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)
Editor MAGANBHAI P DESAI

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DO WE PLAN FOR THIS?

(By Gandhiji)

[The Five Year Plan (F Y P) is now before the people The planners deserve thanks of the country for doing the job of preparing a mighty thesis on what, according to them should be the programme before the Government during the next three years. A bold claim, though in modest terms is made for it that it is the beginning of a mighty theme of a nation building itself, remaking itself We are told by the Prime Minister that "we are not out merely to get more money and more production We want not merely more production but ultimately we want better human beings in this country with greater opportunities not only economic and the rest but at other levels also' From this we may fairly take it that the F Y P is an attempt to give us an outline — though rough or incomplete — of the shape of things aimed to be brought about in our country in the near future Hence, however realistic it may be claimed to have been made, there is surely an idealistic or utopian element in it which is sought to be unfolding itself as we proceed further with it. The question before us is Is it true to our sentiments and aspirations as a nation? We hold that real India lives in its villages. Our Constitution lays down that the basic unit of our Swaraj will be the village It has been ordained that, "the State shall take steps to organise village panchayats and endow them with such powers and authority as may be necessary to enable them to function as units of self-government. (Constitution of India Art. 40) One would naturally ask how the F Y P stands vis-a-vis that basic ideal of our national reconstruction Does it acknowledge it and indicate how to proceed towards it? Does it choke on the way to it?

That ideal has been described to us by the Father of the Nation in various ways. It has become the focal centre of our national urge for progress. At a time therefore when we are discussing the merits and demerits of the proposals for a planned programme of work for the nation in the form of a Five Year Plan, it is as well we remember that ideal in the words of Gandhiji, which are reproduced below

29-12-52 — M P]

My idea of Village Swaraj is that it is a complete republic, independent of its neighbours for its own vital wants, and yet interdependant for many others in which dependence is a necessity. Thus every village's first concern will be to grow its own food crops and cotton for its cloth It should have a reserve for its cattle, recreation and playground for adults and children Then if there is more land available it will grow useful money crops, thus excluding *ganja*, tobacco, opium and the like The village will maintain a village theatre, school and public hall It will have its own waterworks ensuring clean water supply. This can be done through controlled wells and tanks Education will be compulsory up to the final basic course As far as possible every activity will be conducted on the co-operative basis. There will be no castes such as we have today with their graded untouchability, Non-violence with its technique of Satyagraha and non-co-operation will be the sanction of the village community There will be a compulsory service of village guards who will be selected by rotation from the register maintained by the village The government of the village will be conducted by the Panchayat of five persons annually elected by the adult villagers, male and female, possessing minimum prescribed qualifications These will have all the authority and jurisdiction required. Since there will be no system of punishments in the accepted sense, this Panchayat will be the legislature, judiciary and executive combined to operate for its year of office.

(*Harijan*, 26-7 '42)

Every village will be a republic or Panchayat having full powers. It follows, therefore, that every village has to be self-sustained and capable of managing its affairs even to the extent of defending itself against the whole world It will be trained and prepared to perish in the attempt to defend itself against any onslaught from without Thus, ultimately, it is the individual who is the unit. This does not exclude dependence on and willing help from neighbours or from the world It will be free and voluntary play of mutual forces Such a society is necessarily highly cultured in which every man and woman knows what he or she wants and, what is more, knows that no one should want anything that others cannot have with equal labour

This society must naturally be based on truth and non-violence which, in my opinion, are not possible without a living belief in God, meaning a self-existent, all-knowing living Force which inheres every other forces known to the world and which depends on none, and which will live when all other forces may conceivably perish or cease to act I am unable to account for my life without belief in this all embracing living Light

In this structure composed of innumerable villages, there will be everwidening, never

ascending circles. Life will not be a pyramid with the apex sustained by the bottom But it will be an oceanic circle whose centre will be the individual always ready to perish for the village, the latter ready to perish for the circle of villages, till at last the whole becomes one life composed of individuals, never aggressive in their arrogance but ever humble, sharing the majesty of the oceanic circle of which they are integral units

Therefore, the outermost circumference will not wield power to crush the inner circle but will give strength to all within and derive its own strength from it I may be taunted with the retort that this is all Utopian and, therefore, not worth a single thought If Euclid's point though incapable of being drawn by human agency, has an imperishable value, my picture has its own for mankind to live Let India live for this true picture though never realizable in its completeness We must have a proper picture of what we want, before we can have something approaching it If there ever is to be a republic of every village in India then I claim verity for my picture in which the last is equal to the first or, in other words, no one is to be the first and none the last.

In this picture every religion has its full and equal place We are all leaves of a majestic tree whose trunk cannot be shaken off its roots which are deep down in the bowels of the earth. The mightiest wind cannot move it.

In this there is no room for machines that would displace human labour and that would concentrate power in a few hands. Labour has its unique place in a cultured human family. Every machine that helps every individual has a place But I must confess that I have never sat down to think out what that machine can be I have thought of Singer's sewing machine But even that is perfunctory I do not need it to fill in my picture

(*Harijan*, 28-7-'46)

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HOW IS PROHIBITION A 'COMPLETE' SUCCESS

(*By Vithaldas Bodani*)

That success and failure are relative terms, as there is no common or universal measuring rod or formula to decide convincingly and beyond any semblance of doubt, the success or failure of any measure or policy is well known. The more so when issues are of a controversial nature, and are so vital as building the *national character* and at raising the general standard of living The instance in point is the policy of Prohibition

From persistent propaganda which we find going on in certain quarters, one may perhaps carry the impression that Prohibition is a failure I beg to submit that the basic approach in this propaganda is fundamentally wrong and faulty in that, while judging success or failure, more than necessary importance is attached to and uncalled for stress is laid on the nefarious activities of the drunkards of the *present* generation and of those who have made it their business to defiantly thrive upon the illicit supply of their contraband requirements It is a matter of great regret that hardly any attention is paid to this glaring fact that theirs is the challenge to those who aspire to build a new social structure and strenuously work for the cultural advancement of the newly independent nation. More annoying than that theirs is a challenge to the very Constitution of the new Republic — to the people of India who have passed, adopted and accepted this Constitution. Have we *the people* displayed so far any courage to accept this challenge of the smugglers, bootleggers and the drunkards of the *present* generation?

There is not the slightest intention to even remotely suggest that due publicity might not be given to the activities of those who are defying the law of the land — who have challenged the people, nor that those who are in charge of and mainly responsible for curbing their activities should not be criticized for their inability, inefficiency or indifference, if any Criticisms which are constructive both in approach and outlook are always helpful, necessary and welcome They do have their place and utility particularly in democracy What is, however, simultaneously needed — and that, too, very badly — is this:

To counteract the effects of and impressions created by the overloaded and one-sided publicity now being given to the activities of the smugglers and bootleggers on one hand and to the views and opinions of all and sundry vested interests in drink trade and revenue on the other, equal if not greater, importance and prominance should be given to such views, news and statistics which actually show that Prohibition is delivering the goods as desired of it This would help to make it progressively more so at as earlier a date as

possible. Pro Prohibitionists views and opinions of *common people* also should have due place of publicity because after all it is the common people who know where the shoe pinches and hence it is they who are going to make Prohibition, or for that matter any measure of social reform, a *complete* success ultimately To put it in a nutshell, what is urgently needed is to create widespread and congenial atmosphere throughout the length and breadth of the country so that the significance of the success already achieved is fully realized and a clearer way is carved out for its further and ultimately complete success.

Through these columns therefore, I take this opportunity to humbly submit to all Editors, Journalists, and other friends — particularly to those who believe in and are convinced of the great value and significance of Prohibition — to take up the suggestion in right earnest and regularly devote a few columns and assign prominent display to them. I may here also suggest that institutions engaged in social and constructive work should endeavour to prepare something like a census report by collecting specific data in respect of the benefits of Prohibition particularly among lower middle and working classes in the industrial centres and also in the rural areas Students of the institutions like *Gujarat Vidyapith* at Ahmedabad or of Schools of Economics, or members of *Sarva Seva Sangha*, to mention just a few, can do excellent and systematic work in this direction

Further what is primarily and essentially required is this that we shall have to learn anew and afresh to modify or altogether change our fundamental approach to this particular issue and reformulate our basic idea of its 'success' It can be best done by realizing that, notwithstanding all that is being said or done contrariwise the success of Prohibition lies obviously in the fact that by introducing this measure a great many will be easily off the drink for the simple reason that the public drink shop will no more allure them to their ruin as before, and further that there would be fewer and fewer *fresh or new* victims of alcoholism every year and that we, *as a nation* would have the happy satisfaction that we are no more directly helping to create a *new* generation of drunkards or addicts to alcohol No sacrifice is too great if we can achieve this for the good of our posterity Truly can we say here in the words of the Gita, (2-40) .

स्वल्पमप्यस्य धर्मस्य त्रायते महतो भयात् ।

(Even a little of this righteous course delivers one from great fear),

In the second place, it should be also borne in mind that Prohibition has been a success since the day it was adopted in our Constitution and accordingly introduced by any State It must be remembered that public opinion is there. Hence the directive of the Constitution it [illegible] helped and buttressed by suitable law [illegible]fore, if anything has failed so far it is [illegible] its all-India introduction I for myself believe the most irritating 'failure' of Prohibition in India is this It has not as *yet* been introduced *everywhere* in the country But it must be noted that this is, in fact, our failure, not that of Prohibition Therefore let us henceforth hold that Prohibition in India *has* come to stay, and turn to make it a *complete* success so that we can forge ahead as a nation.

NOTES

Illusion of Averages

The averages in all countries are themselves illusions For as in Russia, the managers and technicians as well as directors get far higher salaries than the averages In Russia, the managers and Stakhanovites get also bonuses and high earnings for competitive production so that *most* workers get *far less* than the average

If we add earnings of all investors, we will get a higher average "national" income — the average earning between one million and zero will naturally be ½ million — the average between a millionaire and a pauper That is how national incomes and averages are calculated

M. P. T. ACHARYA

Food and Money

[In a letter to me regarding his article 'From Pillar to Post' (vide *Harijan* 13-12-52) Shri M. P. T. Acharya follows up his argument in that article with the following lines which should be shared with the readers.

17-12-52 M. P.]

If a part of the people — say fifty or sixty, if not less — produce and supply food free *for all*, then the other part can give work free for productive and useful services for the benefit of all including themselves We then require no money All gold becomes useless for us although it may be of value for foreign countries It is only thus all can be put to work But unnecessary work by which many are kept fed out of the productive work of all must be abolished Otherwise there will be more non producers "at work" than in production.

Without all being satisfied for food, all will be a prey to bandits even if they pretend to work for socialism There can be no socialism if food has to be bought with money Those who do not put their shoulders to the wheel can take care of themselves if they want But they can get food only if they join others in production and useful and absolutely essential services. It is a hard way, but there is no short cut nor solution along other paths

All industries and arts will only then put to the service of society.

M. P. T. ACHARYA

HARIJAN

Jan. 3 1953

THE SPIRITUAL BASIS OF DEMOCRACY

(By Maganbhai P Desai)

It is being repeatedly said that democracy is a great social ideal, is an entire philosophy of life, and not a mere political device or method of government of men by the State It is the way of freedom, unlike Communism or Bolshevism which is a dictatorship based on the denial of the individual and his freedom Therefore democracy as an ideal is not materialistic like Communism, but has its roots in the spirit of man in society and is therefore a spiritual doctrine It is in this aspect of these two doctrines that their basic difference lies

In a previous article (vide 'Welfare State and Democracy', *Harijan*, 27-12-'52), I had tried to show how the idea of a Welfare State that is evolved by Socialist Democracy and is being implemented and enlarged in the West will not be an essentially different thing from the Bolshevik ideal of total planning of the life of a community with the coercive powers and machinery of the State One may grant that for man as he is today the coercive power of the State is a necessary evil However it is not an unmixed good. As such, it cannot be the main operative force for building up the life of a free community wedded to a really democratic way This way implies that the individual in his freedom and of his own choice has a law within himself which makes him without any coercive power from without a willingly co-operative unit in the life of the community He should learn to feel it as his Dharma. This only can be the basis of a democratic order and not force or the coercive powers of the State

Such an idea of the spiritual basis of democracy or a well ordered community has been proclaimed to us from olden times in terms of religion and philosophy of man on earth I find that this was very well enunciated by Shri Rajaji in his introduction to a book published in 1946 It was cited by some speaker in the course of a debate in the Madras Legislative Assembly, and is reproduced below from *The Hindu* of December 13, 1952

'Planned co-operative economy is sought to be enforced in most civilized countries in place of profit-motive discarding the so-called civil liberty of private competition. But this is sought to be done without creating the necessary social culture therefor and depending on the coercive power of the State But a change of this far-reaching character cannot be made with success by mere external authority however powerful We must have a culture and a generally accepted code of spiritual values which work as a law from within. Without such spiritual control mere material planning results in irritation and must needs culminate in widespread corruption and fraud. Vedanta and the ethic which follows from it and which is expanded and fully set out in the Bhagavad Gita are pre-eminently fitted to serve as the spiritual basis for planned co-operative community life, wherein every one must work according to capacity and receive according to need.

"If men and women should work without aiming at personal profit and with an eye only to the welfare of the community just this is the way of life taught in the Bhagavad Gita It lays emphasis on the equal dignity and sacredness of all labour that falls to one's lot and on honest disinterested effort. Indeed, the Gita lays down in unique manner the socialist doctrine in terms of relation (religion?) The performance of one's allotted task, says the Gita, is nothing less than worship of God in the truest sense

"Everywhere in the civilized world, men want a wise allotment of work to individuals as well as groups in accordance with the demands of the general interest in place of *laissez faire* We have had enough of the divine right to make private profit If we want society to control individual life as we to produce this result we cannot depend only on the spy and the policeman watching over citizens. We must build up a spiritual life which makes joy out of discharge of duty We must bring into being a law that acts from within, making the executive of State-imposed laws easy In Vedanta we have a teaching rooted in immemorial tradition in India, which can serve as the spiritual and cultural basis for a new and juster economy of life."

17-12-'52

EDUCATIONAL REFORM IN BOMBAY STATE

[The following is culled from the Report of the Ahmedabad Headmasters' Association on the proposals for educational reorganization in the State of Bombay as contained in the note of the Director of Education, Poona, dated 27th October 52. As the reader knows this note of the D E. was noticed in these columns in the issue of 20-12-52.]

The Ahmedabad Headmasters' Association on going through the note feels that some of the suggestions made to the Government are unrelated to facts and they could have easily been ignored by the Department but the Association appreciates that Government have an open mind on the points raised in the note

Two major problems are sought to be tackled therein viz (1) the structure of the S S.C. Examination and (2) the place of English in our Schemes of Studies at the school level These were the major issues that confronted our first popular Ministry in 1937 As a result of it the Joshi Committee and many other Educational Boards were appointed and after about ten years of deliberations and exchange of views major steps in the direction of Educational Reorganization in our State were taken in 1949 They were (1) the establishment of the S S.C. Examination Board and (2) the abolition of English from the lower Secondary and upper Primary standards Both these steps were of far-reaching consequences and it is but natural that they have created a good deal of opposition, as happens in case of every revolutionary change. The Ahmedabad Headmasters' Association would very strongly like to assure the Government that the measures they have adopted so far for Educational Reconstruction have been in the right direction and have for their justification sound educational principles that are universally accepted Apart from the fact that the measures taken by the Government should not be permitted to be interfered with before the same have been given a fair trial the Association feels that nothing has happened to warrant a revision of or even a review of the Government measures of establishing the S.S C. Examination Board and abolishing English from the middle school stage

It is alleged that "the present structure of the S.S.C. Examination is unsound." In furtherance of this charge

It is stated that [illegible] are open to students who [illegible] basic knowledge so essential [illegible] that "this wide choice of optional [illegible] academic character of many of these [illegible] lowering of educational standards. [illegible] the persons from whom this [illegible] if they have ever cared to inquire [illegible] of candidates taking these optional [illegible] S S C Examination It will be worth [illegible] that on overwhelming majority of the [illegible] million candidates takes the same eight [illegible] were prescribed for the old Matriculation

Then there is [illegible] startling proposal with regard to making, I'm [illegible] compulsory subject for the S S C. Examination which [illegible] serves a very serious and emphatic refutation in the [illegible] Matriculation no candidate could ever dream of appearing for the Examination without English The S S C Examination made that possible with the result that it has created new hopes in the hearts of hundreds of primary teachers and others who but for their lack of knowledge of English are in many respects better equipped for life than some of the University students. The unusual prestige attached to the knowledge of English had created tremendous social complexes The S S C Examination has at one stroke rent down that iron curtain and made it possible for thousands to outgrow their inferiority complex. With the Universities introducing regional languages as media of instruction for their various courses new horizons are opened out to many of these young men and women who for no fault of theirs are perpetually doomed to a state of humiliation New as the fresh proposal in the Director of Education's note would have it this sound position is sought to be subverted and the knowledge of English for passing the S S C. Examination is deemed indispensable It is indeed amazing that such a proposal could ever be put forth. It must be borne in mind that the S S C Examination serves much wider ends of life than facilitating entrance to University courses [illegible] Year fifty thousand and odd appearing at the S S C Examination we have only four or five thousand graduating at the other end The requirements of these four or five thousand candidates should in no way be permitted to influence the basic requirements of thousands and lakhs of others at school for whom the S S C Examination provides wide options suited to the individual talents of many English, therefore, can and should never be a compulsory subject for the S S C Examination

It has been argued that "so long as English continues to be a medium of instruction in the Universities and as the medium of expression in trade and commerce and in Public Service Examinations It would be unfair not to provide facilities in Secondary Schools for a proper course of instruction in English to ensure a working knowledge of that language"

Conceding for the sake of argument the correctness of the preamble in this statement it will be worthwhile asking as to what constitutes a working knowledge of English Does it imply ability to write with ease and facility and speak fluently that language as had been customary so far? If that be so it must be admitted that that standard has been conspicuous by its absence from our educational institutions for well nigh two decades and the standard of English goes on deteriorating more and more from year to year not because English has been abolished from the lower standards but because of several other reasons The aim of teaching English therefore needs to be redefined and it must be once for all conceded that English should be taught only for comprehension. If that aim be accepted the present educational structure of our State can very well serve that end.

Now as to the plea of reintroducing English from the VIth or VIIth standard on the ground of its being a medium of instruction at the University the statement is hardly in keeping with facts. Our State Universities e g. the Gujarat University have started taking measures of introducing the regional language and/or Hindi as the medium of instruction. The other universities are likely to follow the same in due course. But even otherwise it is worth considering if out of about five lakhs of students studying in the fourth standard of whom about six thousand would be graduating, the requirements of these six thousand students should condition the educational pattern for the rest of the students Surely for less than two per cent of students the remaining 98 students cannot be subjected to a scheme of studies educationally unsound and harmful. The same thing would hold good with regard to the necessity of teaching English for Public Service Examinations. What is after all the number of students going for these examinations? Not even point one per cent! The argument for trade and commerce is also exaggerated. All these arguments are based on the belief that the social and cultural pattern that existed in India before 1857 is to remain eternal. It is rapidly being replaced and those that cannot see that change today will soon discover that there has been a complete change in values and their outlook has become out-of-date

It has been suggested that the education of a large number of students ends at the end of VIIth standard for whom it is necessary to introduce English from the VIth standard to avoid wastage. It will be interesting to know from the advocates of this theory as to what use they intend to put a study of three years of English secured at the cost of the general education of the student If anything could be termed as wastage this surely is a very graphic illustration for the purpose and no argument could be more forceful against reintroduction of English than this one On this very ground reintroduction of English from the VI standard is also untenable As a matter of fact till the end of primary education i e for seven standards a sound general education should be given to the pupil without encumbering him with a foreign language and equipping him with a fairly good command over Hindi

The Association therefore once again reiterates its firm conviction that nothing has happened so far to warrant either a change or a review of the working of the new educational system introduced of which a part dealing with the High School Courses of studies still remains to be formed

[It is gratifying to learn that very many secondary teachers and Headmasters and their Associations in Gujarat and Maharashtra do not favour the D E's suggestions Thus, for instance, the Bombay Secondary Teachers' Association Bombay 4, in its detailed report on the D E's circular says "We hope the Director of Education's note will be summarily rejected by the Education Minister inasmuch as it contains proposals which seek to perpetuate all the defects of the present system in a worse form without introducing any good features suited to the present times."

The other day there met at Thana all the workers of the Maharashtra Rastra Bhashe Sabha under my presidentship They discussed the D E's circular and opined that English should not be made compulsory in the S S C E that its study should not begin earlier than Standard VIIIth and that Hindi and the mother tongue should be compulsory subjects upto the XIth Standard

Primary Teachers' Associations also resent English being compulsory in the S S C E as it would disable them to avail of that examination with optional Hindi as at present

20-12-'52 —M P]

THE NEED OF A PEACE-MAKING ECONOMY

(By Wilfred Wellock)

[This continues the argument that we saw in "A Permanent War-making Economy" in the last issue of 27-12-52. We ended with the observation there that "the real problem of our age is to discover and make possible a way of life which harmonizes with man's nature and brings satisfaction, contentment and peace to men and nations. This way of life will evolve a new economy which will be a peace-making economy." Now read on.]

It Will Be a Reasonably Self-sufficient Economy

What will be the nature of this new economy? In O.L.P. No. 1* I described some of the social crimes which were committed in establishing the economy of the Industrial Revolution. The ending of that economy and its crimes will constitute one of the major tasks of the next twenty or thirty years. In the cause of peace and the good life for all peoples we must help to restore the right to every nation to achieve a reasonably self-sufficient economy and to the people of every nation including our own, the right to responsibility, creative opportunity and the vital relationships of a well integrated, organic society.

This will constitute a major social and spiritual revolution. As this revolution gets under way it will modify personal and national demands for supplies and national demands for markets, and thus gradually remove the tensions which lead to war.

The revolt of the under-developed nations against the economy of the Industrial Revolution is now in full swing, as I have explained. Even Africans have discovered that a well balanced largely self-sufficient agro-industrial economy is a basic condition of national and personal independence. Moreover there resides in every people an innate desire to satisfy its needs and especially its basic needs to the utmost. The pride and satisfaction of being able to do this develops a sense of inner strength which is of more value to a nation than great riches.

It Will Mean Lowering Living Standards

In the conditions of today this new economy is inevitable. We therefore ought to accept it gladly for its own sake notwithstanding that it will mean lower material living standards for the Western nations. But its gains in terms of Life will be incalculable as important spiritual values will take the place of material values. The values of creative living including the vital social relationships which it develops, are so superior to the values of abundance, and self indulgence, that once they begin to be experienced the new economy, with all its spiritual implicatio is will be widely and increasingly accepted.

As yet however the West has failed to grasp the real significance of the present situation and the spiritual opportunities which it offers. Despite the world economic revolution that is now proceeding the West still hopes to main ain its one-sided econom cs and its high monetary living stan lards. It fails to realize that the rapidly rising demands of a world population that is expanding at the rate of 70 000 000 a year and is everywhere trying to raise its living standards are exhausting the earth's resources at a faster rate than mankind, with all its science, is able to replenish and increase them. The world-wide expansion of armaments is further widening the gulf between supply and demand. Even now the problem is who is to get the supplies—the peoples with the strongest currencies and the armaments of greatest killing power or the peoples in greatest need? Who is to answer that question? Why not Britain?

It is a New Philosophy of Life

It is obvious that if we are to escape the horrors of a new and more frightful competition for markets and supplies including competition between Eastern penury and Western affluence and finally of the third world war, we must find and pursue a "good" which outweighs that of maximum consumption of goods and services. I have indicated the source and nature of that good. We must therefore accept the discipline of a philosophy of life which takes account of the health and well being of the whole man spiritual as well as physical also of the needs of the entire human race.

For over a century the materialism of capitalism was confined to its authors but the long struggle of the workers for economic justice has caused the latter to take over much of the capitalist way of life and to lose sight of the spiritual content of the objectives of the early Co-operative and Socialist pioneers. There is now some danger that the materialism which is sweeping across the Western world may travel to the East dominate the agitation for social justice that is raging there and swamp the fine spiritual qualities which have kept its civilizations alive for many millennia. Should that happen, the outlook for mankind would be black indeed.

Is the American Way Good?

Western nations see in the American way of life a new Arcadia of abundance and comfort gadgetry. Yet it is demonstrable that the world's resources and man's present power to exploit them could not sustain any raising or extension of American living standards and at the same time an appreciable and long-overdue rise of those of the East.

British Socialists and Pacifists used to ask "why war when there is enough for all?" But there is enough no longer. An expanding materialism with its satellite militarism has brought us to scarcity and the fear of starvation, Communism, and war.

But is the American way of life the really good life for man? That question is crucial and must be squarely faced. The plain truth is that it is too juvenile, too irrational and ephemeral to be satisfying as the more thoughtful Americans freely admit. The U. S. is one of the most restless and fear-ridden nations in the world today and these characteristics make even the rich poor and more discontented than the poor.

On the Cross Roads of Civilization

To satisfy the deeper cravings of the human soul that is, of the whole man life must be creative and co-operative "social" in its means and in its ends. At its best it is an all-out working together for common ends—the enrichment of the local life, the community in which one has one's being.

Once again civilization must decide whether its well being resides in the abundance of its possessions or in a balanced spiritually controlled life, the needs of the body being regulated by the needs of the spirit.

The time has come to call a halt. One need is a simpler life planned living and deeper thinking and the substitutes of a qualitative for a quantitative civilization.

The New Way of Life

The transition to this creative way of life involves a spiritual revolution, the discovery and adoption of a new order of values and a new system of education also the recovery of the right to responsibility, creative opportunity and the vital social relationships of well integrated small communities.

The outcome will be a new personal and a new national economy.

The basic demands of this new way of life are:

(1) A reasonably self-sufficient agro-industrial economy, as this will reduce international economic tensions to the minimum and make possible the pursuit of a qualitative civilization.

(2) The small community, such as the village and the small country town. Its actual size will be determined by the need of enabling all its members to embrace the entire community in their imaginations all its leading spirits and its manifold activities, to feel their unity with

* This was reproduced in *Harijan* of 13-12-52 and 20-12-52.

it and share the responsibility for its welfare. The organization of the local economic life would be the backbone of its politics which would be vital because directly concerned at all points with the life of every citizen. In such conditions economic and social planning would acquire new meaning and help to develop a powerful civic sense and a satisfying consciousness of community strength.

(3) The unification of agriculture and industry so as to bring everyone into contact with nature, with the values, limits and influences of the countryside, including neighbourliness.

(4) Small-scale industries as far as possible to which only new industrial techniques will be required. Even now technician should be giving attention to this need. Not all industries can be decentralised, of course but many can, while experience in operating small machines and small industrial units will lead to their extension. Quality, beauty, variety and durability will supersede quantity and the monotony of over-standardisation, and the waste of rapidly changing fashions.

(5) Handcrafts and handicrafts of all kinds as these have a powerful integrating effects in those who perform them and in the homes and communities where they thrive. They develop self-confidence individuality, personal, family and social strength.

(6) A new culture which will develop a keener social awareness and a deeper appreciation of creative and social values. Every social order embodies distinctive values which are inculcated in the general community. One of the major tasks of our age is to supersede the art of money-making by the art of living. That is the function of education. Indeed the fundamental purpose of all education should be to teach the art of living of discerning and estimating human value with a view to achieving the good life. This calls for meditation, Church school and workshop would constitute a trinity whereby persons might achieve wholeness, and communities unity of purpose in all their institutions.

(In future Papers the above items will be expounded in greater detail)

The Finest Expression of Democracy

In the social and political organization above proposed democracy would reach its finest expression, and political and economic power their completest and most beneficial distribution. The vital centres of power would be in the peripheries of the State while the chief function of the latter would be to facilitate the smooth working of the Local and Regional Councils.

These changes would constitute a many sided reversal of the Industrial Revolution in its economy, its social and political organisation and its culture. As a result the social emphasis would pass from riches, power, and quantity of goods to culture, vital human and social relationships and quality of goods and of life. Trade would be less in consumer goods and more in the things of culture and this would strengthen the bonds of international friendship and peace. We should than know that world peace is not a product of diplomacy nor a bargain in power politics but a spiritual creation, the fruitage of right living, indeed a way of life".

"Judge Ye Not"

I cannot resist the temptation of sharing with the readers of the *Harijan* the following beautiful couplet from an obscure writer, reported to be by name Edward Wallies Hoch, which I came across quoted in one of the Bombay journals (I forget the name)

'There is so much good in the worst of us,
And so much bad in the best of us,
That it ill becomes any of us,
To talk about the rest of us'

11-12-52 M. P.

AMONG THE ADIVASIS OF CHHOTA NAGPUR

Shri Vinoba reached Tiril from Ranchi on the morning of the 30th November. Delegates to the All India Youth's Conference held recently at Ranchi came to see him and he explained to them at considerable length the ideology underlying the Bhoodan Yajna and Sarvodaya. In the evening after the prayer, he met the leaders of the Jharkhand Party. These leaders insisted on the need of a separate Jharkhand province as the only solution for the economic, social and cultural problems of the Adivasis. The proposed province is sought to be constituted of the six districts of Chhota Nagpur. Replying to their questions, Vinobaji said,

"How do you expect to solve the problems of the Adivasis merely by carving out a separate province? If it were possible to root out poverty merely by the reconstitution of provinces on the linguistic basis, then provinces like Orissa and Gujarat which are so constituted should have been able to perform this feat long ago. Do you think the rich in Gujarat do not exploit the poor? No man who is alive to the immediate needs of today talks about linguistic provinces. The thing which occupies most thinking minds at present is how best we can solve our difficulties whether by pursuing Communism or by following Gandhian principles. One must attend to the call of the time. There is no guarantee that the generation to follow, those who are today agitating for linguistic provinces will also continue to beat the same drum. The world is marching ahead, and those who do not keep pace with it are bound to be left behind and thrown in the scrap-heap of time. There was a time not very long ago when the people of Maharashtra fancied they should have a Marathe State but now none gives any thought to that outmoded idea.

Speaking about the actual disabilities and difficulties of the Adivasis, Shri Vinoba said, "If you want to have your grievances redressed and difficulties removed, I will certainly help you with all my might. But if you insist on 'Jharkhand first' and everything else afterwards, then I must differ from you. The demand for separate Jharkhand out of greed for the mineral wealth of Chhota Nagpur is even more short-sighted. Because in future important mineral resources like coal and petrol as also big engineering works like those at Tata Nagar are not going to be left in the provinces. They will be under the direct control of the Centre. Things have moved even farther and suggestions are afoot that all such things should be placed under international control.

Again the characteristic community life and the village culture of the Adivasis will be safe only as long as they keep away from the influence of modern city life and Western civilisation. As soon as the railway makes its appearance in the forests of Chhota Nagpur the balance of their present life will be upset. The formation of a separate province is not going to solve any of their difficulties. They can be saved only by our enabling them to build self-sufficiency and a happy village life. And that is the aim for which Bhoodan movement has been launched.'

Since he is touring this Adivasi area, Shri Vinoba has been devoting himself to the study of the problems of the Adivasis. He has made a good collection of books and other material on this subject. In several meetings of the workers he said it was greatly to be regretted that while Christian Missionaries from thousands of miles away had come and served them, we had done practically nothing. There is still a great scope for work and service in this field and there is need for self-sacrificing social workers for the welfare of these neglected and backward sections of our people. The word Adivasis, he said, was a misnomer. Who knows who came first and when later? The term is misunderstood. All have equal rights and must have equal opportunities. All of us also have equal freedom of doing service to the needy. In the

context of this equality of rights and obligations, this distinction of Adivasis and non Adivasis is unreal and misleading. We stay here on this earth for our appointed time and then depart when the call comes It therefore behoves us to live our allotted span in love and amity With this these barriers like Hindus and Muslims and Adivasis between man and man?

In the prayer speeches delivered during these days Shri Vinoba dwelt at length on the unity of all religions and the futility as well as the utter pointlessness of the rivalry between different religions and their sects and sections He pointed out that different religions were only different ways of worshipping the same God They are all alike, in essentials Every religion enjoins the observance of virtues and rejection of vices The essence of religion lies in being good and doing good to others and in this respect there is no difference between different religions Speaking in this connection, Vinobaji advised the people to hold collective prayers whatever their particular creed or religion This, he said will add to their inner strength Just as the physical body draws sustenance from food so is the soul strengthened by prayer

Shri Vinoba also criticized the so-called educated for their scornful attitude towards physical labour He said, those who eat without doing any labour are not doing their part in the task of increasing the production of the country Contrasting that the lawyers teachers and traders serve the society in their own ways, I must say that merely following their own trade or profession is not enough They must devote at least an hour every day to some productive work. They may do spinning, or grind corn or engage in some form of agricultural labour When we earn our bread by the sweat of our brow, then only it is bread otherwise it is sin. All must take a share in all important work of food production. Equally important then is the question of self-sufficiency of the villages. The villages will be happy only when they produce all their needs such as our oil cloth and foodgrains by themselves.

Speaking about the almost universal approbation with which the Bhoodan movement had met, he said that all the parties and leaders and all sections of people had supported the movement All have expressed sympathy with the idea and promised their help for its furtherance

Proceeding further he said though the Congress has passed a resolution and had invited co-operation from others, yet it was said that the organisation was riven with internal dissensions It passes understanding how in such a tiding affair as the election of the delegates, they went to the extent of using violence against one another These are signs of a festering sore It is indeed a sad sight to see the Congress, which had once the privilege of the leadership of a man as eminent as late Shri Dadabhai Naoroji and of being made the instrument of his experiments in non-violence by Gandhiji degrading itself to such ignominy No organisation can endure for long unless it adopts and works for a programme of service and sacrifice Had Gandhiji been alive today, he would have certainly put forward such a programme As it is, if the parties set their way to adopt the Bhoodan work as their own, and devote themselves to it with sincerity all these differences and the strifes they breed will come to an end and the hearts will be purged of malice and spite.

(The total land-collection in Bihar received so far amounts to 29 704 acres)

Chalyam 10-12-52 D M.

(From Hindi)

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LIQUOR HAVOC IN AMERICA

(By Bharatan Kumarappa)

America went back on Prohibition, and today some people there are regretting the fact, as will be seen from the two following extracts from American journals in regard to the prevalence of crime in U S A owing to alcohol

The Journal of the American Businessmen's Research Foundation says in its issue of January-February 1952

'Alcoholic beverages have recorded an enormous toll of our nation's crime record in the past seventeen years Various estimates of alcohol's role in crime have been made

"In 1946 the Foundation directed an inquiry concerning alcohol and crime to States Attorneys throughout the U S Overwhelming testimony showed liquor an outstanding cause in 50 to 95 per cent of actual cases brought before these officials.

'Several years ago Judge Joseph T Zottoli of the Municipal Court of Boston conducted an intensive study of the relation of alcoholism and crime in Massachusetts He concluded More than 90 per cent of the adult population of prisons in Massachusetts, in which prisoners are sent for misdemeanours are there through offences caused by drunkenness About 90 per cent of persons receiving sentences in penal institutions have committed offenses relating to alcoholism."

The Union Signal, a journal of Social Welfare, in its issue of August 16, 1952, publishes a note written by C Aubrey Hearn, saying

'Whether purposely or by accident the newspapers are beginning to tell the truth about the outrageously conducted liquor business in the United States.

'Almost every divorce has liquor behind it. Two-thirds of the murders and major crimes also have liquor as a contributing factor Automobile accidents are largely caused by liquor

'Liquor is costing the Government twice as much as it is contributing in taxes and other revenue. Liquor is fast becoming America's No 1 calamity

"Of course the old lie still continues to be told and we are informed over and over again that Prohibition was an awful curse, and yet any man who wants to know the truth call ask any policeman on the beat or any police judge on the bench and he will tell you that crimes, lawlessness attributable to liquor have quadrupled since repeal. America has touched a new moral bottom since liquor was restored in its place of despoliation."

Let us be warned by the experience of the U S against following in her footsteps and scrapping Prohibition

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(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)
Editor: MAGANBHAI P. DESAI

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SHRI VINOBA AT JAMSHEDPUR

Speaking at a largely attended prayer-meeting at Jamshedpur, Shri Vinoba said

"I am glad to have come to your city, the City of the Working People. I call it the City of the Working People with some deliberation. I know it is named after a great man, Shri Jamshedji Tata, who conceived and built up this big organisation in order to add to the wealth of the country. We cannot forget the obligation we owe to him on this account and yet I prefer to name the city as I have done. For I believe that there are two factors to production. First the conscious agent who contributes to it with his intelligence and hands, next, the material stuff and the implements which are used by the agent. Among the conscious agents who brought this city into existence just as we include the name of Shri Jamshedji Tata, so should we do those of the numerous workers who toiled for it. We may not mention those names; that does not matter. It is the support of the staff which makes it possible for the flag to fly high up in the sky, though none speaks of it. It is like the stones in the foundation which lie hidden beneath the surface. These are not even seen much less recognised as an important part of the building, but the building cannot be raised without their support. In the same way whatever is produced here and, for the matter of that, the world over, originates from the hard labour of the workers, though the name and credit go to others.

"I have spent 32 years of my life doing labour. I therefore know the sufferings of this class and few indeed will give them the high honour they are entitled to as I do. Lord Krishna spent the best part of his life with the cow boys in hard work and this enabled him to discover the truth of Karma yoga. I have not seen a more luminous exposition of the philosophy of Karma yoga than the one which Shrikrishna has given us in the Gita. This is because he was steeped in the ennobling influence of work.

'I once told my companions in the jail that it was not right to take food without doing work. I said whether it was laid down in the Jail Manual or no, it certainly was the law of man's life on earth and the law of his inner being. They agreed and though many of them were not required to do so under the rules, all of us voluntarily took up the grinding of all the flour for the jail.

If we refrain from Karma i.e productive labour, we make of ourselves a burden to humanity. Those who live by exploiting the labour of others cannot be happy because the money they make breeds greed and consequent rivalry and wrangling among the members of the house, and they who earn cannot get inner satisfaction. The tragedy, however is this that even the workers do not realise the inherent value and importance of work. They work under compulsion and feel pleased if somehow they are able to avoid it. They do not experience the delight of Karma, because they are denied the fruit of it. The physical labour is held in disrespect and it is not paid adequate wages. This is very wrong. Labour must be restored to its just position of honour.

What I am doing is part of the movement for the welfare of Labour. I am voicing the demand of the most neglected section of the working class, the dumb millions who are landless and who have nobody to turn to. I believe that it will also benefit the workers in the city. The building cannot endure long if the ground-floor is weak. Even so the country cannot prosper by keeping those who form the substratum of its huge structure poor and unhappy. The plans which are being drawn up today do not pay any attention to the problem of rendering help to these millions. But the problem is immediate and brooks no delay.'

(In Singhbhum District, during eleven days of tour Shri Vinoba has received 13,500 acres of land of which 12,600 acres have come from the Thakur Sahib of Kera)

Chandil, 15-12-52
(From Hindi) N. D.

CIVILIZATION *v.* MULTIPLICATION OF WANTS

(By Gandhiji)

Civilization, in the real sense of the term, consists not in the multiplication, but in the deliberate and voluntary reduction of wants. This alone promotes real happiness and contentment, and increases the capacity for service.

(*From Yeravda Mandir*, p. 24, 1930)

A certain degree of physical harmony and comfort is necessary, but above that level, it becomes a hindrance instead of help. Therefore, the ideal of creating an unlimited number of wants and satisfying them seems to be a delusion and a snare. The satisfaction of one's physical needs, even the intellectual needs of one's narrow self, must meet at a point a dead stop, before it degenerates into physical and intellectual voluptuousness. A man must arrange his physical and cultural circumstances so that they may not hinder him in his service of humanity, on which all his energies should be concentrated.

(*Harijan*, 29-8-'36)

As long as you desire inner help and comfort from anything, you should keep it. If you were to give it up in a mood of self-sacrifice or out of a stern sense of duty, you would continue to want it back, and that unsatisfied want would make trouble for you. Only give up a thing when you want some other condition so much that the thing no longer has any attraction for you, or when it seems to interfere with that which is more greatly desired.

(*Vishva-Bharati Quarterly*, New Series II, part II, p. 46)

KHADI AND HANDLOOM CLOTH

(By Shrikrishnadas Jaju)

Four different types of cloth, like so many contestants in the arena, stand pitted against one another in the Indian market :- (1) The mill-spun and the mill-woven mill-cloth, which is of course the most wide-spread type, (2) the mill-spun but the power-loom-woven power-loom cloth, (3) the mill-spun but the handloom-woven handloom cloth; and (4) the hand-spun and handloom-woven Khadi There is a fifth variety too which had passed into disuse but which promises to stage a come-back, thanks to Shri Rajaji's efforts This is a mixed type using the mill-yarn for the warp and the hand-spun yarn for the woof It used to be available in considerable quantities some years ago, but then it disappeared; and we had almost forgotten it. Now at the instance of the Madras Government, and with Rajaji's powerful support behind it, it is being produced again.

2 The relation between these different varieties is one of competition and so they are in serious conflict with one another in the market. Those which suffer from the weakness of higher prices cannot hope to stand in the competition, while all need help in one form or another There is none which can stand on its own legs There is an erroneous belief that the mill-cloth can stand on its own legs because of its cheapness It is forgotten that for years together, it has received State protection worth crores of rupees per annum. Nor can it be affirmed that it would not need such aid in future The foreign cloth is likely to become cheap and then the mill-cloth will have to be saved from its competition by some kind of protection The need of help in case of the other varieties is clear enough, because all of them are costlier than the mill-cloth in varying degrees The power-loom cloth seems to approach the mill-cloth in price, but it also needs protection During the period when the textile industry was under rigorous control the power-loom cloth enjoyed some exemptions There were then cases of the fraudulent traders passing off the mill-cloth as the power-loom cloth. The handloom cloth has always had a precarious existence passing through crisis after crisis The question of its safety from the fatal rivalry of the mill-cloth has been always present The Government has granted some protection to it, though it has not so far proved efficacious. Now Rajaji has come to its rescue, and we may hope that his endeavours will bear fruit and lead to some permanent solution of this intriguing question. He has put the demand that the *dhotis* and *saris* should be reserved for handloom weaving The India Government has accepted the demand, quite insufficiently though, in regard to *dhotis*. In the face of the organized demand of the handloom worker and the backing up of the same by Rajaji, the Government may be compelled to do something more. But I feel the mere reservation of *saris* and *dhotis* for the handloom is hardly calculated to solve the weaver's problem on a permanent basis The fashion may change and along with it the liking of the people Other varieties of cloth may be found to serve for *dhotis* and *saris*. The printed border may replace a woven border The only effective measure to ensure the manufacture of *saris* and *dhotis* for the handloom would seem to be to stop the mills from weaving cloth of 40 to 54 inches width And eventually it may be found that for safeguarding the handloom weavers it is necessary that the mills should stop weaving altogether As to Khadi, it goes without saying that it needs strong protection. In case of the proposed mixed sort, inasmuch as the woof will be made up of the hand-spun yarn — which will be dearer than the mill yarn — its price is bound to be higher than that of the mill-cloth Therefore, if it is to sell in the market, it will also need protection, although it may be less than what may be required for Khadi

3 Our Governments and those who are in authority want to promote all the five varieties though they are at cross-purposes with one another and cannot exist together in open competition The Governments are spending a good deal in this effort, and it seems the expenditure will go up Each of these varieties demands support and each has its arguments to justify such demand The mill-cloth has to be saved from foreign cloth, because the latter is cheap Crores of rupees of indigenous capital have been invested in mills and they provide gainful employment to some five to six lakh labourers The power-loom is a step towards the decentralization of the industry and gives work to a fairly good number of weavers. (It is conveniently forgotten that it throws out of work many more) Then its cloth is also cheap. As to the handloom, it supports about a crore of our people Next to agriculture, it is the only home-industry which provides means of livelihood to such vast numbers How can we snatch it from them unless we are prepared to give them alternative work? And so, for the time being, all have accepted the position that the handloom has to be kept alive Khadi has the further advantage of a very glorious tradition behind it which has accrued to it from its place in the fight for freedom. No other industry can rival it in its use as a means for eradicating unemployment. The handloom can only help the weavers, but hand-spinning is the only great home industry on which we can rely for fighting the widespread unemployment, either partial or total, among other sections of our population. This is recognized by many people but because hand-spinning is slow and causes Khadi to be costlier than other forms of cloth, they reject it as being impractical and consider it useless to persist in it The Sarvodayists, however, regard it as the symbol of the ideal economic and social order and adopt it as the basis of their plans and programmes. Therefore they hold on to it with all their faith

and strength and are striving hard to advance its cause. It is claimed for the mixed variety that it will solve the problem of hand-spinning The hand-spun yarn warp handicaps weaving and this enhances the weaving charges The use of the mill-yarn in the warp and that of the hand-spun yarn in the woof will facilitate weaving and the mixed variety cloth will be cheaper than Khadi However, it will even than remain dearer than the handloom cloth When the handloom cloth itself, under competition from the mill-cloth is finding it difficult to sell and hence necessary to raise the demand for protection, how is this mixed cloth expected to push itself up in the market? It will not even have the advantage of the sentiment which people have for Khadi, and it will also lack the cheapness of the mill-cloth Thus every variety is equipped with a well-argued case and our Governments as also some people seem ready to support all of them notwithstanding their incompatibility with one another They have even demanded patronage for them both from the State and the people Under the circumstances the question arises whether those who are wedded to Khadi can join in this demand for patronage for other varieties of cloth. The readers must here distinguish between help and patronage It is one thing to extend help to a good human cause, but quite another thing to demand patronage from the people to an industry which is opposed to the one we stand for And in formulating the answer to this question we should be careful to keep an eye on human nature and take into account the objective repercussions of the course we give our assent to A merely philosophical answer will not do here

4 When popular leaders and those in power ask for patronage for mutually conflicting things, the general mass of people accept what they find the least difficult and content themselves with having done their duty In the 1930-31 movement there was a vigorous campaign for the boycott of foreign cloth There were then several mills, which, though they were located in India, were foreign in every respect in ownership, capital management etc A list was prepared distinguishing the indigenous from such foreign mills and people were asked to buy the indigenous mill-cloth only It was said that preference should be given to Khadi but in case the customer decides to go in for the mill-cloth, then he should buy the Swadeshi mill-cloth This gave to many Khadi-weavers an opportunity and an excuse to change over from Khadi to the Swadeshi mill-cloth. The net result was that the sentiment for Khadi weakened and its sale went down

Rajaji has appealed to the people to extend their patronage to the handloom cloth He adds that it is not his intention to do any harm to Khadi But what is happening? The Madras Government had passed an order that the administrative offices of the State should use Khadi. Though the order still stands, the Madras Government is now reported to have recommended the use of the handloom cloth by its offices It has also approached the Centre to introduce the same in its offices What place can Khadi have in the Government offices in this situation? It also seems quite likely that the mixed variety cloth which Rajaji has suggested may replace Khadi in the Government of the Madras State. Let us suppose, for instance, that a cloth-dealer stocks both Khadi and the handloom cloth at his shop If he is a lover of Khadi, he will advise his customer to the effect that it was his duty to buy Khadi But if he did not want Khadi, he might buy the handloom cloth as the next best Morally he will be considered to have done his duty If the customer is strongly attached to Khadi, he would not need this advice from the shop-keeper But if he is not then it is clear that he will surely go in for the handloom cloth because it is cheap Thus in trying to encourage both, Khadi is bound to be the sufferer This kind of divided loyalty is not calculated to please our chosen deity Those who are wedded to Khadi cannot join in the demand for patronizing other varieties One may say that there is no place for Khadi at all This we can understand But to say that one wants Khadi and demand protection for other varieties of cloth in the same breath does not make sense, for the other varieties are destroyers of Khadi

5. The question is asked: Should we not then help handloom, an industry, which supports a crore of people? So far as this help takes the form of putting restrictions on the mill-cloth it is in the interest of Khadi also But as stated above helping an industry is one thing, but asking for patronage, whether of the State or the people, is a different proposition It is the duty of the Government to create conditions that the handloom cloth may stand in the market on its own strength, without any patronage The Government may even help it financially that would be quite proper Or just as it has to stop the import of foreign cloth in order to save the indigenous cloth, so it may control the mills in favour of the handlooms Or it may raise the price of the mill-cloth high enough to enable the handloom cloth to sell without any patronage This will be right But it is patently wrong to declare one's love for Khadi and yet demand patronage of the people for the handloom cloth One cannot demand patronage for a variety of cloth which hampers the growth of Khadi We should offer worship at the altar of one single deity, worship of multiple gods cannot take us to our goal, much less of such gods as are opposed against one another

Sevagram, 22-12-'52

(From Hindi)

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HARIJAN

Jan 10 1953

PLANNING FOR BASIC EDUCATION

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

At the invitation of the Government of India, the UNESCO Regional Conference on Free and Compulsory Education in South Asia and the Pacific met at Bombay from December 12 to December 22 This Conference was the first of a series planned to be held by the 1951 UNESCO Conference of Geneva, similar conferences will meet in the Middle East in 1954, in Latin America in 1956 in Africa in 1958 and in Far East in 1960 The aim of these conferences is described to be to discover what each State is doing for itself and what it can do for its neighbour and in what way UNESCO can help in this task

India was one of the countries attending the Conference Free primary education is one of the chief social services to be undertaken by a modern State and we are at this moment actually in the process of forging a Five Year Plan for our people It was therefore natural to expect that the Indian delegation would give some helpful suggestions to approach the question in a bold and realistic manner, specially because it is the country that has adopted such a way by accepting Basic Education as its pattern for free and compulsory primary education But unfortunately, from reports available in the daily Press one can easily see that the great Idea of Basic Education that Gandhiji gave us as his last and best gift was not presented to the Conference, and if at all, it was not done in the manner it deserved. This is written in no mood to blame anybody but only to show to ourselves where we really are *vis-a-vis* this important constructive activity, viz. Basic Education The great Five Year Plan is further evidence of this unfortunate situation. The Constitution lays down that "the State shall endeavour to provide, within a period of ten years from the commencement of this Constitution (i.e 1950) for free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age of 14 years" (The Constitution of India, Art. 45) It was upto our Planners to follow up this directive of the Constitution and work up what they can and should do about it in the next five years in collaboration with the States of the Union To say the least, it was their Constitutional responsibility

As Dr Lionel Elwin, Director of the Department of Education of UNESCO said at the opening session of the Conference, finance is the crucial point And Shri G S Bajpai, the Governor of Bombay, in his inaugural address to the Conference, put the Indian case squarely before it in the following words:

"Some time ago we had a Committee presided over by the former Chief Minister of this State who calculated that the expenditure on having every child under compulsion would be Rs 366 * crores a year That is, more than 45 per cent of the entire revenue of the Central Government and the State Governments in India today Thus you get some measure of the financial magnitude of the burden of the task that confronts us."

How to solve this is the problem Can we find money for that in the near future, say during the next ten or fifteen years? We must be clear in our minds that the burden is an annually recurring one and hence must be met with from our normal national economy Outside help must be out of the question The F Y P is silent over this problem

The other side of the problem is qualitative, viz. instituting the right type of primary education This is more important, as mere quantity will be no good, it will be wasteful and useless It is here that the principle of Basic Education comes in as a sound and helpful idea And it is good that the substance of the idea was hinted at by a few foreign friends to the Conference. For example, Dr Elwin pointed out in a very pertinent manner that "there had been a revolt in the Western countries against the traditional curricula But the Western curricula during the last two centuries had been transplanted in Asia Africa and Latin America and prestige had been attached to it partly because it was identified with the civilization of the Great Powers and also because it secured Government jobs" thus hinting us that we should improve upon such exotic curricula. We know to our great cost that this is still true in our country. Basic Education primarily aims to lift us out of that traditional groove and go in for a type that aims to improve the situation and promises to be economically self sufficient as we go further with it One of the chief causes that worked for lowering the percentage of literacy in our country during British Rule was that to the common man in the street, education came to mean nothing more than preparation for Government service and no manual labour And increasing unemployment that beset us in the wake of systematic exploitation by our foreign rulers drove our people to make little children give their helping hand in howsoever small a manner, in some useful and productive work We now wish to compel these people to send their children to school Before we can do that it is upto us to see that we call them to something that is useful to them, that they are assured something that works for the betterment of the life as they have it today Our efforts to ameliorate the conditions of the people — to raise their standard of living by increasing production and income and improving

* Later on he corrected himself and said that the estimate will be Rs 600 crores a year

their health and sanitation, agriculture and industries, should be correlated with our national system of basic or elementary education This is the topmost priority in education Unless we mind this we will not be in a position to bring children to school. It is good to see that the Conference has accepted the principle of such an integrated and correlated approach to the problem, through its various conclusions, some of which may well be quoted here

"The contents of the curriculum should be reviewed from the view point of its significance for modern life and its relevance to the needs and psychology of children Comparatively fewer subjects should be taught, but they should be taught well and thoroughly, keeping alive the curiosity and mental alertness of children instead of attempting to teach an overloaded curriculum in a mechanical manner

"The guiding principles of simplicity, co-ordination of subject matter among the different fields of study and elasticity which would enable the teachers to organize instruction in terms of local, group or individual needs are also recommended

"Local freedom of initiative to encourage teachers, inspectors etc to adapt curricula to particular needs should be permitted. In the earlier stages of education, the curriculum should be largely visualized in the form of units of activity based on projects, life situations and practical constructive work The curriculum should be linked with social and economic conditions and problems of environment "

"Particular attention should be paid to health education, to the provision of work, experience of a pre-vocational character as well as other co-operative recreational activities. While the curriculum should be based on the child's environment and involves locally useful skills, it should also lead to critical thinking and exercise of imaginative powers of the children.

"The curriculum should be oriented towards making students good citizens conscious of the best national heritage but willing and able to assess it critically to eliminate intolerance towards racial or religious groups and disrespect for manual work. It should also lead to the concept of the nation as an integral part of the world community of people

'Whether the child is taught by projects or through regular lessons and whether the aptitudes to be developed are verbal or manual methods of teaching should be so devised as to secure the active and intelligent participation of the child at all stages of his education"

1-1-'53

BIRTH-CONTROL AND LAXITY OF STANDARDS

The Editor,
Harijan

I have very carefully read your article 'The Bombay Birth-Control Conference' in the *Harijan* of 20-12-1952 I reciprocate your views, generally speaking

I deem it proper to quote here from Dr S Radhakrishnan's book *Kalki* or *The Future of Civilization*, (Hind Kitabs Ltd, Publication) Writing on the 'Negative Results—*Family Life*' the writer says.

> "A number of factors, such as *the knowledge of the methods of birth-control* which saves us from the fear of natural consequences *have brought about a laxity of standards* "
>
> ' Sexual licence is an old habit, as old as the human race but we justify it by giving it a new name self-expression. Looseness is commended in good fiction and accepted in high society"
>
> "Economic independence with *freedom* from the ties of marriage and the responsibilities of *motherhood* is the ambition of many a young woman of the growing smart set '
>
> (pp 12, 13) (Italics mine)

Speaking candidly on the 'Reconstruction—*Family Life*', he has very aptly expressed himself thus

> "The modern emphasis is wrong in its exaltation of the ecstasy of the flesh. Action which proceeds directly from the springs of emotion without passing through the discipline of reason is a return to the beginning the animal and the brute Passion should not usurp the seat of control which belongs to reason. Self-expression is not synonymous with sensuality While it is theoretically quite correct to hold that we must be free and accept no restraints which do not spring from within, it is disastrous to allow young immature minds to practise it. Inner sanctions spring from outer ones and freedom to disobey belongs only to those who have risen above the need for external sanctions. Before the individual acquires freedom he must be assisted to discipline himself The young and the immature cannot become a law unto themselves, contracting relationships according to the dictates of their immediate desires."
>
> ' Sexual satisfaction and not spiritual realization is regarded as the sole aim of marriage In their first flush of enthusiasm and rebellion against restraints, men and women might take to them heartily, but when they grow mature, they will realize that it is not to their advantage either sexually or socially or spiritually (p 58)

I do not think any comments, at least from me, are necessary on the foregone which is self-eloquent

25-12-'52 VITHALDAS BODANI
Bombay

By Mahatma Gandhi

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MONEY IS RATIONING

(By M P T Acharya)

People who complain against rationing don't think that distribution of money as wages, salaries, dividend, interest, rent etc is also rationing although in unequal measures These men are allowed to purchase things, after limiting their purchasing power, according to the prices in the market So that a man who receives wages can scarcely buy his necessaries.

It is generally supposed that the market prices are regulated by supply and demand. The demand may be greater than the supply, but in the market only those who have money count as demand A man without money is not worth anything in the market He does not count as buyer I have found in foreign countries that the prices fell when people had no money but they were still above those of an ordinary purchaser, so that he could not purchase. But as soon as people had money the prices went up so high that even then the ordinary people could not buy them

In Cuba once when the market was full of coffee and sugar, they could not buy, because the people had no money but when some Americans bought and took away coffee and sugar cheap, there was money but no more coffee and sugar.

It is supposed that money is a medium of exchange only. But *goods are money to make more money for the seller*, for him commodities are not use values but meant for increasing his own money Unless he increases his money, he cannot feed himself, for he has to buy other things from others Money increase is the object of business — not necessarily goods increase Goods are only increased in order to increase less money into more money Whether it is done by State or private owners, the buyer and consumer will be at a disadvantage That comes from ownership itself

Just as a banker increases his money by lending for interest, the businessman increases it by manufacturing or selling goods Interest is called profit in this case Those who earn i e *make* less money into more money by letting out lands, houses as instruments call their earnings rent, which is another form of interest All that comes from ownership whether by State or private owners. In the private ownership order, the portion taken by the State from owners is called taxes Since more businessmen pay rent, interest and taxes they have to add these to the profits before they sell the goods, so that not only they but those who receive interest, rent, and taxes must be maintained *by the consumers*. These are the four kinds of extortions and exactions on the consumers to maintain those who produce nothing

The value of money consists only in its power to take these exactions — its four elements For production no money is needed since only labour and materials enter into production. As materials belong to some, one has to pay these exactions in order to acquire the materials. It is all devilish — called economics

If production is made free of these shackles, the goods can be distributed without prices i e free There is no other solution As it is, more production will not help in distribution, since goods cannot be consumed unless rent, interest, profit and taxes are paid off in advance and taken from sales, in addition to profits. Money is the most centralized rationing more than goods rationing

REVIVE THE SPIRIT OF SWADESHI

(By Pandit Sundarlal)

Recently Shri C. Rajagopalachari, the Chief Minister of Madras, drew the country's attention to the fact that the once flourishing handloom industry of his province was passing through a terrible crisis and that about fifty lakhs of persons concerned with that industry were facing unemployment and starvation.

In the first week of December, 1952, I presided over the U P Provincial Weavers' Conference at Banaras In that province there are about three hundred thousand weavers supporting a population of not less than four million men women and children A large majority of these looms is now lying idle and the population depending upon them for their livelihood are facing starvation We are getting similar news from other parts of the country

While at Banaras, I had the opportunity of studying the condition of the local handloom silk industry For two thousand years, i e since the days of Pliny, Banaras has been famous for its silk industry India has always been proud of the fine gold embroidered *saris* of Banaras. The weaving community of the place has been so well organized for centuries that even today if any weaver there is found using false or artificial gold thread he is at once outcasted by the entire community and has to undergo a social boycott difficult to face As a result Banaras gold work is a synonym for honesty and no customer ever need worry about the genuineness of the article he is buying Even during the 150 years of British Rule this industry of Banaras remained a flourishing industry all through But now out of the 5,000 handlooms employed in this work very nearly 4,000 are lying idle Some of the skilled artisans who were working at these looms only a few years back are now drawing rickshaws to support themselves and their families Some have left for distant cities like Bombay in search of work Thousands that are still in Banaras are living under pitiable conditions In most of their houses food is cooked only once in two or even three days. The sight of their famished children is extremely distressing At places the walls and roofs of their houses have fallen and they have not the means for getting them repaired I spent a whole day in visiting their *muhallas* and entering their houses to see at close quarters

conditions of life which words can hardly describe

Many of our other home industries are also passing through a similar crisis. I have personal knowledge of several in my own province of U P, the toy industry of Banaras, the carpet industry of Bhadohi, the lock industry of Aligarh and so on Industries which successfully stood the shock of foreign rule for over a century are now in danger of becoming extinct. As a result, large numbers are everywhere without work. The number of such unemployed, I believe, has already reached crores and is daily increasing Yet for the present, I am mainly concerned with the handloom industry, as it supports very nearly five crores of our country's population.

The Government of India, if it be so minded, can save the situation even now In fact, if the Government had acted rightly the situation could never have deteriorated so far But it is difficult to understand or appreciate the working of the Government of India's mind in this matter. Shri Rajagopalachari, in fullness of concern for the weavers of his own province, had suggested that our textile mills should be asked not to weave *dhotis* and *saris* of yarn upto a particular count and that this work should be reserved for handlooms It was a reasonable and practical suggestion. Rajaji is a follower of Mahatma Gandhi In support of his position, let me quote Mahatma Gandhi. Gandhiji says:

> "What I object to, is the *craze* for machinery, not machinery as such. The craze is for what they call labour-saving machinery. Men go on 'saving labour' till thousands are without work and thrown on the open streets to die of starvation Today machinery merely helps a few to ride on the backs of millions. The impetus behind it all is not the philanthropy to save labour, but greed Machinery is good when hands are too few to the work intended to be accomplished It is an evil where there are more hands than required for the work as in the case of India. I am aiming not at the eradication of machinery but at its limitation"

But acceptance of Rajaji's suggestion may have meant some fall in the, already by no means low, profits of some of our textile mills. The Government of India did not agree to the suggestion

Again, the silk yarn which the weavers of Banaras used in their trade was mainly imported from outside countries like China and Japan Our Government has levied heavy import duty on such yarn over and above a cess and actually banned it during the latter half of 1952, so the cost of production of Banaras silk *saris* has greatly gone up On the other hand formerly, hardly any silk cloth comparable with Banaras *saris* was coming from outside. During recent years silk *saris* or silk or silk-like cloth manufactured in U S A. which can be easily converted into *saris*, quite resembling Banaras *saris*, has been allowed free entry into this country The American manufacturer can easily undersell the indigenous handloom weaver in the open market The result is the utter collapse of our ancient Banaras silk industry.

Our country is passing through no less a crisis than it did in the latter days of the East India Company. In some weys the crisis today is even greater for now we are much weaker after a century of foreign rule Yet the Government of India can even now remedy the situation and save millions from starvation only if it took a more objective and a more realistic view of things. The least that Government can and should do is to give full protection to the country's handloom and other cottage industries as against mill industries both Indian and foreign, to remove all obstacles from the path of their development like duties or restrictions on the entry of silk yarn, and to ban the entry into this country of all competing consumer goods from foreign countries.

But the more important question is what the people can do and should do The movement for Swadeshi was launched in our country more than half a century back Gandhiji made Swadeshi a part of his political creed It is one of his eleven vows to be repeated every day in prayer. If we have to save our time-honoured industries and save millions from unemployment and starvation we must revive that same spirit of Swadeshi.

In the matter of our handloom industry, firstly, it is the duty of all handloom weavers and of all those connected with that industry, not to purchase or use for themselves or their dependants any cloth other than cloth produced by handlooms in India Even in the matter of other articles of daily necessity they should, as far as possible, avoid all foreign or mill made articles and use only articles produced by India's home industries. Unless all those concerned with our numerous home industries thus support each other we cannot save these industries.

Handloom weavers all over the country should also devote as much attention as they can to hand-spinning and to the use of hand-spun yarn at their looms, so that in the matter of yarn or at least cotton yarn, they should be as independent of the mills as possible.

Secondly, in the country's present crisis it should be the sacred duty of the public in general to satisfy all their requirements of cloth as far as possible from handmade cloth as against Indian millmade cloth or foreign cloth, *even at a sacrifice*. In the matter of all other articles of daily necessity also, we should all as far as possible use articles produced by our various cottage or home industries as against those produced by our mills or by the foreign manufacturer

Thirdly, it is the duty of all those engaged in our handloom industry to strengthen their

organization in U P we have got Handloom Weavers' Unions in several districts. We have also a U P Provincial Weavers' Federation There are similar organizations in other provinces Such organizations may be developed and strengthened Steps may also be taken to hold an All India Handloom Weavers' Conference at some suitable place and to have some sort of an All India Organization to look after the needs of handloom industry all over the country We may, even have Handloom Weeks in various provinces during which efforts should be made to push the sale of handloom cloth by door to door hawking, holding exhibitions and other similar means.

Let us all do our duty towards millions of our fellow countrymen now in serious distress and towards the country as a whole

NOTES

Will You Think It Over ?

A few weeks back papers were full of the news of the American Presidential election. They probably did not know or if they did did not care to note about the election project of a small band of Americans styling themselves as *Peacemakers* They proposed to organize a walking tour from town to town on the way from Philadelphia to Washington with some sort of a symbol white clothes for walkers, broken arrow broken gun. Their theme was "Vote for Peace" A leaflet on this theme was issued by the organization. It is worth while to reproduce some of it here as it is good to know that in the midst of the American election propaganda there was a band of quiet workers like the Peacemakers who, not losing their head over the matter silently went round telling people of the way to peace on earth They say in their leaflet

"Eisenhower and Nixon, Stevenson and Sparkman and practically all the candidates say To get peace you have to prepare for war To vote for peace—as they tell it to us—means to vote *a Sixty Billion Dollar War Budget*, vote for the *draft*, vote for *war taxes* vote for *inflation* and even *higher* prices for civilian goods, since that is what came from sinking more and more billions into unproductive war materials. (You can't pay the bills for groceries, clothes school equipment, good roads, or medicine with guns and battleships)

We do not believe that this is the way to peace We do not believe that democracy will or can be saved in this way Eisenhower and Stevenson propose instead democracy freedom, security will perish. *We are fast becoming people who are committing suicide in our frantic efforts to prevent the Russians from destroying us* To us this does not make sense. We doubt if it does to you

"Peacemakers believe the way to vote for peace is to *act and live peace Democracy can exist only where each person takes personal responsibility* We leave it to you to decide whether and how to mark your ballot on election day Truly to vote, to take part in the democratic process, means more than putting a mark on a ballot once a year We suggest some ways in which day by day we can all VOTE FOR PEACE.

"You vote for Peace every time you stand up for the right of anybody to have his say in this country no matter how you detest what is said. Thus you fight dictatorship and the cowardly fear that democracy will not work

"You vote for Peace every time you oppose racial or religious discrimination in your neighourhood and insist on equality for all You help to make this country *an example of democracy decency and brotherhood which will make other people believe in democracy and decency too*

"The youth who refuses to be drafted for suicidal atomic and biological war VOTES FOR PEACE He helps to save his country from the self-destruction which has overtaken every nation in the past when it got big, insisted upon power and devoted its energies and sacrificed its youth to war

"Workers who refuse to get their living by making diabolical weapons to bomb babies and children—or fellow workers—in some other land VOTE FOR PEACE So do those who refuse to pay taxes with which governments can make atomic bombs flame throwers and bacteriological weapons

"Churches and synagogues which in the name of Jesus, St. Francis George Fox, or Isaiah, Micah and Akiba, would refuse to bless any war would VOTE FOR PEACE, act to keep true religion alive in the Earth.

"Wherever people go quietly to work to organize their economic life on a basis of co-operation and mutual aid, rather than on the dog eat dog" principle they build democracy, build brotherhood.

"Any individual, any little group anywhere in this country or in the world, can begin to do these things NOW

WILL YOU THINK IT OVER ? '

(From the *Peacemaker*, Sept 27 '52)

18-11-52 M P

A Right Lead

The problem of unemployment is a serious one Indeed the success of the Five Year Plan would be measured by what it can do about it The orthodox economists obsessed with the economy of machine and mass-production in industrialism are found wanting to give a correct lead in this matter It needs a radically new approach The following words of the Chief Minister of Bombay in his inaugural address to the Bombay State Industrial and Technical Education Conference, are very welcome from that point of view and let us hope they will be duly heeded to by our Planners

" If industries in India are completely mechanized it would not be possible to give employment to all the people The problem of unemployment would not be solved as long as handicrafts are not properly developed. But there can be no competition between handicrafts and machine-made articles as the former are more beautiful and artistic than the latter

.. I would appeal to the people to devote their leisure to the promotion of handicrafts which would not only occupy their spare time usefully but also be a source of gain to them." (*The Times of India*, 28-12-'52) R. S.

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Catching up The Industrial Revolution

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HARIJAN

FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI
Editor: MAGANBHAI P DESAI

VOL XVI No 47 AHMEDABAD — SATURDAY, JANUARY 17 1953 TWO ANNAS

THE REVOLUTIONARY POWER OF TRUTH

(By Leo Tolstoy)

[A reader of the *Harijan* sends the following immortal words of Tolstoy to share them with others.]

Heroic deeds are not required to effect great and momentous changes in human life It is not necessary to have millions of armed men or new railroads or new machinery, or new expositions trade unions revolutions barricades, dynamic outrages or airships, and the like, nothing is required for the purpose but a transformation of public opinion. In order to bring about this transformation, no new efforts of thought are required it is not necessary to overthrow the existing order and to invent something new and extraordinary All we have to do is to resolve not to submit to the false, to the dead public opinion of the past which is artificially kept alive by the governments. It is only required that every man should say what he really thinks and feels or else abstain from saying what he does not really believe in

If only a small group of men were to act in this manner then the old public opinion would disappear and we should have the new the living, and real public opinion in its stead With the change in public opinion would follow easily the transformation in the inner life of men It is shameful to think how really little is required for men's deliverance from oppressing evils they must only not lie Let men not submit to the lies that are suggested to them let them say only what they think and feel, and then there will come such a change in our life as revolutionists would not be able to bring about in the course of centuries, even if they had the power

A free man may utter truthfully what he thinks and what he feels in the midst of thousands of men who by their actions and doings show something quite the opposite It would seem that the truthful man must stand alone, yet it happens that the majority also think and feel the same, only that they do not express it What was yesterday a new opinion of one man, today is the joint opinion of the majority As soon as that opinion establishes itself, men's actions commence to change slowly, and by degrees

NOTES

"The Crowd at the Top"

As readers know, there is at present in session an UNESCO Seminar on Contribution of Gandhian outlook and technique to the solution of tensions between and within nations Shri Jawaharlalji inaugurated it. In the course of his address, he said

> I do think, and I do say with all respect, that there is so much talk of peace everywhere but very little of it behind talk I do not say about the multitude or the people People in every country want peace But I am referring to the politicians and statesmen and all that crowd at the top I have no doubt of the bona fides of their own minds they also want peace But new attitudes either through fear or something else they do not work for peace though they talk about it And even that talk for peace becomes maneuvering for position. So we see the world going [illegible] to [illegible] some tragic disaster"
>
> (From The Hindu dated Jan 7 1953 as reported by P T I.)

We must congratulate our Prime Minister for such bold expression of the reality that confronts all peace-lovers and workers in the field Speaking for our country, it might be said that it is a call for self-introspection by our "politicians and statesmen and all that crowd at the top" and to realize for themselves whether they really work for Gandhiji's principles which, they declare are the ideal for the nation

10-1-'53 M. P

Gandhiji Speaks

"In this land of ours, fabulously rich in natural resources there is the lofty Himalayas with its ever-lasting snows where, they say, dwells the Lord of Universe It has mighty rivers like the Ganges But owing to our neglect and folly the years rains are allowed to run into the Bay of Bengal and the Arabian Sea If all this water is trapped and harnessed to irrigational purposes by the construction of Dams and Tanks, there should be no famine or food shortage in India Similarly cloth shortage can immediately be removed by planting a miniature mill in every home in the form of a spinning wheel or a *takli* That would give us all the cloth that we need almost for nothing I have cried myself hoarse in preaching this solution on the Government It is immediately feasible and it is my claim that not a single person need go naked, if necessary steps are taken to put it into operation *The only*

obstacles in the way are the inertia and prejudice in high places" — Mahatma Gandhi

Will the masses awake, arise, and stop not till the goal is reached? The question is, who is there to electrify the masses?

Ajmer 27-12-52 H. N. MANCHANDIA

BHOODAN MOVEMENT AND THE LAND PROBLEM

(By U. Keshava Rao)

It is often said that the Bhoodan movement will result in sub-division and fragmentation of land thereby affecting the produce of the land. In order to find whether there is any truth in this allegation, it is necessary to know about the method of distribution of lands by Bhoodan Yajna Samiti (Hyderabad).

The Samiti has laid down the following rules for the distribution of donated lands:

1. Lands should be distributed at the rate of one acre wet land per family or one acre dry land per head. But the Samiti has the discretion to reduce or increase according to local conditions.

2. If the donated land happens to be in possession of a landless tenant then it will be given to him only, the Samiti can take necessary action if the donated land is disputed.

So far the Samiti has been able to collect 33,000 acres of land and distributed 3,119.25 acres. The table given below gives some idea about the distribution of the lands among the families.

Units of Distribution	Dry Land Families	Dry Land Acres	Wet Land Families	Wet Land Acres
Below One Acre	5	3.29	95	58.0
One Acre	4	4.0	34	34
1 to 2 Acres	15	27.7	60	67.14
2 to 5 Acres	92	469.15		
5 to 10 Acres	165	1038.2		
10 to 25 Acres	63	745.37		
25 to 50 Acres	5	204.32		

These figures show land distribution among some individual families. Apart from this, lands are distributed for collective farming also. 1339.2 acres of dry land and 65.17 acres of wet land have been distributed among 90 and 23 units respectively for collective cultivation.

As regards collective farming the question of sub-division does not arise. As for the distribution to individual families the above-mentioned statistics reveal that some families have got 25 to 50 acres of land also.

Wet land is much valued in Telangana. The Settlement Office has numbered even the smallest portion of the land upto one *gunta* in its survey. It has been noticed in some places that the poor cultivators till small holdings with spades and labour hard by manuring it to get a maximum yield out of it. So in case of fragmentation, the yield of wet land is not so much affected as that of dry lands. But in some special circumstances the Samiti has to allow small bits of dry land and the donees also received it with much gratefulness. At one place it was found that the Harijans have got wet land but have no dry land for grazing their cattle. Similarly some small bits of dry land have been distributed in Adilabad district for housing purposes and some donees are benefitting by cultivating them as 'Perads' i.e. growing vegetables and *makai* etc.

As for the distribution of the leased lands the Samiti has adhered to the principle that the land should be given to the lease-holders. So there is no fear of sub-division in this respect.

Thus there has been less fragmentation of land and it was done only at a time and in such a manner that it may be fit for cultivation, otherwise the donee himself does not accept it. It is found in two or three places that the villagers refused to accept the lands as they are not profitable. Consequently the lands still remain undistributed.

Another criticism levelled against this movement is that it is of no avail to distribute lands among the poor who have neither bulls nor agricultural implements for cultivation that they cannot profit by these land gifts unless they are provided with necessary capital. This is an outcome of utter ignorance of realities that exist, at present, in the villages.

Generally the cultivators may be grouped as:

1. Those cultivators who own lands.

2. Those cultivators who are tenants (as per Tenancy Act the leaseholders have been given some special rights, more or less they may be called as permanent cultivators of leased lands).

3. Those who are neither tenants nor owners of the land, but take part in the cultivation and share the produce as co-agriculturists.

The third category of cultivators may aptly be called as landless cultivators. They have their own bulls and agricultural implements but they have not got any right on the lands cultivated by them directly or indirectly. During the distribution work it is found that the villagers also recommend such landless cultivators as deserving for land gifts. The Samiti has also distributed most of the donated land among this type of landless cultivators.

There are, in all, 22000 villages in Hyderabad State. If we estimate an average of ten landless cultivators in each village, the total landless cultivators of the State works out to be more than two lakhs. If each cultivator has to be provided with, at least, five acres land, we shall have to acquire, at least, ten lakh acres of land. To this extent we need not worry about the supply of any agricultural implements. Experience

shows that this type of cultivators welcome any small bits of land gift

If we go to villages it will be revealed to us that there are a number of persons cultivating small holdings since generations In most places it is also found that these small landholders, by putting hard labour produce more than the big landholders

Shri R K Patil the then member of the Planning Commission, Government of India during his tour in Nalgonda district put questions to the villagers as to how many acres of land should be allowed for a family and a plough At one place the villagers said that ten or fifteen acres of dry land should be allowed, at another village, the villagers told that it is better to have one acre of wet land and ten acres of dry land, as the wet land is much valued in Telangana When questioned in the light of standard of living, they said that two acres of wet land and fifteen acres of dry land are necessary for ordinary middle class life and opined that it is neither desirable nor obtainable to have more than this An old woman of about sixty stated that instead of complicating things by taking land from one person and giving it to another, it is better to grant permanent rights to the tenants and the rate of the *kowl* (rent) should be fixed equal to land revenue She also said that it is not necessary for Government to act as a sales agent between the landlord and the tenant when there is no material gain in it In a third village the Harijans told that it is essential to distribute the lands and requested that they may be given even an acre of land to each house, as the landless people have neither credit in market nor status in villages

These are being mentioned here merely to show the view of villagers on the land problem and to clear that the land problem cannot be solved only by administrative orders or by enactments of specific laws There is a lot of difference between the holdings of not only a village but a holding itself differs in fertility from one end to another. Therefore the problem has to be solved according to local situation, general condition of the soil and as far as possible in confirmity with the views of the landowner It should also be borne in mind that except in special circumstances, the agricultural produce may be increased by keeping an average holding with the cultivators Generally, it is not necessary to keep big holdings

The land problem which is a very complicated one may be solved in a healthy atmosphere if the agrarian reforms are based on the above-mentioned lines Bhoodan Samiti is following the same in its distribution work So it can be said that this movement will lead towards solving the land problem of the country

Bhoodan Yajna Samiti
Hyderabad, Dn.

SOCIAL SERVICE AND CHARITY

[The following is culled from the address of Rajkumari Shri Amrit Kaur Minister of Health Government of India and Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Sixth International Conference of Social Work, at Madras on December 14, 1952]

Social service has always held a revered place in the tradition and heritage of the culture of India It may be said to have reached its high watermark in recent times in the life and example of Gandhiji Fighting as he was for political rights and independence for over half a century, in South Africa to begin with and then in India, he never once forgot that man had to serve his fellow man in order to find himself Indeed, the salvation of India for him lay in what he termed the carrying out successfully of his "constructive programme" Drawn up pre-eminently for our country, I believe it is in greater or lesser degree applicable to the entire world We have embodied the principle of social justice in our Constitution and are anxious to realize this ideal with deference both to our genius and tradition as also to the advances made by the progressive Western nations

As in every other sphere of life we have witnessed in our homeland too a gradual change in the concept of social work. It is gradually being realized that in addition to charity, social justice must be the mainspring of all welfare activities Charity or assistance has always been regarded as a noble sentiment and has been enjoined upon all religious groups in every land Kindness and sympathy towards human weakness and suffering are motivated by a noble attitude of mind Charity is at all times a commendable attribute of human character But when it is dispensed in terms only of material goods it cannot but help to draw pointed attention to the unfortunate distinctions which do exist in society. Social charity may even be said to impinge sometimes on the self-respect of the receiver Social justice, on the other hand, seeks to give to each individual his due in terms of equal opportunity and growth according to individual aptitude and social good and is thus consistent with the dignity of human personality and the highest democratic ideals

Nevertheless legislation or ideologies alone are not enough In order to make social justice all-embracing, the motive force must be love and by love I mean here the virtue that blossoms as the rose in the desert, that makes life possible for those whose existence might otherwise be dreary, that blesses the giver more than the receiver

I need hardly emphasize that social work is an ideal platform for international co-operation, for the human heart is quick to respond to suffering It is for social work to relieve and alleviate suffering and herald the creation of a world order when people can live in peace and happiness Indeed I have a feeling that U.N.O holds out a ray of hope in a world darkened by war clouds

solely because of the [illegible] in work of its specialized agencies [illegible] can we serve one another and only through service can we get to know and appreciate each other

HARIJAN

Jan 17 1953

CATCHING UP THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

(By Maganbhai P Desai)

Pandit Jawaharlalji initiating a debate on the Five-Year Plan in the Parliament described the aim of the Plan in the following words "In fact we are trying to catch up as far as we can with the Industrial Revolution which came long years ago in Western countries and made great changes in the course of a century or more."

And he added further, "Now this Industrial Revolution has a long history in the past and we are apt to think in terms of European history when we look at India Why we should repeat the errors of the past is not clear to me Obviously we have to learn from the past and avoid these errors" (*The Hindustan Times*, December 17, 1952)

What these errors are and what we should learn from them so as to avoid them was not told by Panditji in any clear terms When he spoke, he seemed to have in mind some pattern of weaving together big industries with smaller village industries in order to create an era of industrialization in our country through the Five-Year Plan

The Industrial Revolution in Europe is not an isolated phenomenon in its history It was born of a certain philosophy of life evolved there during the last two or three centuries Science in alliance with the power driven machine and large capital has been the instrument for translating that philosophy into an industrialized society The process was one composite whole

It was about this Industrial Revolution of the West that Mr Wilfred Wellock said (*Harijan*, 27-12-'52) "The Industrial Revolution has developed contradictions it cannot resolve and tensions it cannot remove except by war which however produces still greater tensions From this impasse neither politicians nor Divines have any means of escape" He said that the Industrial Revolution was now in reverse and the civilization that has been brought about by it is in decay (*vide* his articles in the *Harijan* of 13-12 '52 and 20-12 '52) Many more thinking people in the West have been similarly expressing themselves about the Industrial Revolution

If this is the verdict from people living under it and if we are trying to catch up that thing, how we can escape or avoid its errors is a big question [illegible] the Five Year Plan is aimed at bringing [illegible] Industrial Revolution of the type which [illegible] long years ago in Western countries [illegible] not know how we can escape the tensions and contradictions inherent in the economy [illegible] it

However surely we must industrialize ourselves or we perish with hunger and crushing poverty But it must be in a different manner The question is Is there any way of doing it differently from the one known in the West? The Five-Year Plan appears to be taking to that beaten track and not any new way Therefore it is difficult to follow how its errors will be avoided by us Why should industrialization mean necessarily succumbing to the machine and money bringing about capitalism either private or State? Industrialization should no doubt, mean mass-production and we may say that we in India need it But should it necessarily follow that the way to do it is the one shown to us by the machine and developed in the West? If errors of the Industrial Revolution which are patent to it are sought to be avoided another way must be found out and attempted leaving off the easy beaten track There is another way of mass-production also and that is the way Gandhiji showed us as the best and most suited to our country

Industrialization, if it is worth the name, must ensure full employment The way shown to us by Gandhiji is based on this basic need of our people To quote him If you multiply individual production to millions of times, would it not give you mass-production on tremendous scale? But I quite understand that your "mass-production" is a technical term for production by the fewest possible number through the aid of highly complicated machinery I have said to myself that that is wrong My machinery must be of the elementary type which I can put in the homes of the millions." (*vide Harijan*, Dec 6 1952 *Mass Production and World-Crisis* by Gandhiji)

The Five Year Plan raises this question of Man *v* Machinery not in a pure or academic manner as it was before we were free but in a real manner There is no doubt the answer to this question must be in favour of man and the way of maximum production with a view to full employment of all our people No dogmatic belief in the way of the West either in the name of Science or in the name of mass-production achieved by the West can be said to be truly scientific The aim is not production anyhow or at the cost of man for whom it is meant Panditji in his address to the Parliament rightly said and emphasized the true aim of the Plan in the following words Ultimately, you have to deal not with steel and cement and things that you can measure but you have to deal with 360 million individual human beings in this country each different from the other".

The way of industrialization through machine and money leaving the human beings to fill in the picture as best as they can will surely not meet our great problem, very beautifully worded by Panditji We require a plan that meets the needs of that objective The Five-Year Plan should keep this great objective before it and should be accordingly amended in the course of its implementation It is a great responsibility — that of evolving an Indian way of industrializing our people without repeating the errors committed in the West.

8-1-'53

PLACE OF ENGLISH IN NATIONAL EDUCATION

(By Maganbhai P Desai)

In the last All India Educational Conference held at Bombay, there was organized a symposium on the above subject in which I was invited to participate The following is a summary of what I said on the occasion

It is hardly necessary much less relevant in a discussion on the place of English in our National Education System, to dilate upon the importance expanse and beauty of English and its literature The English language is highly developed, its literature is vast and is daily growing Various branches of science and knowledge are almost daily being enriched and enlarged in that language The English people are a virile race, patriotic progressive and heroic and possess the unique knack of expressing in their literature their national specialities in an exquisite manner It is probably for this very reason that we are called upon today to think what place should this language occupy in our educational system

But there is a limit to such glorification of English and this should be very clearly understood by us at present Unseasonable and unnecessary praise creates wrong values in the popular mind, and the common man labours under an impression that the old supremacy over our educational and cultural life that English has been having would and must hold on in free India too This hallucination clouds our thought and creates needless complexes Therefore instead of dilating on the greatness of English, we should rather try to visualize with clarity and precision its place in education I fear very much that the continuance of the old order is likely to cripple our educational system But the situation as it faces us today is potential and if rightly handled may usher in a revolution in education

It would be desirable at this stage to cast a glance at our modern history of the last one hundred and fifty years It would help us examine the question clearly

The introduction of the study of English was an outstanding event of that period From a study of the leaders of thought who were responsible for its introduction, we find that the following three view points dominated the field

1 Indian [illegible] and scholars like Raja Ram Mohan Roy thought that India was already in possession of rich literatures in Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic If the English literature is also made available we can have access to the newly developed arts and sciences of the West. The study of English language and literature, therefore, should be promoted

This view had emphasized the acquisition of learning or knowledge This may, therefore, be named a 'scholastic view' The Raja laid stress on the acquisition of western learning which he welcomed with that end in view The followers of this school of thought are in evidence even now. They are the moderates or the liberals or social reformers, and some educationalists — the relics of the above tradition — who go on harping in season and out of season upon the excellence of the English culture, knowledge and tradition

Besides this, there were two other schools of thought which were different from it Their aims and objects differed from those of the first. They represented the views of our English rulers then

2 Lord William Bentinck wanted English language for administrative convenience He could see even then that if Englishmen wanted to rule over India the administrative language must be English Foresighted that he was he introduced English as the language of administration and resolved upon the initiation of English education in India Education was thus allied with Government service and as a result English study became the fashion of the day This transformed not only our education but also our social set up This view became more dominant than the first, and it is so till now

3 The third view, resembling and helping the second one, was represented by Lord Macaulay He thought that English education would make Indians look upon the English people with respect and awe They would turn to western ways of life and thought and would accept the leadership of the English as an enlightened people It was Lord Macaulay who made English the medium of instruction, which continues till today This step drastically effected our education and well-nigh sapped it of its creative vitality It created the English-knowing class as apart from the large mass of the people.

If the first view is scholastic, the other two — those of Lord Bentinck and Lord Macaulay can be said to be administrative and cultural respectively. These three notions cumulatively worked up the introduction of the foreign language in our land How these three ideas worked their way through the Indian society during the last one hundred years and more, what they wrought and what they ruined, present a none too flattering chapter of our history, to which we may not turn today But it is certain that our nation has now come out of the above maze and has taken definite decisions regarding its future

progress it is however, tragic that our will and our effort to implement them do not come up to the mark But the decisions are part of our freedom and are unalterable They are as follows

1 Hindi shall replace English as the official language of the Union of India within the next 15 years

2 English shall not continue to be the medium of instruction.

This means that we have now decided to eliminate out of the three viewpoints noted above the administrative and the cultural ones, retaining only the scholastic one Raja Ram Mohan Roy rightly counted upon the English language as a means of acquiring knowledge and enlightenment, and we even today heartily endorse it.

After the attainment of independence we can be said to have come in a happy condition, when we are able to think of the place of English in a natural manner as free people and are sufficiently awakened to shake off the slavish incumbrances of the intervening period It is up to us now to avail ourselves fully of this refreshing change Instead of this some good friends from amongst us still continue to believe that English alone can be the medium and *lingua franca* in India They cling to this superstition with an amazing mental laziness Imagine the tragedy when these champions are regarded as of advanced views! English education gave rise to some vested interests which continue to dominate us even today Need I say that these interests also hail mainly from the above class? The assurance that English will be retained for knowledge should ordinarily suffice to silence their clamour The question before us therefore is how to adjust English in our educational set-up henceforth in a way which would help us to realize our goal as would also set the vested interests at ease That the study of English is useful to us is beyond dispute As a matter for that we aspire to study the great literatures of various other nations of the world also What to say for English which history has given us? It is, however, for us to determine its extent

Is it possible for all to study the great English writers? Should all of our people start English study for that end? How many of us have learnt the language even after its study during the last hundred years? The long and short of the argument, therefore, is that treasure which English has should be made available to everyone of us in one's own mother-tongue, and it is for this that we have to think out a scheme of education.

The result of what goes on today is quite the contrary The English-educated formed a caste by themselves They become officers or take to some such respectable professions What is sought through English education is more the gainful benefits and advantages accruing therefrom than love of knowledge This has brought about high-and-low mentality and inequality among our people. In education a separatist tendency has been created The question of the place of English in education is, therefore, not merely educational but has become a step to social and administrative revolution Our National Governments therefore, are called upon to decide this question in the context of these wider issues

The ideals of the National Education and the constructive efforts, therefore, developed under the inspiration and guidance of Mahatma Gandhi, do point out a way to this revolution. Unhappily our intelligentsia have been found to be extremely reactionary in point of education But it should be remembered that without the promotion of National Education our Swaraj would neither be secure nor progressive The prevalent system is decaying and cannot be saved The time for educational reorientation has therefore come It has become inevitable

The place of English in our educational set-up may be briefly stated It should be as follows:

1 English should have no place whatsoever in the curriculum of the first seven years (i e from standard first to standard seventh) From the fifth standard the study of the National language should begin It is obvious therefore, that an introduction of a third language at this stage is undesirable

2 From standards 8th to 11th i e during the four years of the High School, English be introduced It need not necessarily be compulsory Those not taking up English may take up, besides the mother-tongue, any one of the Indian languages, e g Marathi, Kannada, Tamil, Telugu, Bengali etc Many students give up education after the 11th standard That they know the language of their neighbouring province is more necessary and even useful than the knowledge of English The more we live in Swaraj the more we feel the need of knowing Indian languages other than our mother-tongue We must remember also that these widely based linguistic studies would help us to further mutual intercourse and unity That many today might take up English is not objectionable Those who would not, should have the freedom and the convenience to do so

3 The capacity to understand English is necessary now-a-days for students desiring to continue their studies in a college or a university This would enable them to make use of English books, in the present undeveloped state of our languages And it would also help in enriching the Indian languages with the help of English Provision should also be made here for those, irrespective of the number, who want to continue their education without English This experiment would be a valuable contribution in the reorientation programme

There is nothing novel about the above scheme Gandhiji has before long incorporated it in the national programme It is quite natural that reactionary forces in the Government and the people are trying to assert themselves in

favour of the [illegible] The above ideas would, however help [illegible] ance them successfully. In this great [illegible] Bombay, which are great strongholds of English educated people could render real help to the national cause It would also be a great service in itself on their part if they do not become centres of reactionary forces

(From the original in Gujarati)

THE GANDHIAN APPROACH TO WORLD PEACE

[From a speech delivered by Shri J C Kumarappa before the World Congress for Peace at Vienna on December 13, 1952]

As we are meeting here to explore all ways and means of attaining world peace I wish to place before you, for your consideration, the methods worked out in India by Mahatma Gandhi and his analysis of the reasons for friction among nations and the way to smoothen international relations

The Hindu Way of Life

The philosophy of non violence and truth of Gandhiji has its deep roots in the way of life developed over thousands of years by the Hindus to lead us to peace Hence to understand the Gandhian way to peace it is necessary to remind ourselves of this ancient background

Peace Is Dharmo of Man

They held Truth is God and Dharma is the purpose of existence of man. Nay each creature—sentient and insentient—has its own Dharma The Dharma of man is to express himself in peace Dharma is neither religion nor duty as is often indiferently translated. These latter are but expressions of Dharma but not all of it. Just as to produce flowers is the nature of the rose plant and to exude fragrance is the very nature of the rose so should the production of peace be the very existence of man We may say flowering is the Dharma of the plant and sweet smelling is the Dharma of the Rose and peace is the Dharma of man. Anything that produces conflict is Adharma (non Dharma)

Modern Man's Degradation

Modern philosophy of life has turned man into an economic animal It has made production of goods the Dharma of man This is a degradation of the mission to life of man We may say if we choose that the Dharma of the machine is to produce goods. But man is something neither Life does not consist in the abundance of things we possess Man does not live by bread alone and much less by unwanted things made into necessities by artificial pressure of salesmanship and advertising. Thus has man fallen from his Dharma and has brought conflict into the world of humanity by introducing false values and priorities If we wish to restore peace we have to reorientate our own lives This may involve forgoing many material things which we have come to regard as essentials In the restoration of Dharma lies the hope of World Peace

The Dharma of the strong is the protection of the weak. The all powerful America fighting small nations like Korea is Adharma. It belongs to the animal kingdom. The Dharma of the tiger may be to kill but not that of man We have to diagnose this virus of poison that has entered human life and has produced this phenomenon of nation warring against nation and man's personality being buried under a mountain of consumer goods This finally leads man to seek a way out by blowing up this mountain by a ceaseless activity of producing instruments of destruction To a cool thinker production of the atom bomb would seem the height of midsummer madness and what shall we say of hydrogen bombs and germ warfare!

[illegible] human development and fulfil [illegible] To do this was Gandhi's search for Truth and the non violent way of life

Roots of Modern Malady

The malady the world is suffering from today is mainly due to economic factors. We have forgotten the end of man to life and are running after things that do not matter In the few minutes at our disposal I shall attempt an analysis of the situation from a practical point of view and see how we can remedy it and implement the suggestions

If the way of Dharma leads to peace then any act that is Adharma will lead to violence These global conflicts are not isolated incidents They are the culminations of innumerable small acts performed by simple people innocently Though the responsibility for wars may immediately be placed on some leaders yet the real causes can be traced to our daily acts For instance city people buy milk without asking whether the calf has been fed or the children of the milkman had their quota. When the milk we buy is not a surplus but has been squeezed out of the mouths of calves and children with prior claims our acts are adharmic and we create violence which when accumulated breaks out into world catastrophes. Hence we see the real remedy lies in the consumer being closely associated with the producer and the distributor This means decentralization of production and a move towards self-sufficiency This has been Gandhiji's suggestion for banishing the causes of wars.

On the production side today the goods are turned out on a mass scale with standardized methods from raw materials secured from the ends of the earth from underdeveloped people All this is *adharmic*

Similarly, distribution has no natural urge but is stimulated by all manner of salesmanship leading to the creation of artificial multiplicity of wants. This again is *adharmic* and leads to violence

The pattern of consumption has no relation to real needs of the consumer nor is it related one to another nor based on any priorities. The consumer pattern is calculated to subserve the needs of the producer and distributor Hence periodic explosions are called for to set the system on proper lines These again lead to wars.

As long as the capitalistic and imperialistic interests persist and production follows centralized and standardized methods wars will form an integral part of human life and no amount of petitions and protests will bring about lasting peace Because of these underlying causes the atmosphere is surcharged with a fear of acquisitive interests being upset by a spreading sense of social justice.

The Remedy

What then is the remedy? The causes themselves suggest the way out. We have already seen that Gandhiji had suggested self-sufficiency and decentralization of production

This course of action brings promotion of world peace within the reach of every single one of us. We need not feel helpless before the great ones of the earth Every one can contribute his mite This is a great privilege and a responsibility It calls for self-control and sacrifice in the cause of peace Are we prepared to shoulder our share of work?

All this is based on the assumption that we shall have enough basic character to organize each nation into being having in co-operation with the rest of the world on a high level of moral and spiritual standards. The education of the children must be recast to enable us to raise a nation of stalwarts who will depend on character rather than armaments to maintain peace Only such peaceful relations founded on co-operation understanding and goodwill lead us to lasting peace.

In such a world th[illegible] of the weak by the s[illegible] oppressed by the highly [illegible] the mighty. So it [illegible] can earth and go[illegible]

Hotel Mozart
Vienna 16-12-52

THE CRY OF AN ANGUISHED SOUL

"Have the Gaya people forgotten their pledge? To none have I explained so much as I have done to them. But it is now more than a month and a half and not much worth mention has been done there. When on board people remember the Lord, but when on shore they seem to forget Him. That is the state of the people's mind!"

These words full of agony were expressed by Acharya Vinobaji in his prayer speech this evening. Some workers of Bihar State had come to see him and it was as it were his loud thinking with them.

Continuing Acharyaji said, "People do not seem inclined to do any concentrated effort. That is the tendency I am witnessing. They are more enthusiastic to listen to speeches than to act up to the teachings implied in them. Much more work would have been done if there were a band of workers engaged in Bhoodan work. Revolution demands selfless workers prepared to sacrifice their all. To me it is not the land that matters for land is surely going to come to me. I am anxious to see workers who have faith in this mission. The more the workers the greater and deeper the work."

Vinobaji in the beginning stressed that good men should now relieve themselves of the allurement of institutions. In this connection he illustrated how Hinduism laid down stages of progressive renunciation from *grihasthashram* to *vanaprastha* and then to *sannyas*. That was the only way for doing some valour without which transformation in society was an impossibility.

Referring to the conditions of the present day institutions, Acharyaji said that although these institutions were supposed to have been founded for the sake of service to the people, they were not free from the bondage of party and group politics.

Expressing his deep agony over the recent happenings in Bihar Congress, Acharyaji asked, "Have these quarrels helped anyone in the least? They have only helped in increasing mutual distrust and foulness. Congressmen have neither been able to serve anyone nor could they purify their own minds. Other institutions also are not free from this disease. They all have but one programme and that is of mutual fault-finding and decrying each other. They take pride and feel meritorious in doing so.

"The lesson that I have taken from all this has given me protection and brought me salva-tion. [illegible] Hinduism has given through [illegible] *sannyas*. Salvation is impossible if there [illegible] attachment for any notion whatsoever. People start institutions which in the end overpower the founders them-selves. Unrighteous and bogus men capture these institutions while the founders have not the courage for disillusionment. They cannot free themselves from the bonds of institutions. They get themselves involved in the problems of minority and majority. Rule of majority is the law of the day. Whether the majority has or has not scruples and character, it does not matter at all. Is not majority only brute force? How can you differentiate between the rule of the regi-ment, rule of money and rule of majority? What is it if it is not brute force? The only way to get rid of this is that those who are good and respectable should resign from the institutions and behave as plain men. That is the path the sages have trodden. Buddha, Kabir and Tulsi did the same and that is why they could uplift society.

"In spite of such an inspiring programme like the Bhoodan-Yajna, I see people speaking in terms of sparing either four days or five days for this cause. They have leisure enough all the 365 days in a year, to look after their domestic affairs. Did Shivaji and Shankaracharya who brought about revolutions think in terms of four days or five? They worked hard and constantly too. Only such workers can make this revolutionary programme a success", the Acharya concluded.

Chandil, 4-1-53 D. M.

GANDHI AND MARX
By K. G. Mashruwala
With an Introduction by Shri Vinoba
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HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)
Editor MAGANBHAI P. DESAI

VOL. XVI No. 48 AHMEDABAD—SATURDAY, JANUARY 24, 1953 TWO ANNAS

CLASS WAR AND COMMUNISM

(By Gandhiji)

I am quite clear that if strictly honest and unchallengeable referendum of our millions were to be taken, they would not vote for the wholesale expropriation of the propertied classes. I am working for the co-operation and co-ordination of capital and labour, of landlord and tenant.

I have always told millowners that they are not exclusive owners of mills, and workmen are equal sharers in ownership. In the same way, I would tell you that ownership of your land belongs as much to the ryots as to you and you may not squander your gains in luxurious or extravagant living, but must use them for the wellbeing of ryots. Once you make your ryots experience a sense of kinship with you, and a sense of security that their interests as members of a family will never suffer at your hands, you may be sure that there cannot be a clash between you and them and no class war.

Class war is foreign to the essential genius of India, which is capable of evolving communism on the fundamental rights of all on equal justice. Ramarajya of my dream ensures rights alike of prince and pauper.

You may be sure that I shall throw the whole weight of my influence in preventing class war. Supposing that there is an attempt unjustly to deprive you of your property, you will find me fighting on your side.

Socialism and communism of the West are based on certain conceptions which are fundamentally different from ours. One such conception is their belief in the essential selfishness of human nature. I do not subscribe to it, for I know that the essential difference between man and the brute is that the former can respond to the call of the spirit in him, can rise superior to the passions that he owns in common with the brute and, therefore, superior to selfishness and violence, which belong to the brute nature and not to the immortal spirit of man. That is the fundamental conception of Hinduism, which has years of penance and austerity at the back of discovery of this truth. That is why, whilst we have had saints who have worn out their bodies and laid down their lives in order to explore the secrets of the soul, we have had none, as in the West, who laid down their lives in exploring the remotest or the highest regions of the earth. Our socialism or communism should, therefore, be based on non-violence and on harmonious co-operation of labour and capital, landlord and tenant.

Ryots themselves have no greater ambition than to live in peace and freedom and they will never grudge your possession of property provided you use it for them.

(*Amrit Bazar Patrika*, 2-8-'34)

All exploitation is based on co-operation, willing or forced, of the exploited. However much we may detest admitting it, the fact remains that there would be no exploitation if people refuse to obey the exploiter. But self comes in and we hug the chains that bind us. This must cease. What is needed is not the extinction of landlords and capitalists, but a transformation of the existing relationship between them and the masses into something healthier and purer.

Let us not be obsessed with catchwords and seductive slogans imported from the West. Have we not our distinct Eastern tradition? Are we not capable of finding our own solution to the question of capital and labour? What is the system of *varnashrama* but a means of harmonizing the difference between high and low, as well as between capital and labour? All that comes from the West on this subject is tarred with the brush of violence. I object to it because I have seen the wreckage that lies at the end of this road. The more thinking set even in the West today stand aghast at the abyss for which their system is heading. And I owe whatever influence I have in the West to my ceaseless endeavour to find a solution which promises an escape from the vicious circle of violence and exploitation. I have been a sympathetic student of the Western social order and I have discovered that underlying the fever that fills the soul of the West there is a restless search for truth. I value that spirit. Let us study our Eastern institutions in that spirit of scientific enquiry and we shall evolve a truer socialism and a truer communism than the world has yet dreamed of. It is surely wrong to presume that Western socialism or communism is the last word on the question of mass poverty.

(*Amrit Bazar Patrika*, 3-8-'34)

NATIONAL HEALTH SERVICE SCHEME

(January 1953)

To

The Editor of Harijan

Through the valued columns of *Harijan* I respectfully and humbly request the Governments of various Provinces of India for the good of the people of India to please include nature cure treatment of diseases (drugless healing) in the National Health Service Scheme which comes into operation in January of this year '53

Mahatma Gandhi and the famous Mr Bernard Shaw were staunch advocates of this cheap and effective nature cure method of treating ailments

Even allopathic doctors, taught and trained in the European system of medicine, are in favour of nature cure

The British Medical Journal (London) has published a letter signed by seven duly qualified registered medical practitioners of England who say

" . . We are a group of practitioners who are applying all these principles of naturopathy (diet, air, sun, water and exercise) in our practice with convincing results

"We urge our colleagues to apply naturopathy in their practice since in so doing they will be striking at the real roots of much of the ill-health of civilized man."

British doctor R F Ould, M D of the London University, M. A, Barrister-at-Law and a gentleman of great ability (says the London *Health Review* editorially) "has come to the conclusion that in nature cure are to be found the right methods of curing diseases and maintaining good health."

It is hoped that the above suggestion will receive careful attention of the Government of India

54 Wodehouse Road, Yours truly,
Colaba, Bombay-5 SORABJI R. MISTRI

[The suggestion deserves consideration from our Health ministries Shri Mistri in one of his earlier letters to me suggested that other systems of medicine also must have a place in the National Medical Service Scheme Let it not be said in reply that nature cure is no system, for that would be only begging the question. It is upto our Government to see that this way of restoring lost health is put on a scientific basis and a systematic naturopathy is brought about in India. We must not forget that Gandhiji had nature cure as one of the few great reforms that he put before the people for their adoption, and even in his last years he set up a Nature Cure Trust at Uruli Kanchan (Poona District) to work for it as one important constructive activity for the nation.

31-12-'52 —M. P.]

GANDHI AND MARX

By K G Mashruwala

With an Introduction by Shri Vinoba

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NOTES

Next Sarvodaya Sammelan

The next Sarvodaya Sammelan which according to the earlier announcement, was to be held at Tikapatti will now meet at Chandil where Vinobaji is convalescing after his recent illness. The Sammelan will meet from the 7th to the 9th March (both days inclusive)

Chandil is a village in the Manbhum District (Bihar) It is 21 miles from the Tatanagar Station (Eastern Railway), and 32 miles from the Purulia Station

Owing to the change in the meeting place the arrangements will have to be made afresh. The earlier instructions in regard to the lodging and boarding etc of the visitors are therefore cancelled The intending visitors should however inform the Secretary of the Sammelan of their proposed visit and send for the Railway concession form from him. The concession forms will be sent generally to those who would have got themselves registered as *sevaks* by January 20 1953 All other communications should also be sent to the Secretary of the Sammelan at the following address Secretary Sarvodaya Sammelan Chandil Dt. Manbhum Bihar

Apart from the general arrangements for the accommodation of the visitors, there will be available separate huts also for a family of 4 to 5 persons. The rent for the same for the Sammelan period will be Rs. 25/ Those who want to hire the huts should remit the required amount of Rs 25/- and get their names enlisted by Feb 7

Arrangements are also being made for a Telegraph Office for the Sammelan period, the telegraphic address will be Sarvodaya Chandil

VALLABH SWAMI
Joint Secretary
Sarva Seva Sangh

Sevagram Wardha.
(Abridged from Mindi)

Progress of Bhoodan

Name of the Province	New Collections from 5-12-52 to 5-1-53	Total upto 5-1-	Other Collections
Assam			
Andhra		7 021.01	
Uttar Pradesh		3 10 722 74	
Orissa	190.34	2,384.34	Grain 5 mds. 3 bullock pairs
Karnatak		98 14	
Kerai		8 500 60	
Gujerat	7.42.88	6,224.22	1 bullock pair 5 ploughs
Tamilnad	116.98	3,441 63	
Delhi		1,124.80	
Punjab & Pepsu	100.60	211 00	
Bihar	10,040 84	45 080.60	
Bengal		32.48	
Bombay City			
Madhya Pradesh	860.35	12,520.27	
Madhya Bharat		2,490.59	
Maharashtra		236.50	
Mysore	2.80	13.50	
Rajasthan	5,734.30	13,559.45	
Vindhya Pradesh		1,262 08	
Saurashtra			
Himachal Pradesh		1,008 90	
Hyderabad (Ds.)		30 224.33	
Total acres	20,536.84	4,43 204.88	(*sic*)

KRISHNARAJ MEHTA
Office Secretary
A. I. S. S. S. Sevagram

SOWING SEEDS OF FAMINE

(By Suresh Ramabhai)

When the Synthetic Rice Committee met at New Delhi on October 25 last, its Chairman, Shri Keshavadeva Malaviya, Deputy Minister for Natural Resources, urged the Committee to submit its report within two weeks He added that the aim of the present endeavour was the production of a 'low-priced synthetic rice whose nutritive value would at least be equal to that of rice'. I think that the report would have been duly submitted and action taken upon it

One cannot definitely say what constituents go to make up 'synthetic rice'. But tapioca is authoritatively held to be one of the principal ingredients Others perhaps are groundnut cake, fish oil and milk powder It is also reported that a delegation of officers is shortly to proceed to America for purchasing machinery in order to develop the industry of 'synthetic rice' on a commercial scale

As regards tapioca, it is a kind of rootish vegetable (like reddish, but sweeter in taste) containing a very large quantity of starch Abundantly found in Travancore, *Chini* (as it is called in Malayalam) is the main support of a large number of people there specially of the poorer masses who cannot afford to purchase rice. On account of its starch content it is very much in demand by the textile industry, which has, as the Kozhikode market reports indicate, already told upon its price and availability

In this connection it must also be stated that early in April last, the Travancore-Cochin Chamber of Agriculture submitted a memorandum to the State Government requesting it:

(i) To lift a ban on the export of surplus tapioca;

(ii) To take immediate steps for the formation of a Tapioca Market Expansion Board for demonstrating possibilities of utilizing tapioca as an article of food, and

(iii) To levy a cess on tapioca export.

Also, as reported in *The Hindu*, Madras, dated April 6, 1952, the Chamber gave a party to the Travancore-Cochin Ministers, consisting entirely of the 'dishes' made from tapioca

This was between the Government and the Chamber of Agriculture of Travancore-Cochin Now six months after, we find the Central Government taking a serious interest in tapioca to produce a 'low priced synthetic rice whose nutritive value would at least be equal to that of rice'. It seems that after a success (!) in producing Vanaspati whose nutritive value the Government and specially the Prime Minister would have us believe, is at least equal to that of ghee, the Government are concentrating on the production of the hybrid product, miscalled 'synthetic rice'. Thus the State and Central Governments, the business community and our experts are now agreed on exploiting tapioca to the utmost. These united efforts are bound to result in

(i) Raising tapioca to the status of a commercial commodity which the business community will try to do full justice to,

(ii) Procuring tapioca from all over Travancore-Cochin and partly exporting it and partly sending it to factories for conversion into 'delicacies' and 'synthetic rice'; and

(iii) Like Vanaspati factories of 'synthetic rice' or other tapioca delicacies will be started in Travancore-Cochin or in parts of South India

The cumulative effect of all this would be to raise the price of tapioca inside Travancore-Cochin, rendering it beyond the lean resources of those who live on it at present Thus deprived of both rice and tapioca, they would not be able to support themselves or their children And starvation conditions would automatically set in sooner rather than later Frankly put, this is sowing seeds of famine.

A word to those fond of 'synthetic rice' They would do well to listen to the advice of the great agricultural expert Sir Albert Howard, about artificial or synthetic products

> In almost every case the vegetable and animal residues of Western agriculture are either being completely wasted or else imperfectly utilised. A wide gap between the humus used up in crop-production and the humus added as manure has naturally developed This has been filled up by chemical manures The principle followed is that any deficiencies in the soil composition can be made up by the addition of suitable chemicals *This is based on a complete misconception of plant-nutrition. It is superficial and fundamentally unsound* It takes no account of the life of the soil. Artificial manures lead inevitably to artificial nutrition, artificial food, artificial animals, and finally to artificial men and women' (Italics mine)

Besides artificial manures in 'Community Projects', the Government want us to live on artificial foods. It need not be told that thanks to its encouragement of Vanaspati, pure ghee has now become a very rare exhibit Also adulteration in food is getting so common that the Central and various State Governments have passed infructuous Bills, seemingly to check it Its taste for 'synthetic rice' is likely to make the poor man's food — RICE — rarer still Shall it however, lead to 'synthetic prosperity'?

Allahabad, 26-11-'52

FOOD SHORTAGE AND AGRICULTURE

By Mahatma Gandhi

My endeavour has been to find ways and means to make ourselves self-supporting If the mercantile community and the official world would become honest — we can just tide over the difficulty Gandhiji

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HARIJAN

Jan. 24 1953

TO MEMBERS OF PUBLIC SERVICES

(By K G Mashruwala)

[I have on my file a copy of the report of a very significant speech that the Chief Minister of Bombay gave to a Conference of his top-officers It was the first of its kind held in Bombay State The aim was to discuss "ways and means to ensure maximum efficiency in administration and in implementation of schemes of public welfare by securing co-ordination of efforts and avoidance of delays" The Conference met in Bombay on October 4, 1952 since when the report is lying on my file.

Along with it I had also got put on my file a copy of an article by late Shri K. G Mashruwala, "To Members of Public Services", that appeared in the *Harijan* of August 21 1949 The wise words full of piteous entreaty and appeal from Shri K. G M. still ring in my ears when I was reading the report of the speech of the Bombay Chief Minister and in my mind the two wave themselves into one pattern of an idea which bear reproducing here, specially at present when we are out to implement the Five Year Plan. The gist of the Chief Minister's speech is reproduced elsewhere in this issue.

13-1 '53 —M. P.]

It is not with a light heart that I write this. I wish I can avoid it. But I see no other way but to talk to you directly about what complaints I receive frequently from almost every part of India. We have begun the third year of our Independence If its attainment has benefited any single class of persons very materially, it would not be wrong to say that it is you Owing to the retirement of most of the foreign officers, the choice made by several Muslim officers to go over to Pakistan, opening of several foreign embassies creation of new departments and the like, several of you who would have been still in the junior ranks have obtained quick promotions to important posts and better emoluments. Your material condition has definitely improved since Independence The absolutely new type of government that succeeded the British could have elected to change its system of services radically Even if it retained most of you, it might have placed over you absolutely new men in places of high importance in order to carry out new policies and create a new India. A government with the Charkha Sangh outlook might have made heavy cuts in your salaries and comforts.

The bureaucracy as you were called, was, as you know, almost a loathsome term 'Corrupt', 'wooden-headed', 'high-handed', 'unprogressive', 'dilatory', 'arrogant', 'impudent', 'blind to the needs of the people' were some of the violent adjectives freely used against you by the various Congress leaders including some of the members of the various cabinets. For practical purposes Free India was equivalent to India free from bureaucratic rule Indeed, it would not be wrong to say that the younger section of the Congress expected such radical changes to take place, and one of the causes of their and the people's dissatisfaction against the Congress organization is that their seniors did not do so, and elected to continue the old system almost as it was After assumption of office, the leaders took a view of soberness and sense of responsibility and decided to continue the system as it was Perhaps this was inevitable under the circumstances in which transfer of power was brought about Perhaps this became possible also because the radical ideologies both of Gandhiji as well as the rival one of Marx on the economic and social side had never been wholeheartedly accepted by the seniors in the Congress The only ideology that remained was that of the revivalism of old Hinduism or old Islam on the cultural side and 'industrial progress', and 'gradual, orderly social uplift' without too heavy a departure from traditional methods on the economic and social side British institutions were accepted as models.

So there was not much difference between this view and the traditions which were set by the British in India and which you had imbibed For practical purposes the British Government had continued and made it possible for you and the Congress leaders to work together And thus what might have become quite a serious problem became smooth sailing both for you and the new Government.

If this smoothness had been properly appreciated, in spite of the new problems created by the partition and the exodus following it the peaceful transfer should have been extremely beneficial to the people The awe of the white skin, which often made the oldest of you feel small before even a raw youth, had disappeared. You now work with your own people and among your own people The *pardahs* of rank and prestige which separated you from your heads on the one side and the subordinates and the people over whom you exercised authority on the other side, have broken. You were even then called Indian Civil Servants, though the highest among you were neither Indian, nor Civil, nor behaved like Servants towards the people Now you are all Indians, have a chance to be civil and to work for the service of your nation.

But I regret to say that however satisfied ministers of the various governments might be about your efficiency sense of service and conduct, public opinion about you is just the contrary No, there are complaints that your conduct towards the people is less satisfactory than what it was even under the past regime. You are ruder, more corrupt, less efficient, more dilatory more open to the monetary influence and nepotic considerations and your administration is felt more and more oppressive by the people than what it was under yourselves before 1947.

Even in the British regime, the services were not altogether uncorrupt But the Indian States were notorious for still greater corruption — with this difference that they were more cheaply satisfiable What could be got done with the bribe of a few annas in an Indian State needed as many rupees in British India Do you know what reports I receive from the merged States now? They say that the scale of bribes has also risen with your entry into their administration. I am prepared to concede that some of these complaints might be exaggerated In a court of law, several might be unprovable But let me tell you that the complaints I receive are not only those communicated by the public but also those by some of the Government servants themselves. For instance the tricks, corruption and dishonesties practised in the railway departments, ration shops etc are made known to me by those working in these departments.

When I address you thus generally, please do not misunderstand me It is not that there is no honest soul amongst you or that there are not officers among you who have worked themselves like self-appointed slaves since the attainment of Independence, or that this is true of every department As a matter of fact, a majority among you may never have touched illicit money But in these matters a ten per cent would be quite sufficient to mar your reputation, even as 10 or 20 rowdy men might break a meeting of 500 peaceful men. What I have described is the general picture and the impression And so let the honest ones also think of this matter seriously

In what, do you think, will this end? You stand between the Government and the people. The Government is judged through you and succeeds or fails through you People necessarily assume that the Government controls you fully, and so if your administration is unsatisfactory, they justifiably blame the Government for your defects If the Congress appears to control the Government, every corruption in you is necessarily transferred to the Congress Of course, you will be able to say, and justifiably so that there is corruption in Congressmen themselves and you are not the only offenders For that, if the Congress does not improve, it might have to pay by walking out of the Government when its time is ripe But the consequences of the present demoralization and corruption will not stop by the dismissal of the Congress Government. They are bound also to react on your heads Except in case a second Gandhi rises to lead the nation to ways of non-violent resistance a semi awakened humanity reacts against oppression in only one way, namely by a re-enactment of the scenes of the French Revolution France is a small country compared to ours. We are bigger than about half a dozen Francea put together Our tragedies will be far greater than those of any other country except China We had a foretaste of it during the killings of 1946-'47 Do you wish these to repeat themselves?

Unless you improve, you cannot make the people happy and an unhappy people will not spare you when your oppression becomes unbearable Remember that when everything is ready for taking fire, a little spark is quite sufficient to set it

My appeal to you is to give a place to God in your life and conduct In your desire to advance your material position you have banished Him from your homes and offices, calculating that money is a better friend than God in adversity and old age But your calculations are false and will mean the ruin of yourselves and the whole country God grant you wisdom and strength to become truer and better servants of the people

Wardha, 27-7-'49

TO PUBLIC OFFICERS OF THE STATE

[This is from a speech of the Chief Minister Bombay See ' To Members of Public Services " by late Shri K G M appearing in this issue]

" The Welfare State towards which we are aspiring can be established only if all public servants become welfare officers devotedly serving the people with the sole object of bringing contentment and happiness to them so that their capacity to produce more and increase the prosperity of our country would be raised ", said Shri Morarji R Desai, Chief Minister of Bombay, presiding over the Conference of the Heads of all the Departments at the Headquarters and Heads of offices in the Districts held at the Council Hall, Bombay, October 4, 1952

He added that if a society in which there would be equality of opportunity and justice for all and from which poverty would be banished was to be created, the Government administration would have to efficiently try to find out ways and means to understand the difficulties of people and remove them. " It is our duty to take all the necessary steps to achieve this and there is no use apportioning blame to others " " It is no use saying," Shri Desai continued, " that there is a growing tendency among our people to rely too much on Government The remedy lies in doing your best for them and in educating them so that they may give up this attitude and in inculcating in them a spirit of self-reliance This is the task of a public servant '

Shri Desai emphasized the importance of complete co-operation between two classes of public servants, viz, Government servants and social workers in building up the nation

Improvement in Administration

Speaking on the objects of the Conference Shri Desai said, " I want you to understand the

unhappiness from which I am suffering on account of the shortcomings in our administration It is true that the administration of our State is considered quite progressive as compared to some other States experiments and reforms made in this State are adopted in other States But I cannot say that the people have derived the full benefits of the measures that have been adopted and that there is no further scope for improvement It is the duty of public servants to see that people derive full benefits of the measures adopted by the Government and the necessary improvement in the administration takes place

"Healthy criticism is always welcome because it only shows that the people are alive to what they want and are not prepared to suffer deficiency in public service Happiness of the people can be poisoned by the discontent which may be justifiable and removable It is such discontent that is the greatest danger to any administration It is the duty of public servants to see that there is no such removable discontent in our State"

Shri Desai further said, 'We are all co-workers in the same business the business of serving the people" He for one would attach great importance to the Government servants in the lower rank of the administration for it was they who came in daily contact with the people and to whom a large number of people approached daily for their requirements and redress of their grievances It was the attitude of these Government servants towards the public which was very important and it was the duty of all officers to see that in addition to their good attitude towards the people the members of the subordinate staff behaved properly towards the people and in a helpful manner.

Shri Desai in his address very strongly emphasized the need for removing all kinds of delays in the Government administration He said that more strenuous efforts must be put in to reduce delays especially in the mofussil He vehemently criticized those who were responsible for the delays in case of public complaints "If a grievance is to be redressed, it must be done in time If it is delayed, it is no redress, it is mockery," he said

The Chief Minister also emphasized the need on the part of all public servants to treat the members of public courteously and politely If they wanted to create respect for the administration on the part of people members of the public must be courteously and politely treated. Good behaviour might go unnoticed but a single instance of bad behaviour towards a member of the public would bring stigma to the administration, he said.

'ARTHIK SAMATA' CAMP

(By T K Bang)

The camp was conducted at Seldok for about a week to chalk out active programmes of economic equality, under the auspices of the Arthik Samata Mandal Shri J C. Kumarappa conducted the Camp Seldoh is a village in M.P where Kumarappaji is having an Agrarian Research Centre

On Gandhi Jayanti day the Camp was inaugurated by Acharya Kripalani. In his inaugural address he explained the relation between law and liberty and emphasized the idea that the more civilized a society, the more are the laws governing various relationships in the society He said that the problem in India is of the rejuvenation of the village, so the question of land and village industries assumes a paramount importance. The Bhoodan Movement is creating the atmosphere for land-distribution and it has riveted the attention of all regarding the ways and means of solving this land problem Ultimately it is the Government which must redistribute land equitably amongst the villagers Similarly it is the Government which must guarantee full employment to every citizen and so village industries will come in We have to ask the villagers also to buy village products and not go to far cheap urban products.

Prof J C. Kumarappa delivered five lectures in the Camp on land industries and the Swadeshi Dharma. Regarding land he was of the firm conviction that it must belong to the village community It should be given on probation say for a period of 10 years, to the cultivator The contract might be renewed in light of the agricultural efficiency displayed by the agriculturist in the past and the size of land given to a cultivator may be reduced or increased at the end of the period for a fresh period of 10 years Land given up by all those who were cultivators before will go back to the village community and it is the community which will give land to fresh entrants The cropping plan will be framed by the village community after consulting the individual cultivators at the bottom and the District, State and Central Government at the top and every individual cultivator will have to fall in line with the village community's plan. There will be a balanced cultivation taking into consideration the natural resources and the essential needs of the people Self-sufficiency in essential commodities for a region of say 15 to 20 villages will be the aim, and only the surpluses will be sold through a Multi-purpose Co-operative Society The Co-operative Society will also determine costs of production of different commodities taking into consideration the man hours required to produce a standard unit of a thing Barter on the basis of exchange rates based on these costs will be undertaken between individuals in the village through this Co-operative Society All exports from and imports in the village and the region will be undertaken only through the Multi-purpose Co-operative Society The Society will not be essentially a financial body but it will be a functional co-operative organization, encouraging people to do the various industries and processes in an industry and arranging for the sales and purchases of different products. Manures will be produced village soil will be conserved by erecting bunds, nullahs, rivers will be bunded so as to irrigate land, internal roads will be made with the enthusiasm of the villagers. Government only bearing cost of materials We must organise landless labour and educate them in their rights and obligations

In regard to Swadeshi we should again resurrect the old idea of Swadeshi, bearing in mind that by Swadeshi we mean strictly things produced in our vicinity and then only distant mill-made products. Foreign products, as far as possible should not be purchased by the people This is the passive part of Swadeshi The active part of it lies in all persons applying their brains to the production of things as a substitute for foreign materials. After sufficient propaganda, a stage may come for active program-

mass — say bonfire of foreign goods etc But it must be preceded by wide propaganda and action regarding both the aspects of Swadeshi by thousands of persons Thus when we have redistribution of land and the Swadeshi spirit, we shall have full employment and an equitable redistribution of national dividend and thus we shall attain Arthik Samata.

Prof Shibbanlal Saxena of Gorakhpur visited the Camp and gave us first-hand information regarding famine conditions in the eastern U P He discussed the relation of constructive workers to politics and various political parties in the country

In the morning and evening we had village prayer flag salutation, drill, village *safai* and spinning programme At night after prayer we discussed several problems confronting the villages

Thus after our short stay at the Camp we came in an intimate contact with the theoretical and practical aspects of Arthik Samata. We chalked out the programme for future work viz. organisation of landless labour rejuvenation of the Swadeshi spirit and asking the M.L.As and M.L.Cs to look to the solution of people's problems We have emerged more wise and more determined to do the work of Arthik Samata now.

INJUSTICE OF MONEY RATIONING

(By Ralph R Keithahn)

[The reader will have seen the article of Shri M P. T Acharya, 'Money is Rationing', in the 10-1-'53 issue of the *Harijan* He has told us therein that unlike food which we try to see that it is equitably rationed, money is not treated similarly by us, rather, injustice is patent in its distribution We find that money is not merely a mechanism of exchange, as orthodox economics would have us believe, but also it is a mechanism for inequality and consequent unjust social order too How does it happen? An attempt is made to answer this question in the following which is reproduced from a journal, *The Friendly Way*, of Allahabad (Oct 1952), which describes itself as a "News Letter about the Thought and Activities of Friends and their Associates in India and Pakistan and the Organ of the Fellowship of Friends of Truth". Money is distributed under the limitations of a particular economic set-up The limitations are obviously man-made and therefore changeable as depending upon our own accepted social and economic ideas and values and as directed by the legislation born of those ideas and values These must be seriously gone into by us so that we may have equitable money-rationing or distribution of purchasing power, without which social justice and a peaceful and non-violent order are not possible. The following article reproduced from ("Fellowship and Justice") *The Friendly Way* tells us about some of the limitations working for injustice in our social order at present

— M P]

"Under Heaven, One Family" is a plumbline by which we must build the New Society. But are we not all of the exploiting class, that is of the middle class? We are a privileged class. The average man is exploited. Then how can we maintain that we have real fellowship?

I wonder [illegible] to point out the great divergence. [illegible] India Surely there is no justice in the fact that some people in India have an income of lakhs of rupees per year while most of the people must count their incomes in the hundreds Or how can we justify a government official receiving thousands of rupees per month when a village school teacher could exist on less than rupees fifty per month? Surely there is rank injustice in such a system and true fellowship must insist on a change

Again, how can we justify the great divergence in the supply of amenities in the village and in the city? All of our higher institutions of learning are located in the cities. Agricultural Colleges are not to be found in true village areas Practically all of the professional people are found only in the cities. Society which consists primarily of poor villages in India have paid most of the taxes to highly subsidize the education of professional people. Where is the justice if the doctor does not give at least part of his service to these poor and needy people? The Fellowship of all Friends of Truth should courageously face such a problem.

Then there are other patterns of exploitation. Constantly we are taking from the village to the city its best leadership We have not provided the same amount of care for the village as we do for the city The prices the farmer receives for his food products are not comparable with the prices received for factory products.

Again how can city people justify the receipt of two incomes, that is a man receives from his profession and all too often receives an income from the land for which he takes little or no responsibility? I maintain that as conditions exist in India the land is unable to support a village family and an absentee city family There needs to be a radical change in the Land Tenure system.

This pattern of exploitation is to be found in the village also. How often I see what I call "the white umbrella" farmer squatting in his fields and driving the coolies to do the work which he himself ought to be doing! I do not oppose hired labour if just prices are paid Another fact must be recognised. Thousands of our fellowmen are practically in serfdom in our villages

I maintain that if there is a real fellowship it must insist on just prices If industry is to be protected, just as important it is to protect agriculture there must be just wages There must be a minimum wage and there must also be maximum salaries. Surely when people are living in poverty and hunger and distress we cannot permit any longer the large unnecessary incomes of India. Natural resources such as the land must be treated as the property of society and must be used for the good of all. Food crops must be encouraged, money crops must be heavily taxed There should be the correct use of night soil and village wastes People should be punished if they do not take proper care of the land. And so every natural resource should be used for the benefit of society and never exploited by any one group or individuals. It might be said that Vinobaji is at present giving us a remarkable lead in the right kind of fellowship at this point

I maintain also that every member of a real fellowship group should do some "bread" or manual labour In so far as possible servants should be eliminated Society should provide them a more meaningful labour Every child in every home should be made to take part in some of the home duties Education should be for creative living and should be work-centred. It is necessary to enact legislation against all exploitation for justice and brotherhood as soon as possible Such has been done, but such legislation as that for the welfare of the Harijans needs still to be implemented in our villages. When at Bangalore I found that industrial legislation was fairly good and yet almost every day I saw child labour existing under our very eyes Need it be said that we face very serious situations of injustice in India?

GUJARAT HINDI-HINDUSTANI PRACHARAK SAMMELAN

[Resolutions passed at the Hindi Hindustani Pracharak Sammelan held on January 11, 1953 in the Gujarat Vidyapith Ahmedabad under the Presidentship of Mahamahopadhyaya Shri D V Potdar — M P]

1. Bombay Hindi Teaching Committee

Taking into consideration the articles 343 to 351 of the Constitution the Government of Bombay appointed the Potdar Committee to introduce the teaching of Hindi compulsorily in schools from Standard V to Standard XI, and thereby it gave importance to the teaching of Hindi in the province This Sammelan appreciates this move of the Government and requests the Government to make necessary arrangements for the teaching of Hindi in all Primary and Secondary Schools according to the recommendations of the Potdar Committee

2. Hindi Teaching in Colleges

This Sammelan is of the opinion that the teaching of the national language Hindi should be made compulsory in Colleges upto the degree examination, and for this, immediate arrangements should be made in the Universities. The Gujarat University is taking steps in this direction, for which this Sammelan congratulates it

3 Medium of Instruction in Non-Hindi Regions

For an efficient knowledge of Hindi there is a move that in Non-Hindi Regions Hindi should be made the medium of instruction. This Sammelan considers this a wrong step and a hindrance to the progress of the mother-tongue, and also an encroachment on the legitimate right of the mother-tongue to be the medium of all higher education and research. Therefore this Sammelan resolves that it is not proper to make Hindi the medium of instruction in Non-Hindi regions

4. Study of Hindi for Government Servants

This Sammelan welcomes the resolve of the Government of Bombay for making the knowledge of Hindi compulsory upto a certain standard for all its employees and recognizing for this purpose the four examinations of the region The Government has created thereby a favourable atmosphere for Hindi Prachar and has also encouraged it This Sammelan congratulates the Government for it, and it recommends to the Government to continue the same policy

This Sammelan is further of opinion that it would be desirable to make the knowledge of Hindi compulsory for teachers of all educational institutions

5 Policy of Hindi Prachar in Non-Hindi Regions

Looking to the conditions after Swaraj and the form of national language envisaged in the article 351 of the Constitution this Sammelan is of the opinion that the development, dissemination, and teaching of national language should be free from provincialism and communalism, and it should in no way jeopardize the position and status of other regional languages, rather it should be on the lines of mutual co-operation and help Otherwise the national language will not be capable of expressing all the elements of the composite culture of India and the people of different regions cannot have sufficient love for it

Therefore this Sammelan considers it very essential that every Non-Hindi region should itself take up the Hindi Prachar work in its region and the organizations of Hindi region should withdraw themselves from there If this does not come about a misunderstanding would unnecessarily be created between Hindi and Non-Hindi regions and it would have an adverse effect on Hindi Prachar

So this Sammelan is of the opinion that there is no need for the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan to carry on the Prachar work in Non-Hindi regions through its Wardha Samiti, and henceforth it should carry on its work in Hindi regions creating there a spirit of National Hindi. Thereby it would render useful service for Hindi Prachar in other regions also

6 Place of English in Education

The Government of Bombay declared its policy to abolish English from Standards V, VI & VII and to begin it from Standard VIII In carrying out this the liberty has been taken last year in the name of teaching English optionally This Sammelan strongly disapproves of this move There is even a suggestion further to introduce English in Standards V and VI, and also to remove the option in English in the S S C Examination This suggestion cannot in any way be welcomed If this is carried out, not only that it would have a deterrent effect on the teaching of Hindi but the extra burden of the third language — English in primary stage would lower the standard of education there and the Basic Education would come to an end So this Sammelan recommends to the Government to strictly adhere to its declared policy and also to remove the teaching of optional English from Standard VII so that the first seven years of compulsory education in the country may take a proper and systematic shape and the harm done to it by the encroachment of English may end.

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Sarvodaya and Independence

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HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)
Editor: MAGANBHAI P DESAI

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MAN PROGRESSING TOWARDS NON-VIOLENCE

(By Gandhiji)

If we turn our eyes to the time of which history has any record down to our own time, we shall find that man has been steadily progressing towards Ahimsa Our remote ancestors were cannibals Then came a time when they were fed up with cannibalism and they began to live on chase Next came a stage when man was ashamed of leading the life of a wandering hunter He therefore took to agriculture and depended principally on mother earth for his food Thus from being a nomad he settled down to civilized stable life, founded villages and towns, and from member of a family he became member of a community and a nation. All these are signs of progressive Ahimsa and diminishing Himsa Had it been otherwise, the human species should have been extinct by now, even as many of the lower species have disappeared

Prophets and *avatars* have also taught the lesson of Ahimsa more or less. Not one of them has professed to teach Himsa And how should it be otherwise? Himsa does not need to be taught Man as animal is violent but as Spirit is non-violent The moment he awakes to the Spirit within, he cannot remain violent Either he progresses towards Ahimsa or rushes to his doom That is why the prophets and *avatars* have taught the lessons of truth, harmony, brotherhood justice, etc — all attributes of Ahimsa

And yet violence seems to persist, even to the extent of thinking people like the correspondent regarding it as the final weapon But, as I have shown, history and experience are against him.

If we believe that mankind has steadily progressed towards Ahimsa, it follows that it has to progress towards it still further. Nothing in this world is static, everything is kinetic If there is no progression, then there is inevitable retrogression

Harijan, 11-8-40

MAN'S INJUSTICE TO MAN

(By Gandhiji)

Every species, human and sub-human, has some distinguishing mark, so that you can tell a man from a beast or a dog from a cow and so on. Have the so-called untouchables any distinguishing mark declaring them to be untouchables? They are as much human as every one of us, and we do not regard even sub-human beings as bearing the mark of untouchability Why and whence, than this monstrous injustice? It is not religion, but the grossest species of irreligion I want you to cast off that sin, if you still happen to have it in you.

The only way in which you can expiate this sin of centuries is to befriend the Harijans, by going to their quarters, by hugging their children as you do your own, by interesting yourselves in their welfare by finding out whether they get enough to eat, whether they get pure water to drink, whether they have the fresh light and air that you enjoy as of right The other way is for each of you to start the spinning sacrifice and to pledge yourselves to wear Khadi, which supports millions of these submerged human beings The spinning sacrifice will help you in some slight measure, to identify yourselves with them, and every yard of Khadi you wear will mean some coppers going into the pockets of the Harijans and the poor The last thing is to contribute your mite to the Harijan fund which has no other end but the amelioration of the lot of the Harijans

Harijan, 31-8-34

By Mahatma Gandhi

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THE CULTURAL SIGNIFICANCE OF 'TAPAS'

(By Arthur E. Morgan)

[The article is reproduced from the American weekly *Manas* of 8-10-1952, with its original title "Appetite for Difficulty" changed as above.]

I come back to my cabin in the woods and find the forest inexorably creeping in upon me. Young trees and brush spring up in the open land. But for persistent clearing there out the forest would soon be back at my door step. The wild creatures explore every nook and corner for food. Almost every fruit-tree and garden plant is appropriated by rabbit, ground hog bird or insect. My plant and animal environment constantly reminds me of the tremendous aggressive energy with which life presses for a chance to survive, to grow, to multiply.

It is the same with men. Sometimes as in pioneering America, the momentum of great effort to master the wilderness not only does master the wilderness but carries people beyond immediate pressure for survival to a condition of relative security and affluence. Then, with the relief from economic stress there tends to be a softening of character. We even have theories that economic competition can be dispensed with. Such theories are due in part to softness and shrinking from competition.

There can be no long-time survival without toughness and aggressiveness. If one has not made himself at home with hardship scarcely anything is more important to him than to make its acquaintance. An appetite for difficulty can make attractive and interesting a type of experience which is necessary for survival. He who rises on his oars, no matter how secure he may seem, is on his way out.

* * *

Some men have appetite for difficulty. Arctic explorers and athletes show it. A big businessman may keep on striving long after all his humanly necessary wants have been met. The politician, the artist — many a man in many circumstances keeps going for the same reason.

A soft person usually is a negligible person, though a man may be soft in some respects and tough in others. Herd-mindedness which often is a bar to social accomplishment often is softness which does not dare to stand against the mass. A college community is an excellent place to learn to stand for one's convictions against pressure.

It does not follow that quiet and contemplation are not good for those who can live best that way. Civilized culture is extremely varied with room and need for many kinds of excellence. One who has deliberately achieved detachment from the prevailing rush and hurry and has gained quiet and leisure in which a significant life may develop, has himself acquired a rare kind of toughness to withstand social pressure. Such power is not the fruit either of timidity and laziness or of drifting with the current.

Civilized culture will not try to escape competition but will try to make it serve the highest values. Brute force is always in the offing, ready to take control if civilized culture weakens. Whoever through softness shrinks from competition surrenders culture to brute force. (We would include in brute force the cunning of the fox as well as the crushing power of the python — all that is not subordinated to cultural and ethical discipline).

Elimination of war is desirable because war is essentially wasteful. It will be eliminated aggressively or not at all. Soft people will not eliminate war they will only succumb to it. Periods of softness have destroyed civilized cultures by making culture susceptible to brute force. The competition for which there can be no relaxation is that between civilized culture and brute force.

How can civilized culture prevail over brute force without using brute force? First, by eliminating in itself arbitrariness, selfishness, privilege, and all injustice. Brute force feeds on these qualities, and in their absence does not develop strength to challenge civilized culture. Second, civilized culture overcomes brute force by non participation in arbitrariness injustice and violence wherever they are found in other societies. If America should refuse to participate in or to profit by exploitation, injustice or privilege over the world it would find that to be a heroic undertaking. The rubber we use the tea and coffee we drink the tin which is so necessary and a hundred other products we import from the cheapest market are produced by holding millions of men in economic servitude and poverty. If we should buy only where economic and social justice prevailed and where political and social thraldom war eliminated, we should experience much going without, and would pay more for the food, luxuries and raw materials we import. Such action would win the respect and admiration of decent people the world over, and would starve brute force to a point where its aggressive power would be small.

What is the chance of our taking such a course even to the extent of suffering the terrible hardship of going without the morning cup of coffee? We now profit greatly in our economy by buying the "cheap" products of oppressed and exploited labour. The regimes which control this labour, and sell us the products, are of the kinds which rely ultimately on brute force to maintain their power. Rebellion of the oppressed produces another form of brute force a form which America is concerned about just now. We would go far to eliminate both the brute force of the exploiter and the brute force of red revolt by refusing to share in the products and profits of exploitation.

These cases illustrate the fact that there are possible ways of successfully competing with brute force without using it, providing we have the necessary sustained alertness and aggressiveness. However it takes such less aggressiveness to spend scores of billions of dollars for military preparation and for war itself.

Brute force or arbitrary power — they are essentially the same — does not spring suddenly into being. A stable civilized culture keeps them in check by maintaining a regime of fairness and justice which does not give them food and exercise on which to grow strong. Timidity, softness, and indifference provide sustenance on which arbitrary power and brute force feed and grow strong. No social formula in the form of a constitution will keep power and force in subordination to civilized culture. Only toughness, vigour and aggressiveness in that culture will do it. In a relatively opulent country like America, where there is a tendency to softness, the development of toughness of fibre and an appetite for difficulty are essential. They will find plenty of exercise in aggressively participating in the competition between humane living and arbitrary power and brute force.

Yellow Springs, Ohio

[On reading the above I was reminded of the following grand aphorisms contained in our ancient lore: तपसा चीयते ब्रह्म (Eternal Life conserves and sustains itself through *tapas* — penance) तपो वै ब्रह्म (Verily life is righteous striving — penance) etc. The 'Appetite for Difficulty' is not a morbid craze for self-torture for its own sake, but is an urge to face real difficulties so that true life may prosper and survive. Like self-torture for its own sake, softness — तितिक्षाराहित्य — also is a morbidity resulting into wastefulness, decay and consequent death, on the other hand toughness — तितिक्षा, तपस् — is a virtue which gives health

and makes for heroic living, life's survival and consequent realization of its eternity It was this gospel of true life through awe that the ancients gave to us Therein lie the roots of true civilization, noble culture and abiding peace Therethrough only can we come to the surest way to eliminate war

In the article given above, Mr A E Morgan describes that message of eternal life of peace and joy to be achieved through work requiring toughness and vigour and a new kind of aggressiveness which is not brutal, but is cultural and peaceful through noble suffering Coming as it is from acquisitive and overactive America, it has great meaning and significance at least for the modern English educated Indian, who is perhaps rendered blind to the wisdom of his own past

13-1-'53 — M. P J

ADOPT GANDHIAN ECONOMY OR PERISH

(By Wilfrad Wellock)

Although India is probably in a better position to adopt the Gandhian economy than any other country, including the highly industrialized countries of the West, that does not exempt the latter from the necessity of adopting that or a similar economy The two world wars of the last thirty years along with the feverish preparations that are now being made for a possible, far more devastating third, should not be regarded as accidents or as the products of super maniacs without cause or reason but as the signs of a moral decadence that will terminate civilization itself unless spiritual health be restored to the body politic

Britain is supposed to be the financially and economically strongest power in Europe today, yet her solvency is in jeopardy No economist or politician dare say that Britain's present economy, founded as it is on the power politics of the Industrial Revolution, will survive the crises that are inevitable as the pre-war primary producing countries advance towards self-sufficiency, or a sufficient degree of self-sufficiency to ensure their financial and economic independence, which is their aim, and as the highly industrialized countries, in the attempt to perpetuate the economy of 1939, enter into keener and still keener competition for markets, food and raw materials with new as well as old rivals

So pruned planned and restricted is the British economy at the present time that the opportunities for developing a new economy by voluntary group action are almost nil. So carefully must Britain plan her economy allocate her raw materials home-produced or imported, in order to insure the functioning of all her vital services and to be able to turn the maximum percentage of her production into exports so as to keep solvent even with the Marshall Aid, that there is nothing left over for the purpose of personal and group experimentation One cannot procure the raw material to erect a small workshop unless its production will help to swell the export trade

How long this hide-bound condition will remain none can say It depends upon two things the possibility of the complete collapse of the unbalanced world economy founded by the leaders of the Industrial Revolution and the determination of the people in these countries to end that economy and construct one on new foundations

In the last analysis, however, it is the personal responsibility of all those in all lands who are deeply concerned about the future, the need of a revival of spiritual values and moral responsibility and a quickening of the social consciousness, that really matters No thinking person can doubt the need for a Gandhian revolution in the West, and we must all play a part in bringing it about. That revolution must be basically personal, as every effective revolution is Its beginning is a change of values which results in a new way of life

The materialism of our age, camouflaged as high standards of living, is leading us whither we know not and indeed would not, even to the third world war, were we alive to realities The need is to face ourselves, reality, the ends our lives are serving willynilly, and those they would serve were we courageously to face the truth Material values must be controlled by spiritual values, which means that we must contract out of the false evaluations of our age, little by little and stage by stage, as our vision becomes clearer and our faith grows The personal revolution of a revived or awakened faith is the most powerful force in the world, as Gandhi proclaimed in word and proved in deed Probably none of us will ever get near the goal he reached, but we can tread his road some distance at least. As we proceed, our vision of truth will become clearer, whence we shall be able to travel farther than we expected. This, in truth, is also the Christian road Indeed I witnessed more "Christian" living, more personal revolutions, in one short visit to India than I have ever witnessed anywhere In spite of appalling poverty and a long history of social decay, there are more spiritual miracles to be observed in India today than in the whole Western world And one soon realizes that great material sacrifices have been rewarded with great spiritual gains That knowledge was the most valuable thing I brought back with me from India Heroic living is the supreme need of our age It offers to our youth the finest of all opportunities, that of pioneering in the art of creative living Will they accept it? At least let us encourage them to do so by giving them a lead

(Abridged from the article "Want of Britain — of Welsh and Scottish Independence?" in *The Seeker*, Spring '52)

HARIJAN

Jan. 31 1953

SARVODAYA AND INDEPENDENCE

(By Maganbhai P Desai)

The last week of January is unique in our national calendar It has in it two of our most important days — January 26, the Independence-cum-Republic Day and January 30, the day of Gandhiji's departure from our midst Both these days are highly significant in the birth of Free India It was at Lahore that we first took the oath of independence for our country, and twenty years after we fulfilled that oath and on the same date declared ourselves a free and independent Republic under a constitution forged by ourselves It is a queer irony of fate that today Lahore is outside the limits of our new-born State In the course of these eventful twenty years many more such queer things have happened However it is a matter of great joy indeed that we fought for freedom with non-violent and peaceful means and that at the end we have become a free people It is a very great and noteworthy event of our modern history, for which we should be very joyful

The day will be celebrated by the Government all over the country, in the manner which is usual with governments for its celebration On that day there will be police and military parades and salutations representatives of various countries will meet and felicitate India on the auspicious occasion of its fourth Republic Day And people will see all this with curiosity and joy that they are free However, there appears a certain restraint holding down the joy of our people, they do not get enthused as they should This is indicative of the position in which we are and of the feelings in the popular mind Both the leaders of the people and the Government should take note of such sullenness in the popular mind Why should it be so? It may be, there might be understandable causes for It However, it is obvious that an event like the birth of a nation's freedom and independence should naturally be one of spontaneous rejoicing like Diwali

Four days after the Republic Day we come to an equally great eventful day, the day of Gandhiji's martyrdom. It has its own significance It gives us the other side of the birth of our national freedom By the Constitution of India we formulated in words what freedom will mean to us We embodied, as it were, our urge of freedom through it. But the spirit of freedom was implanted in our hearts by Gandhiji The moment we saw that spirit taking shape and ourselves in possession of it, we perhaps thought that what we wanted from the Father of the Nation was in our hands and we parted with him. It is recorded in the Mahabharata that King Duryodhana went to Shri Krishna who asked Duryodhana to say whether he wanted him or his great army to be on his side in the Great Battle Duryodhana opted for Krishna's army It might be said that a similar decision seems to have been made by us. The Father of the Nation achieved for us a free and independent political status; immediately we got it we almost forgot him and have been forgetting him more and more, as is amply evident from what is going on around us Even for truth's sake, we must admit it This is not to find fault with anybody, because we have been behaving as we really are as a people And it is as it could be It is but natural for a son that he behaves himself as he sees and understands by himself after the father is gone from him He has to assume the responsibility as best as he can and should feel to be in his own, even to give out his very best However, he has to revive within himself his own inheritance, otherwise he stands to lose his own moorings The Sarvodaya Day is a day of such humble remembrance Let us on this day remember Gandhiji who kindled in our hearts the lamp of freedom, so that we might guide ourselves aright to true Swaraj Let us purify ourselves and remind ourselves of what he taught us Today we are saying at one another what he told us to do, that avails nobody Rather it worsens the situation If this is what we can do about Gandhiji, it is any day better that we forget him It will at least save us from mutual wordy recrimination and poisonous quarrelsomeness Therefore, on this day of Gandhiji's martyrdom, we might better ask ourselves how much we try to understand him and act accordingly Let us also not quarrel over the meaning of what he taught us, for, otherwise it will lead us astray from *doing* whatever little we understand of him. We have to be on our guard as there is no denying that there is some fear today of our going astray in that manner Our Republic is three years old by now The work of reconstruction is gradually going on and taking shape before us Naturally people ask what about Ramarajya or Sarvodaya which is to be our Ideal? The question is natural The answer to it must be sought by each one of us within one's own self What is one doing oneself to get it? The Constitution has laid down that we are to be a democratic sovereign republic. Its ideal will be Sarvodaya, which means the rule of the poor When can this be achieved? Its one and only condition is that the people as well as the Government have before them the good of the poor as their chief concern and that they act accordingly The State should keep this main thing before it in its law-making and administrative activities But surely it is not by legislation alone that we can achieve Sarvodaya, we have to have public

opinion also Today it seems to be neither here nor there We are getting more selfish and class-minded The poor millions are dumb still. The zest and joy for life that is killed out of them by the outgoing centuries of slavery and crushing unemployment is still not restored back to them by the advent of Swaraj Those classes who are vocal and leading today should therefore think for them. Gandhiji was their voice Do we still hear that still small voice? During this week we should attune ourselves to hear it All internal recrimination and devitalizing strife must disappear before the common objective of working for the poor — unto the last among us Without that we cannot establish true Swaraj This is the lesson of this unique week of our national calendar

24-1-'53

(From the original in Gujarati)

TO LOVERS OF GANDHIAN THOUGHT

(By Vinoba)

The 12th February draws near It is one of the great days of the year, for it calls us to a duty very close to our hearts, the duty to make yarn-offerings People are not yet conscious of the power which lies behind this act of offering But in the building up of the Sarvodaya order it may very well fill in the same place as that of Hanuman in the life of Rama. As I think of it, it evokes in my mind a vision of the most exquisite charm Throughout India, wherever these fairs are held, I fancy there is rising up, hank upon hank, a veritable mountain of the yarn-offerings This is no vain fancy The people are mentally ready for this consummation There is however the scarcity of workers. The few that are, lack imagination and the fewer who have imagination lack the capacity of organization and execution We are thus an odd assortment of 'cripples' I hope, however, that God willing we may yet be given to gaze upon the marvel of the 'cripples ascending and crossing the mountain'

Last year our people, even those who belong to the Sarvodaya Samaj were so far swept away by the spell of the elections that the yarn-offering — *sutranjali* work was mostly neglected I was then touring the region of the Ganga and the Yamuna on the *bhoodan* mission. I continued in my work without break, though under the excitement of the elections some of my companions who it was expected, would help me left me much in the same way as the proverbial relatives of a rich man who desert the latter when he is reduced to poverty But my work went on People helped me in full measure and I was able to collect enough land There were friends, however, who went to the extent of suggesting to me that I had better wait for a month until the elections had passed off This is just to illustrate from personal experience how distressed the mind of the workers had then become.

All that is past story now and we may well forget it. Let the workers and the lovers of Sarvodaya take up the work with earnestness and devotion this year and I am sure if they do so we can bring into sight a glimpse of the New India that is to be The lakhs of women spinners in the Charkha Sangh will gladly offer a hank of yarn in Gandhiji's memory What is required is to approach and explain them the significance of the act And so will the students and teachers of the Nai Talim and other educational institutions There are numerous institutions throughout India which owe their existence to Gandhiji They can also contribute to this work The members of the Congress and the Praja Socialist Party and others who grew up under Gandhiji's beneficient care and who swear by his name on every conceivable occasion can easily offer a hank each Supposing we carried the message to every nook and corner of the country, we would easily collect 30 lakh *gundis* at the rate of one *gundi* for every hundred individuals, and the mounts of yarn-offerings which are only a hope at the moment would be a veritable reality

Last year, it was resolved to collect two and a half lakh *gundis* but actually only a lakh were collected That would suggest that 30 lakhs are still a far cry I would say therefore that we should jointly strive to collect as many as we can Young workers of Gujarat have declared the resolve to collect fifty thousand *gundis* this year I wish they had resolved to collect a lakh and a quarter *gundis* at the minimum, at the rate of one for every hundred But this is the first time they have made a resolve in this regard I therefore consider this somewhat light resolve quite sufficient for them Gandhiji belonged not only to India but to the whole world and yet he belonged more particularly to Gujarat He did a very substantial part of his writing in Gujarati And we cannot forget that though he was invited by several other cities, he chose for his *ashram* the *pattnagar* i e the capital city of Gujarat, so that he may serve India through serving Gujarat Therefore, I hope that if not this year then next year, Gujarat will lead the way and guide the rest of India in this respect

The Congress is faced with the problem of 'bogus' members at present and they do not know how exactly to eradicate this particular evil If for their membership fee, they had prescribed productive labour instead of the four anna piece as they do at present, much of this danger would have been removed, and besides they would have gained something more worthwhile Gandhiji had tried for it once but he did not succeed Though there is no lack of sermonizing about the dignity of labour, in practice all the plethora of speech about labour ends only in the fact of the four-anna piece However if the Sarvodayists and other lovers of Gandhian thought are able to make a success of the

[illegible] of yarn-offerings it will lead to labour [illegible] to its deserved place and a way [illegible] been opened for others to follow suit

Afflicted with poverty Mohan das* of old took to Lord Krishna a handful of rice which too he secured by begging If this idea had occurred to him, he need not have begged, for, then in place of the rice procured through begging, he could have taken to Him self-spun yarn-*gundis* including his and those of the members of his household And I have no doubt in my mind that the Lord would have been so highly pleased that instead of investing him with the doubtful favour of a golden city, He would have conferred on him the boon of self-sufficiency and the consequent freedom from the bondage of gold The modern Sudama §, however, who willingly accepted poverty found out this truth and has left it with us as his most precious gift And who will be more unlucky than we, if we who are his children fail to realize the value of this gift?

Chandil, 10 1-'53
(From Hindi)

THE SARVODAYA FORTNIGHT

(By Dhirendra Mazumdar)

For the last four years we have been remembering Bapu by observing particularly a Sarvodaya fortnight from Jan 30 to Feb 12, Last year one special feature of the programme was the organization of Sarvodaya Yatras in which hundreds of our workers toured the countryside They received offerings of yarn — Sutranjali and took to the people in the villages the message of Bhoodan and Bahishkar — the boycott of all centralized production in food and cloth As a result and chiefly due to Shri Vinoba's Bhoodan movement during the last twelve months our people have now begun to feel that Sarvodaya is no longer a mere pious sentiment, it is, in fact, a complete non-violent solution of all our problems It is, therefore with this background of initial success that we shall be observing the fortnight this year As to the programme the Sarva Seva Sangh has already passed a resolution calling upon workers to go out in *yatras* and follow the usual programme of yarn-offering (Sutranjali), prayer (Prarthana), land gift (Bhoodan), boycott, and sale of Sarvodaya literature

The resolution rightly stresses the programme of *yatras* But in order to make them yield good result we shall have to do one or two things The first thing is that we should immediately bestir ourselves and establish contact with the villages which we propose to visit later in our *yatras* so that when we actually visit them during the fortnight we may not be strangers to the villagers and they may be mentally prepared to receive and participate in our programme Of all the items in our programme we should this year devote our maximum effort to (1) securing offerings of yarn (Sutranjali) and (2) land (Bhoodan), (3) persuading people to take vows, by filling appropriate forms, to avoid using centralized products — food and cloth, and lastly (4) selling Sarvodaya literature The second thing is that when we leave a village of our halt we should persuade the maximum number of residents to accompany us to the next halt Thus with suitable songs and slogans the *yatra* will become a continuous procession Of all the people, spinners, weavers, paddy-thrashers oil men, carpenters, ironsmiths, cobblers and other craftsmen should specially be persuaded to join the march. This will help people in realizing the real significance of the new boycott movement

We must remember that the whole programme for this fortnight is intended to inspire the people with the ideal of Gramaraj as visualized by Bapu We must tell them what Gramaraj in terms of a decentralized self-sufficient order means, and how Bhoodan and the boycott of centralized products are but the first two steps in that direction We have to tell the masses that their Swaraj will come only when the means of production both agricultural and industrial are fully decentralized The present Swaraj with centralized ownership of the means of production cannot but mean unemployment and exploitation. Swaraj for the five lakhs of our villages, and not only for a handful of the cities and towns, will mean self-sufficiency for each one of them, as far as possible in food, cloth and internal management so that not one man in the village may remain idle and the village as a whole may be free from dependence on the city for its daily necessities We have to tell the villagers that they in their millions can never get bread and work unless the centralized means of production are completely given up But for the establishment of such Gramaraj it is the villagers themselves that must come forward and work Our workers can only inspire and show the way They cannot assume leadership because they do not believe in capturing power for themselves.

Vinoba's 'Bhoodan' and 'Sampatti-dan' are today the two visible symbols of that total Gandhian revolution in the social, political and economic organization of society which is popularly known as Sarvodaya. It is now our duty to go and explain this to our people

(Abridged)

GANDHI AND MARX
By K G Mashruwala
With an Introduction by Shri Vinoba
Pages viii+112 Price Re 1 8 Postage etc As 5
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Post Box 105, AHMEDABAD

* This refers to Sudama who was a devotee and friend of Lord Krishna Mohan-das literally means servant of Krishna

§ This refers to Gandhiji.

INDUSTRIALIZE AND PERISH

[This is the second instalment of the passages culled from Shri Richard B Gregg's *Which Way Lies Hope?* * The first appeared in the *Harijan* dated 4 10-52 — V G D]

II

There is yet another weakness appearing. While the economic and political machinery and problems of industrialized nations are increasing in complexity there is evidence in both Great Britain and the United States that the average intelligence of the population as measured by standard I. Q tests is decreasing by about 1 to 2 points on the I Q scale each generation, also that the percentage of highly intelligent people in the population is also gradually decreasing Whether this points to the eventual decay of any kind of civilization or culture or only to the decay of Capitalist-controlled civilization we cannot be sure

Moreover in the United States the amount of mental disease is very great. The Medical Statistics Division of the Office of the Surgeon General of the United States, 1946 states that out of about 15 000 000 men examined in the draft for the U S. Army in World War II, 1,846,000 men or 12 per cent were rejected for neuro-psychiatric disorders There were 38% of all men rejected for all causes. Out of the approximately 10 000 000 accepted 250 000 were discharged administratively for similar disorders, and 382 000 were discharged medically for neuro-psychiatric disorders In 1945 there were 657 393 beds in all the mental hospitals of the country which was 38 per cent of all the hospital beds in the entire country The data of the American Hospital Association for 1949 indicate that about 40 per cent of all hospital beds were for mental patients. It has been reliably estimated that the costs and losses due to mental illness in the United States in 1944 amounted to $ 1 295,000 000

Very plainly this is one of the phenomena of industrialism.

Nor is the physical health of citizens of the United States anything to be happy about. According to Journal of the American Medical Association if a group of 1,000 Americans aged 18 and over were to be examined for anaemia obesity tuberculosis and some 20 additional physical defects and ailments there would be found 876 instances of disease or disorder Out of some 14 000 000 young American men examined for the military draft prior to and during World War II only 2 000 000 were fully up to standard This was the finding of a U S Senate Sub-Committee on Wartime Health and Education In the United States the percentage of increase in the incidence of diabetes outaverages the increase in the birth-rate More than 7,000 000 Americans are arthritic. One out of ten of so-called 'healthy' American men has a stomach ulcer One out of six is sterile. Not a pretty picture of a country generally rated by material standards to be the strongest most 'progressive' and most prosperous in all the world If you wonder why and how ill health can be blamed onto Capitalism, the answer is that for the sake of making more money the millers for example in grinding flour (*atta*) extract by sifting all the bran which contains mineral elements, such as phosphorus, essential to human health and most of the protein also the germ of the wheat which is rich in Vitamin B This devitalized flour does not get rancid and does not attract any weevils or worms. Those little creatures are too sensible to even try to eat it! Thus devitalized, the flour can be transported long distances and sit on the grocer's shelves for months and still be saleable to human beings who lack the wisdom of the weevils Furthermore, the foolish human consumers persuade themselves that bread made from white flour is more aristocratic than common gray flour ground daily in the home hand-mill. Thus they feed both their [illegible] bread to one of the [illegible] The same holds true for [illegible] refined sugar Most people [illegible] a diet predominantly of polished rice causes [illegible] Tinned foods are also lacking in vitamins [illegible] other essentials of human health Capitalism is responsible for large cities, and the food of city dwellers is stale and devitalized There is ample evidence of the harm caused by such processed foods. In addition to poor food the competition unnatural pressure of factory work, speed of mechanized life, sooty air congestion of living quarters, unhealthy stimuli and frustrations of city life all cause nervous strains

THE SPIRIT OF INDIA

[Dr Matta Akrawi of Iraq, Secretary General of UNESCO was deputed by the UNESCO to make a critical study of the educational work carried on by the Hindustani Talimi Sangh at Sevagram From 29th Dec '52, he spent two days at Sevagram and gave a talk to the staff and students on the work of the UNESCO and regarding what he had seen at Sevagram. He said]

"It is difficult for an outsider who has been in India only a month, to talk about the spirit of India But I feel that something of that spirit is epitomized here at Sevagram. The principle of education through work — not mere activity — is a profoundly sound one, however simple a form it may take with young children With adequate safeguards against the conscious or unconscious exploitation of the child for the sake of mere production, it helps to integrate the child in his society to develop his intellect and his sense of responsibility.

"There is another profound principle on which the experiment at Sevagram seems to be based It is the Buddhist, Christian, Gandhian principle of love and dedication to our fellowmen coupled with the principle of renunciation of the acquisitiveness of worldly goods and of personal ambitions as methods of building up a new, peaceful society I feel sure that no peaceful society can be built on personal ambitions and interests and on acquisitiveness and competitive search for profits Inevitably the profits and possessions become the ends, and fellow human beings are sacrificed and exploited for them. Moreover, ambitions and interests clash and lead to personal, group and national conflicts — hence war. The only legitimate group ambition is to come in contact with and gently and discreetly serve other groups When every human being feels concerned about the welfare of every other human being *all over the world*, we can hope to have a new, ethical and peaceful world order

"Sevagram in its own humble way is trying to practise these principles of its master and founder — Mahatma Gandhi If it keeps on experimenting with ever fresher ways of applying its principles, and if it has the courage to utilize modern science in the service of these principles, it may yet have a lesson to give to India and the world"

30-12-52

* Price Re 1-4-0, Postage etc As. 4, Navajivan Karyalaya, Ahmedabad-9

SAMPATTI-DAN — AN ALL-INDIA PROGRAMME *

I have received a very welcome letter from Tamilnad Some friends from there have donated one sixth of their property to the *Sampatti-dan-Yajna*. It shows that the idea has begun to draw attention of the people even at this early stage But I am not in haste I want to proceed with this work rather slowly and build it on deeper foundation That is why I have enjoined that it will be a life-pledge, and once a person agrees to it, he will continue to give the pledged portion of his earnings year after year

But our minds are so firmly fixed in old grooves that many cannot even bring themselves to think of it Their minds shrink from the prospect of having to part with their money every year for the whole of their lives However if they stop to think they will see that there is nothing very strange about it For example, marriage is a thing which binds a man for life and yet they accept the bondage and observe it It is true, Hinduism provides a way of escape in the form of *sannyas* but how many avail themselves of it? So why should those who willingly accept the life-long bondage of marriage hesitate in accepting this pledge which is no bondage at all because it is the way of *tyaga* i e sacrifice and not of *bhoga* i e. enjoyment It is *bhoga* which binds and not *tyaga*. Those who are anxious to know the truth and practise it should readily adopt this idea as a part of their life Just as we insist on wholesome food and clean air throughout our life so will we donate a part of our wealth to the needy throughout our entire life In truth, we should agree to give not a part but the whole of it But we may be permitted to keep a portion with us as trustees and make over the rest to society

The *sampatti-dan* does not involve the physical transference of money from the donor to me The money will remain with the donor This saves us from many difficulties We had raised many small funds in course of the national movement Recently we raised quite a big one, viz the Gandhi Memorial Fund But we hardly know what to do with it. And the money lies unused There is no such fear in *sampatti-dan* Whatever we get will be put to immediate use the same year For this, at this moment I have two things in mind first, the provision of the means of livelihood to the poor, and next, help to the self-sacrificing workers for their physical maintenance But as the work goes ahead, I will have many more items to add to this programme There is so much work to do that we can use all the money immediately as we get it

We are going to distribute land to lakhs of people who will need other kind of help too before they can stand on their legs. Not only that, I also want to raise an army of workers. If India continues to be the poor and miserable country which it is at present there is no hope for India Even at the rate of two workers for a group of fifty villages, one of whom will be out touring about them and the other settled at some central place, we will need 3000 workers for Bihar only For India at that rate, we will need many times more But how few, alas they are! I am not worried at all about the maintenance of the workers provided, of course, they are real workers Six persons each giving a sixth share can take care of one And six families may well undertake to maintain one family In that way, we may maintain thousands This may easily grow into an extensive programme, but I will not do it all at once. I want to achieve personal intimacy with each donor and enter into his life as it were I would accept only what he offers me with full deliberation and with the consent of other members of his household. I want to set about it with care and circumspection so that it should be free from every blemish That is why I am not entrusting it to any organization at present. There will be time to decide further as our work prospers My satisfaction lies in the fact that people are giving freely and after mature thought about it Of course, I want that ultimately there would be none but would make the offering to this great *yajna*

We aim at nothing less than obliterating the distinction of rich and poor God in His infinite bounty has certainly given one thing or another to each one of us Then why should not every one share a portion of that God-given thing with others? When this happens, all around us will immediately begin to change giving rise to a happier and brighter Bharat I am sure the *Sampatti-dan-Yajna* will also bring forth the same strength and power as did the Bhoodan movement

After Bhoodan, I was thinking of the problem of *sampatti*, i.e. the inequalities of wealth and all the evils which arise from them. We accepted *parigraha*, i e possession of wealth for our institutions The *Sampatti-dan-Yajna* will show us how to run them on the basis of non-possession We are not going to raise funds Our funds will lie with whosoever accepts our ideology Non-possession is infinitely more powerful than possession *Sampatti-dan* will show the power of non-possession to the people.

(From Hindi)

* Shri Vinoba's prayer-speech at Chandli 30-12-52

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Editor, MAGANBHAI P. DESAI

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TO SUBSCRIBERS OF HARIJAN WEEKLIES

The annual subscription of those friends who in response to an appeal last year, enrolled their names as subscribers expires in February-March next I request them to renew their subscription before the date of its expiry. To those who will not be sending their subscription in time, the last number will be sent by V P P I hope that they will honour the V P P and thus express their love for the Weeklies

Ahmedabad JIVANJI D DESAI
31-1-'53 Managing Trustee

A GRIEVOUS ERROR OF JUDGMENT

(By Maganbhai P Desai)

We learn from the Press that the Union Finance Minister said at Poona the other day that the Bombay Government which would require Rs. 6 to 7 crores for fighting the famine ought to make funds available by reconsidering its Prohibition policy and he was very reluctant to spare any more funds from the crores that will be required to feed the F Y. Plan, as he feared it would upset its apple-cart

To say the least, this appears to be a very hasty statement on the part of the Union Minister Firstly it is neither sound economy nor good ethics to seek to make money out of the moral and social ruination and utter misery of thousands of poor families, by supplying drink which is no function of a State

There are other objections too equally serious against such a public statement. It is a question how far it is proper etiquette on the part of a Union Minister to thus interfere in a public manner in the settled policies of a State and in a subject which is scheduled for it Surely it is extra-constitutional.

Further it is against the declared policy of the Congress as also the Directive Principles of the Constitution of India to go back in any manner upon Prohibition Would it not be almost insulting the Constitution? It is not proper discipline as well. Surely, Shri Deshmukh has committed a grievous error of judgment in speaking as he has been reported to have done regarding the Prohibition policy of the Bombay State

30-1-'53

WHEN SHOULD THE CHANGE BE EFFECTED?

(By Arvindlal L Majumdar)

Almost everyone is agreed that English cannot now, under the entirely changed circumstances, continue to remain the medium of instruction in the Universities for any appreciable length of time That the change is necessary, nay overdue, in the interest of sound education and national aspirations is acknowledged by almost all The questions therefore, now arise (1) When should the change be effected? (2) What medium should be adopted — the regional language or Hindi?

Let us take up the first question first Two questions are raised against the change by some (1) Have we books either in Hindi or in regional languages suitable for use in colleges? (2) Where are the professors who can efficiently handle their subjects in the regional or the federal language? To the first question there is a natural and logical reply: Books are not going to fall from heavens! What writer or publisher would care to bring out college books in Gujarati or Marathi or Bengali when there is no market for it? If a University decides that from a particular year instruction will commence in a particular language, books are sure to flow soon into the market It is a simple question of demand and supply The University can also invite writers in the first instance, to produce books in the required language on reasonable payment. The Gujarat University has taken such a step, and other Universities can follow suit and get books written or translated

A further likely objection will be "These will be mere text books What about hundreds of reference books? They are all in English The student has not merely to study the text books, but he should also have an opportunity to avail himself of the best reference books on a subject which are all in English" Now in the first place, to be quite candid — or rather unabashedly outspoken, our system of education has been so ill-fashioned and rotten to the core that it is no exaggeration to say that a vast majority of college students do not study even the text-books. They merely read notes and guides and manage to scrap through the process of being 'higher educated'. As to the reference books how many

and if in the colleges avail themselves of them or at all recommended by their professors? But let us suppose that the situation is not so bad and that the reference books are in great demand — as really it ought to be The logical course for a University then is that such reference books should be got translated by the institution of Translation Bureaus The Centre may be asked to contribute its mite and other expenses could be defrayed locally or by means of public donations What every other nation has been doing could and should be done by us In course of time native talent would sprout forth and there will be lesser and lesser demand for translated books, as original books are bound to come forth with the passage of time

Thus the want of suitable text-books and reference books may be an obstacle, but it is not a blind alley The obstacle has to be got over, and the first step in that direction is, as stated, fixing a time limit after which instruction *must* be given in a particular language, and we have legitimate hopes that difficulties in this direction will rapidly vanish, perhaps much sooner than expected by us

"But where are the professors? Can the present day professors handle the subjects in regional or Hindi language efficiently?" True, being taught and trained entirely through English these professors would find it at first a stupendous task to teach in their mother tongue, (what a sad comment, alas! on our education!) or Hindi But gradually, within the course of a year or two they will be able to adjust themselves to the new medium. Whenever we shall try to bring over the change, this difficulty is bound to crop up It is a difficulty of a transitional stage The students instructed by such professors in the regional or Hindi language will, in their turn, when they become professors, naturally be more at home in the new medium. If the process is not started at all, whence are the professors thoroughly efficient in and capable of teaching in the native media going to be obtained?

The question then resolves into this 'When should the change be effected?' The reply should be 'Well, at the earliest possible date! If you can start the process in 1953, don't wait for 1954.' The reasons are obvious Firstly, when it is generally accepted that the change *has* to be made, a start must be made better sooner than later Unless a start is made, difficulties, small or big, are never going to resolve themselves on their own Secondly, even now there is an all-round complaint that the standard of English has greatly deteriorated and the process of deterioration is becoming increasingly rapid The naive contention by some protagonists of English that this is due to the less attention being paid to the teaching of English at the Secondary Stage is on the face of it baseless, since the hatenes of boys who have studied through a regional language are still to arrive at the University The main reason for such 'deterioration is the intense resurgence in Indian languages that has set in as a result of national movements for the last thirty years Hundreds of books in the regional languages come out every year and even most of the college students studying through English at present read more of the literature in their mother tongue than in English, and they hardly care to go to the "reference books" written in solid English. In short, the point is that even today much that is taught in colleges through English is a mere waste and if students manage to get through, it is because they mug up notes and questions-answers and just reach upto the level of 30 or 35 per cent of the required minimum Is this not the strongest reason for an early change of the medium?

The situation is going to be more serious in the near future when students who have learnt every subject through their mother tongue get into colleges All the learned perorations of the learned professors will run waste on them. It is for this reason that Shri B G Kher, the ex-Minister for Education of Bombay is reported to have requested the Universities of the Bombay State to think of having such a change-over latest from 1955 It would be almost criminal on the part of the Bombay State University authorities to stick to the English medium in such circumstances

There is yet another reason for a rapid change-over The Constitution has laid down that for 15 years from January 1950 — less than 12 years from now — English shall remain the official language But that does not mean, as the protagonists of English would have us believe, that for 15 years there should be no change It is in order to have a sufficient margin for a transition that this period is provided for If schools and colleges do not change the medium, whence can we have a personnel efficient to handle education, communication, etc in the regional or federal language? At the end of *eleven* years from now — not *fifteen* years — we shall exactly be where we are today

All this tends to show that it is the duty of every University to make an initial move, and combat whatever difficulties may arise in the way, firmly and resolutely The time for a change-over is overdue, and mental laziness and time-bound prejudices of the intelligentsia that dominate the University spheres today must give way to willingness to natural adjustment in the interest of sound education, students and the nation

(To be continued)

Bombay,
20-1-'53

BASIC EDUCATION
By Mahatma Gandhi
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HINDI IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS OF SOUTH INDIA

(By S. R. Sastri, M. A., B. O. L. Madras)

By the Constitution of India, it has been accepted that Hindi, as the Federal Language, has to take the All-India role after 15 years. By then, Hindi will acquire great importance in the All-India sphere. The Central Government at Delhi will have Hindi as its official language. Deliberations of the Indian Parliament will be conducted in Hindi. For all Inter-State correspondence, Hindi will be used. Knowledge of Hindi will be a requisite qualification for Military, Postal and other All-India services. Without the knowledge of Hindi, journalists will find it difficult to carry on their profession. In brief, in all the fields of All-India character, knowledge of Hindi will be indispensable. Hindi is, in one or other of its various forms like Khadiboli, Vrajabhasha, Avadhi etc., understood by nearly 75 per cent of our population. Non-Hindi population is mainly confined to South India. Even though Bengal and Bombay States come under non-Hindi areas, the languages spoken there i. e., Marathi, Gujarati and Bengali are all Aryan languages, akin to Hindi, and Hindi may be picked up in a short time with the least labour. If the South Indian boys and girls are not given a suitable opportunity of learning Hindi in their school days, they will be seriously handicapped in the field of All-India services. Hence adequate provision should be made for learning Hindi in schools.

2. In the Madras State the period of school or Secondary Education is divided into three stages: (1) Elementary School — 5 years, (2) Middle School — 3 years, (3) High School — 3 years. No one, not even the fanatic supporters of Hindi, wish that Hindi should be introduced in the Elementary stage in South India. It is absolutely essential that the children should live and learn only in the atmosphere or surroundings of their own mother tongue — Tamil, Telugu, Kannada or Malayalam. Minor dialects, such as Tulu, Pattunul, Konkani etc. should be suppressed in the larger interests of the country. Only the four well developed Dravidian languages should be encouraged in schools.

3. But while it is agreed by all that good provision for teaching Hindi should be made only in the Middle and High School stages, there exists a wide divergence of opinion whether Hindi should be taught compulsorily or optionally in these two stages. Some argue that Hindi should not be thrust on the unwilling students, who may not leave their district or province at all and hence for whom Hindi is of no practical use. They contend that Hindi is not learnt as a subject of general knowledge, but only as an additional medium for expressing the ideas or thoughts already formed through the mother tongue. Mother tongue is like our breath, it is an inseparable part of our own self. But Hindi is like the *cap* or turban which we use only on certain special occasions. Hence they concluded that Hindi need not be compulsorily imposed on all indiscriminately, and only those who like it or need it or who may go out of their provinces may be encouraged to study Hindi. But many others maintain that as Hindi is our Federal language, it is not only desirable but quite necessary that every citizen of free India must be Hindi-minded, and so, should be taught Hindi, so that he may enter any walk of life in his later life. We learn Algebra or Geometry not merely with a utilitarian point of view. These fundamentals are necessary to make student educated and cultured. Hence the curriculum of studies must include mother tongue, at present English, Maths, Science and History-Geography and in Independent India Hindi also.

4. In my opinion, Hindi may be made an integral part of the school curriculum and counted for class promotion from Form I to VI, (i. e. the Middle and High School Forms). There need not be a public examination in Hindi at the end of VI Form. Hindi may be made alternative to the classical languages, such as Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian, Latin and Greek, or to the Modern Indian languages (neighbouring or contiguous) such as Telugu for Tamil and vice versa, Kannada for Malayalis and vice versa and so on, or to the modern Asiatic languages. There will be keen competition between Sanskrit and Hindi only, as Hindi is only a grand-daughter of Sanskrit itself. This will be a healthy competition. From the cultural point of view, students may study Sanskrit and those who are attracted by the utility point of view may take to the study of Hindi.

14-11-'52

By Mahatma Gandhi

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HARIJAN

Feb. 7 1953

PLANNING FOR FULL EMPLOYMENT

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

The Five Year Plan (F Y P) is being commented upon in various ways and from different angles It is all good and necessary, as it will help the Planners to perfect it further and thus to make it more popular and implementable through people's co-operation.

One very vital point from which the F. Y P is attacked is that it does not aim at full employment but almost ignores it by considering it as secondary or unapproachable at present

Another tactical mistake that it has made is that while it acknowledged that "the techniques for planning link up directly with the basic approach that a community decides to adopt, . . (and) the approach to be adopted in India has been defined in the Directive Principles of State policy laid down in the Constitution" (The first F. Y P — summary p 2), it did not take up these Directive Principles one by one and decide their priorities and plan targets for them, but cut almost a new line of its own which has only very indirect relation, if at all with those Directive Principles To say the least, this has meant an avoidable loss of the national sentiment that could have been easily rallied round the Plan Most of the Directive Principles embody our national constructive progamme which was born of the urge for constructive work among the people, by the people and for the people, even under an alien rule They were forged by ourselves under the leadership of the Father of the Nation They therefore had in them an instinctive affinity with and appeal to the popular mind, rather many people naturally want to know what Swaraj will do now for these national constructive works The F Y P is suffering from a very great loss in allowing itself to let go this natural approach in favour of another which therefore requires to be implanted in the popular mind and imagination

However the Directives of the Constitution are there and they have to be fulfilled by the State Let us not therefore allow ourselves to be deviating from them

The crux of any planning worth the name is to secure maximum wellbeing of a community, which ultimately depends on the level of production and just distribution that the community can achieve And that level will naturally depend upon the extent and nature of employment that may be secured by that community As we saw at the beginning, the F Y P does not base itself on planning for full employment but bases itself on the quantum of capital formation that can be expected during the next three or four years It has therefore enunciated the following as the basis of its work.

> "The level of production and the material well being of a community mainly depend upon the stock of capital at its disposal — the amount of land *per capita*, and of productive equipment in the shape of factories, locomotives machinery irrigation facilities power installations and communications' (F Y P summary p 2)

This has exposed it to a very natural question whether the expectations regarding capital formation will come true or no We can form the required quantum of capital by our national savings or by borrowing from money markets here or outside Such a way of planning for the people makes the F Y P still more a business of experts and Government officials rather than of the common people This is not to blame anybody but to see for ourselves the real position so that we may be better able to unprove it

The main thing necessary to be done forthwith in our country is to secure full employment for our starving millions It is the topmost priority It was therefore that Gandhiji said, as the basis of his Sarvodaya economics, that labour also is capital and the quickest way to stabilize our economy and make it expanding also is to find ways and means to employ fully here and now all available labour in our villages which are the real cultural and economic units of our country This is the core of our problem in planning which we cannot allow ourselves to forget or by-pass in any way The F. Y P, in its own way, has acknowledged it and incorporated in itself an idea of Community Projects for our villages, although they also do not base themselves on the requirement of full employment of the villages We therefore require a plan basing itself on this and to actually work it out as an experiment. I have before me a copy of such a plan published by the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi (5, Mansingh Road) New Delhi, ("Full Employment Plan of a Village" — 'being an outline plan for Vedchhi Village, Bardoli Tahsil, on Sarvodaya Ideals'). As the title shows it deals with one village and presents a model which can be followed if it is worked out and found successful It is based on the need of full employment of our villages and on the principle that labour also is capital, and if that capital can be pooled it will not only fulfil the need of money capital for a plan but also automatically secure to the plan people's enthusiasm and co-operation which are the prerequisites of success in planning. This way only can we expect the villages to change by themselves to a new level of life and labour Such a change cannot be a mechanical thing to be brought about by any change of mechanical devices of scientific technique, though they may be useful secondarily and in their own limited manner With this as introductory remarks, I propose from the next issue to give in suitable instalments the main conclusions of "The Full Employment Plan for a Village" even as a suggestion to the C. P. A of India

27-1-'53

WHAT ABOUT THE CHANGE?

(By Maganbhai P Desai)

In the course of the last few weeks, we came across statements by some high dignitaries of States and educational institutions saying with tragic repetition that English should be the medium of instruction for higher education It was surprising to see that Shri Radhakrishnan was reported to be one of them, because the University Commission over which he presided had recommended that regional languages should be the medium However the apparent inconsistency might be reconciled by understanding that while the one is ideal the other is the present actuality

English is the medium today and universities in general do not seem to feel any urgency of changing it Perhaps top men in Government and higher education are merely voicing this conservatism But it is not a proper attitude on their part, because it is upto them to say when and by what step they propose to change it They owe it to the public It is their responsibility to define it, For democracy in India requires that the change-over of the medium has to be negotiated within a reasonable period, which is stipulated to be fifteen years from the commencement of the Constitution Therefore we expect responsible people in the Government and higher education to tell us also how they propose to proceed about it

It is a pity that the F Y Plan, from this point of view does not even hint at it in any manner It should be considered its constitutional duty to plan how the change-over will be effected before 1965 as stipulated by the Constitution of India

30-1-'53

MESSAGE OF THE NEW 'KURUKSHETRA'

(By C Rajagopalachari)

Journals of particular organizations have a tendency to become printed self-flattery, which bores the ordinary reader whom we wish to interest in us

Any number of shadows do not make substance Any number of desires do not make an achievement What produces is work Desires are good, but they must be urges from within and by being prevented from exhausting themselves in expression, made to create pressure Recording and printing that we wish to do this, we wish to do that, we plan for this, we plan for that — is suicidal The record must be only of what we have achieved Let us avoid finding pleasure in and cultivating a taste for drum-beating and trumpet-blowing It is no substitute for work

A certain foreign style has been alluring us and destroying our old tradition of *maun* (मौन) and quiet service Am I running counter to the general stream? I am sorry for that, but some one must warn

Not advertisement, not beautifully illustrated journals, not noise and self-praise, but manual work will save us from shame and disaster

Our loving mother is Earth, the mud that is waiting to be embraced. It will give us everything we want, if we work at it Work, hard work — down at manual level Decentralize and do not over-departmentalize Let there be no supervisor except the internal watchman This is the message of the new 'Kurukshetra'*

Madras,
Shri Jayanti Day

[*Kurukshetra* is the name of a magazine started by the Community Project Administration (C. P A) of India as its monthly organ. The article reproduced above was the message Shri C R sent to the Journal at its inauguration It tells the C. P A in a few beautiful words what people generally tell and talk to one another about such Government ventures in publications. These very often slip down to talking more about themselves than actual achievements The example of 'Grow More Food' during the last five years must be noted here. There was a plethora of paper propaganda consuming scarce paper more than producing any more food. Such 'printed self-flattery' is more often an eyewash than real report of things done It would be interesting to know how much Government spends after photos etc to bring out beautifully illustrated journals' and advertise small little things casually or ceremonially done once in a while and not as a constant *yajna* that is really wanted. It would be as well Government stopped such really unnecessary and no way helpful expenditure after self advertisement or 'printed self flattery'. Work is its own propaganda and the surest at that that must be enough for us.

26-1-'53 M P]

THE HINDUISM OF MY CONCEPTION

(By Gandhiji)

The Hinduism of my conception is no narrow creed It is a grand evolutionary process as ancient as time, and embraces the teachings of Zoroaster, Moses Christ, Mohammed, Nanak and other prophets that I could name It is thus defined

विद्धि धर्मं तमिह सद्भिर्नित्यमनुसृतः सद्भिः ।
हृदयेनाभ्यनुज्ञातो यो धर्मस्तं निबोधत ॥

(Know that to be (true) religion which the wise and the good and those who are ever free from passion and hate follow and which appeals to the heart)

Harijan, 2-3-42

For me *Sanatana Dharma* is vital faith handed down from generations belonging even to prehistoric period and based upon the Vedas and the writings that followed them For me the Vedas are as indefinable as God and Hinduism It would be only partially true to say that the Vedas are the four books which one finds in print These books are themselves the remnants of the discourses left by unknown seers Those of later generations added to these original treasures according to their lights There then arose a great and loftyminded man, the composer of the Gita He gave to the Hindu world a synthesis of Hindu Religion, at once deeply philosophical and yet easily to be understood by any unsophisticated seeker It is the one open book to every Hindu who will care to study it, and if all the other scriptures were reduced to ashes, the seven hundred verses of this imperishable booklet are quite enough to tell one what Hinduism is and how one can live up to it. And I claim to be a *Sanatanist* because for forty years I have been seeking literally to live up to the

* Reproduced from *Kurukshetra*, Sept. 1952.

teachings of that book Whatever is contrary to its main theme I reject as un-Hindu It excludes no faith and no teacher It gives me great joy to be able to say that I have studied the Bible, the Koran, the Zend Avesta and the other scriptures of the world with the same reverence that I have given to the Gita This reverent reading has strengthened my faith in the Gita They have broadened my outlook and, therefore my Hinduism Lives of Zoroaster, Jesus and Mohammed as I have understood them have illumined many a passage in the Gita

I take pride in calling myself a Hindu, because I find the term broad enough not merely to tolerate but to assimilate the teachings of prophets from all the four corners of the earth I find no warrant for untouchability in this Book of Life On the contrary it compels me by an appeal to my heart in language that has a magnetic touch about it to believe that all life is one and that it is through God and must return to Him According to the *Sanatana Dharma* taught by that venerable Mother life does not consist in outward rites and ceremonial but it consists in the uttermost inward purification and merging oneself, body, soul and mind, in the divine essence I have gone to the masses in their millions with this message of the Gita burnt into my life, and they have listened to me, I am quite sure, not for any political wisdom or for eloquence, but because they have instinctively recognized me as one of them as one belonging to their faith. As days have gone by, my belief has grown stronger and stronger that I could not be wrong in claiming to belong to *Sanatana Dharma*, and if God wills it He will let me seal that claim with my death.

(*My Soul's Agony* pp 6 & 7 4-11-'32)

THE HYDERABAD CONGRESS RESOLUTIONS

[Some of the important resolutions passed by the 53th session of the Indian National Congress held at Hyderabad (Jan 17 to 18) are reproduced below]

1

Foreign Policy and the World Situation

The Congress views with deep concern and grave anxiety the ever growing tension and the deepening crisis in the relations between the Great Powers who have aligned themselves in rival Power Blocs, engaged in a ' cold war " and poised to strike with their unprecedented armed might ever mounting to greater dimensions and intensity, a threatening destruction to themselves and to the rest of the world

While nations and governments are not seeking war and the peoples of the world, including those of the countries in the rival Blocs earnestly desire peace, the accumulation of and race in armaments continue The campaign and the psychology of hatred and distrust and the acceptance by the Great Powers, as the basis of their policy, that preparation for large scale and total war alone can lead to the prevention of war, have resulted in grave, incalculable and present risk to world peace This has rendered the desires of the common people for peace not only ineffective but has increasingly turned the minds of nations and peoples to the acceptance of war preparations as necessary and war itself as almost inevitable Thus their thoughts and minds are orientated in the direction of war.

Unceasing endeavour should be made to bring about a change in the opposite direction, creating a climate of peace, and a change in the approach of nations and governments to one another and as between groups of them, in the direction of reconciliation rather than conflict and power grouping, so that the great objectives embodied in the Charter of the United Nations and its original purposes may be attained, and war prevented

To this end greater interchange and freedom of intercourse between nations, particularly between those who now stand separated by the ' cold war ' and by other conflicts, should be encouraged, progressive and positive action to bring about a degree of disarmament and cessation of hostile propaganda and of campaigns of hate and suspicion, is necessary, and definite initiatives should be taken to resolve at least some of the outstanding issues which stand deadlocked in world affairs. The broadening of the United Nations Organization, by the admission of States whose applications have been pending for many years, and the representation of China being regularized by the real Government of China taking its place in the United Nations, are essential first steps of grave urgency

The Congress appreciates the considerable achievements of the United Nations Organization in the social, economic and humanitarian field, even though they fall far short measured against the needs and distress of mankind on the one hand and the potentialities of the earth and the advance of human knowledge on the other

While recognizing the advance made in the colonial field during the past few years towards the liberation of subject peoples and for their welfare and progress, the Congress is of opinion that this is inadequate and deplores that some national movements for freedom are being forcibly suppressed Colonialism, inevitably accompanied by race hatred and conflict, exploitation and international rivalry is a continuing cause of war and human misery and should be ended

The Congress records its appreciation of and support to the Government of India in pursuing steadfastly unhindered by setbacks inducements and provocations, the policy of peace and international co-operation and non-alignment with Power Blocs and urges the Government to continue to pursue this course which alone enables it to make positive contributions towards international understanding and world peace It records its appreciation of the peace efforts of the Government of India in regard to the Korean war, which were non-partisan and based on international law

The people of India, with their rich heritage and traditions and their newly-won freedom, have in this time of world crisis a duty to the cause of world peace That duty they will best discharge by ridding themselves and their national life of all complexes of fear, intolerance, distrust and hatred, and by freeing themselves of economic dependence on others By the performance of this duty, they will not only serve their own country but will also serve the larger causes of the world

2

The Five Year Plan

The most important and urgent task before the country is to ensure economic advance for the nation and to raise the living standards of the people with a view to ending poverty and unemployment by greater production and equitable distribution, and thus realize the objective of social justice and equality laid down in the Constitution To this end all the resources of the nation must be directed in a planned manner, aiming more particularly at providing employment for all so that everyone becomes a partner in the Welfare State, sharing in its burdens and benefits alike

The Congress welcomes the First Five Year Plan the adoption of which is an event of great significance and promise for the people of India, as it initiates a process of planned economic development of the country with the purpose of realizing progressively the objectives aimed at The Plan is a realistic and flexible approach to this great problem and its full implementation will lay the sound foundation of rapid progress in the future

The Congress agrees that the programme for rural development and increase in agricultural production in respect of both food grains and industrial raw materials is of the first importance and food self-sufficiency must be realized at the earliest possible date. The Congress welcomes the recommendations in the Plan in regard to land policy and the emphasis laid on the expansion and strengthening of village and small-scale industries and the building of the community on co-operative lines

The Congress views the Plan as a first planned and important step designed to prepare the way for much more rapid advance on all fronts of national activity and welcomes it as the promise of the progressive fulfilment of its aims and objectives The plan depends for its success on the co-operation of the people in the largest measure in every phase and at every stage of the process of implemantation It is a call to the country and an invitation for leadership, at all levels to mobilize this co-operation and voluntary effort of the people To this great enterprise and magnificent adventure of building up New India, the Congress invites all the people of the country.

3

South Africa

The Congress reiterates its admiration and its appreciation of the Satyagraha movement in South Africa against racial discrimination to which the overwhelming majority of the people of South Africa are subjected by the Government of the Union

The Congress notes with deep satisfaction that Gandhiji's message of non-violent resistance to evil has taken root in South Africa and further that in the struggle against oppression and racial violence Africans, Europeans, peoples of mixed racial descent and Indians have made common cause, thus meeting the twin evils of racial discrimination and violence by racial co-operation and non-violence

The Government of the Union of South Africa continues to flout world public opinion even as embodied in the moderate resolutions of the United Nations Organization which only calls upon the Union Government to enter into negotiations and allow the facts of racial discrimination to be examined The Government of South Africa has thus given further evidence that she does not respect the principles of human rights to which the civilized world has given its approval and also that she dare not allow the light of reason or of truth to be directed to its offences against the laws of humanity and the conduct of civilized nations

The Congress congratulates the Satyagrahis in the Union and those who co-operate with them on their courage and determination as well as on the example which they are setting of racial and communal amity and co-operation which alone can lead to stability and progress in a multi-racial society

The Congress trusts that South Africans of Indian origin will continue to give their whole hearted support to the Satyagrahis and share their sacrifices in such ways as may be open to each one of them.

The Congress further calls upon the civilized nations and peoples of the world to look upon the courageous struggle of the Satyagrahis in South Africa as a struggle of mankind for freedom of opportunity and racial equality and tolerance carried out in the way of truth and peace, and to express their sympathy with the victims of the racial policies of the Union Government and to extend to the resisters every possible support.

4

Bhoodan Yajna

The annual session of the Indian National Congress deeply appreciates the Bhoodan Yajna movement started by Acharya Vinoba Bhave and appeals to the countrymen, specially the Congress workers, to give active support and co-operation to this movement It also requests the Central and the State Governments to do their best for its success.

5

Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan

This Congress has learnt with great concern of the continuing illness of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, who has been kept in prison in Pakistan for the last five years. Khan Saheb's memory is cherished both in India and Pakistan as a man of truth and peace, and as one of the bravest and noblest soldiers of freedom, whose life has been a shining example of service and sacrifice, and who taught the brave Pathans the way of non-violence and peaceful struggle for righteous causes It is a grievous tragedy that the man who helped greatly in bringing freedom to India and Pakistan and whom any nation would have delighted to honour, should become a victim of the very independence that his labours helped to

[illegible] India's subjection to [illegible] the last years of his life in the [illegible] the North West Frontier Province The same prisons have claimed him even after Independence, and not even his continuing and grave illness has brought him release from this unending confinement

This Congress sends its respectful greetings and homage to Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan

6

Disapproval of Communal Activities

The Congress reiterates its faith in the way of peace and the methods of persuasion for the solution of outstanding problems, national and international

In view of the repeated attempts on the part of certain groups in the country to rouse communal bitterness by the reiteration of slogans on the basis of religion which tend to turn the thoughts of men to violence and conflict, this Congress expresses its disapproval and condemnation of these activities, which retard the growth of good feeling and mutual tolerance amongst people professing different religions to which the Congress is irrevocably pledged The activities of these groups in regard to the minorities in East Pakistan, who suffer so much from the policy of the Pakistan Government, do not promote in any way the interests of these minorities but make the settlement of the problem more difficult, and, further, hinder the regulated and progressive rehabilitation of refugees from East Pakistan.

The Congress notes with deep regret the interference of some communal organizations in the affairs of Jammu and Kashmir State, which is fraught with grave evil, and hopes that the people of the State will not allow themselves to be misled by such propaganda, which can only lead to the disintegration of the State and most unfortunate consequences.

7

Reorganization of States

The Congress approves of the steps taken by the Government of India in the matter of the formation of a separate Andhra State These steps are in accordance with the policy laid down in the Congress Manifesto and the Report of the Linguistic Provinces Committee appointed by the Jaipur Congress

While confirming that policy, the Congress would draw special attention to the other factors which must be taken into consideration in any reorganization of the present States in India, such as the unity of India, national security and defence, financial considerations and economic progress, not only of the whole nation, but of each State The successful implementation of the Five Year Plan must always be kept in view Any further step in the direction of re-organization of States on the basis of language or any other basis will naturally depend on the stabilization of the Andhra State

SAMPATTI-DAN PLEDGE

[Shri Vinoba's statement regarding the Sampatti-dan Yajna and some of his speeches explaining its import and significance have already appeared in the *Harijan* The idea has attracted wide notice and a steadily growing number of people are coming forward to participate in this brave venture of building up a new and happy India A specimen form of the pledge for the Sampatti-dan which is reproduced below will be found useful both by the workers and the donors. — Ed.]

Shri Vinobaji,

With a view to the furtherance and fulfilment of the economic revolution, which in its non violent working follows the best traditions of our country, you have enjoined that in addition to land, people should now come forward to donate a sixth of their wealth and property also This throws open the door to those also to associate themselves with your sacred mission, who could not do much so far because they did not possess land In response to this call in the cause of Daridranarayan, I surrender the -th of my income to you and undertake to devote the same every year to social welfare work in such manner as you may desire me to do

I will continue to send in regularly the annual account of my income to you or to the agent or body which you may empower for the said purpose

I accept the responsibility of keeping whatever amount of money may accrue to the donated share in safe custody and to spend it according to your instructions

To this pledge willingly undertaken I as the Antaryami i.e the Inner Guide in me, am myself a witness, I am conscious that I have to be faithful to my Antaryami

May God help me

Attached herewith please find the statement of my wealth and property

Sd

Date ———

Full Name ———

Address ———

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HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)
Editor MAGANBHAI P. DESAI

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CONCENTRATE ON THE VILLAGE

(By Gandhiji)

In reply to a question by Maurice Frydman, viz —

"What then is the secret of your concentration on the village?" Gandhiji said

"I have been saying that if untouchability stays, Hinduism goes, even so I would say that if the village perishes India will perish too It will no more be India Her own mission in the world will get lost The revival of the village is possible only when it is no more exploited Industrialization on a mass scale will necessarily lead to passive or active exploitation of the villagers, as the problems of competition and marketing come in. Therefore, we have to concentrate on the village being self-contained, manufacturing mainly for use Provided this character of the village industry is maintained, there would be no objection to villages using even modern machines and tools that they can make and can afford to use. Only they should not be used as a means of exploitation of others."

"I have been trying to understand your village industries movement," said Mr Frydman, "for the last two years, but I have learnt today in a few minutes what I had not learnt during these two years You are more radical than Socialists They are against the worker being exploited, you are not only against this, but also against the worker exploiting others."

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There is no question of refusing to take advantage of labour-saving devices If the villagers had enough to eat and to clothe themselves with, there would be no cause for home-grinding or home-husking, assuming that the question of health was not of any importance or, if it was, there was no difference between home ground flour and mill-ground, or home-husked rice and mill-husked. But the problem is that the villagers became idle when they left off husking and grinding even for their own use, and made no good use of their idle hours, whether for uplift or otherwise A starving man or woman who has time on his or her hand will surely be glad to earn an honest anna during that time, for he or she will resent being advised to save his or her labour when either can turn it into a few pice to alleviate starvation

* * *

I have no partiality for return to the primitive method of grinding and husking for the sake of them. I suggest the return because there is no other way of giving employment to the millions of villagers who are living in idleness.

In my opinion, village uplift is impossible, unless we solve the pressing economic distress. Therefore, to induce the villagers to utilize their idle hours is in itself solid uplift work

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ENGLISH — PREJUDICES AND FACTS

[Below are extracts pertaining to the problem of English from the Presidential Address of Shri Jhinabhai R. Desai, Principal Shri C. N. Vidyavihar, Ahmedabad, at the third Convention of All Gujarat Secondary Teachers' Organizations held at Gavada on the 24th and 25th January, 1953.]

For sometime past stories have been current to the effect that as a result of the abolition of English from the lower standards of schools in Bombay State, Secondary Schools have received a great set-back and many Secondary teachers are thrown out of employment. From that point of view it will be pertinent to place before this Conference some relevant figures without any comments In the year 1947-48 when English was still being taught from V Standard the total number of students studying in the Secondary Schools was 3,08,541 After that English was abolished and within three years thereof, in the year 1950-51, this number rose to 4,13,000 Thus within a short span of 3 years more than a lakh of students were added to the strength of those in the Secondary Schools. The proportion of the schools has not increased accordingly In 1947-48 Secondary Schools numbered 1,199 In 1950-51 the number rose to 1,296 This means that there has been an increase of about 8 per cent in the number of schools, whereas the rise in the percentage of Secondary School students has been by about 33 per cent. From these figures it will be easy for one to judge for oneself the soundness or otherwise of the statement pertaining to the precarious position of Secondary Schools as a result of the abolition of English.

Did We Err?

It is a commonly accepted fact that the place

that English had acquired in our curriculum was unnatural and that it had crippled the expression and intellect of the child to an unbelievable extent. Hence very appropriately our State took the bold step of abolishing English from the first seven standards Subsequently English was permitted to be taught optionally in the VII Standard Consequently in our State, as a matter of fact, pupils now learn English for 5 years But recently the stories have been made current that in this measure our Government had very grievously blundered It has been stated that our State has been a solitary exception in the whole of India in respect of such a step with the result that in the competitive sphere with regard to Government Services, Public Service Examinations, Trades, Business and Banking Concerns students from our State stand at a great disadvantage as compared with those from other Indian States. Similarly, as in the Universities also, it is stated, the medium of instruction is English, it will create great difficulties for our students All these matters need to be carefully and dispassionately scrutinized without any bias.

Let us take the first statement. As a State are we alone in the whole of India to take such a progressive step? Barring some solitary exceptions various Indian States have more or less reduced the number of years devoted to the teaching of English in their schools From that point of view the following table is worth a careful perusal. It shows the number of years for which English is being compulsorily taught in various Indian States before the school-leaving stage The population figures in different States are also given along with these details. This will give us an idea of the number of people who are with us in this great experiment of ours.

English for 6 years

	State	Population
1	Ajmer	6,13 000
2	Manipur	5,78 000
3	Tripura	6,36 000
		18,30 000

* * * *

English for 7 years

	State	Population
1	Assam	90,44,000
2.	Delhi (only for boys) (for girls 6 years)	17,44,000
3	Cutch	5 98,000
		1,13,56,000

* * * *

English for 5 years

	State	Population
1	West Bengal	2,46 10 000
2.	Madras	5 70 16 000
3.	Orissa	1,56 48 000
4.	Hyderabad	1,86,55,000
5.	Mysore	96,75,000
6	PEPSU	34,14 000
7	Travancore Cochin	92,50 000
8.	Coorg	2 29 000
9	Bhopal	8 36,000
		13,69,61,000

* * * *

English for 5 years

	State	Population
1	Punjab	1,26 41,000
2.	Jammu & Kashmir	Not available
3	Bilaspur	1 28,000
4	Himachal Pradesh	9 33,000
5	Vindhya Pradesh	38 76,000
		1,76,25,000

* * * *

English for 4 years

	State	Population
1	Bihar	4 02 28 000
2	Bombay (5 years by option)	3 59,56,000
3	Saurashtra	41 37 000
		8,03 18,000

* * * *

English for 6 years

	State	Population
1	Uttar Pradesh	6,32,16,000
2.	Madhya Bharat	79 78 000
3	Rajasthan	1,52,91 000
		8,64,82,000

* * * *

These details are for the year 1951-'52 They do not include details for Madhya Pradesh as some important decisions are reported to have been recently taken in that State with regard to English, but I have not been able to collect any authentic information about the same So far English was taught there for 7 years and its population is 2,12,58,000 From the figures given above it can be gathered that there are three States including ours that teach English for 4 years and their total population is 8,03,19,000 There are three other States who teach English compulsorily for two years only in the last two standards and their strength is 8,64 82,000 If the population of both these groups which is 16,68 01,000 were taken into account it will be almost half of the total population of our Union which is about 35,00,00 000 As a matter of fact, English is being taught in our State for 5 years Hence the population of such other States (which is 1,78,25,000) also should be included in this group From that point of view the total population of those States where English is taught for a year more than in our State, (i.e for 6 years) is 13,89,61,000

From this it will be seen that we have a majority of the population of our Union with us in the step with regard to English which our Government have taken How then could it be said that we have been alone in this venture? In these circumstances it is indeed very difficult to understand the statement of those that maintain that our State in this respect had blundered

This apart, it is hardly practicable to insist upon a uniformity in educational programme through the length and breadth of such a vast country as ours. It is but natural that the educational systems and contents of different States should be based on their basic requirements and to that end some differences are bound to exist in the educational system, from State to State. Neither in the past nor today in different

Indian States has there been a uniformity in the number of school years leading to the school-leaving examination In some that stage is reached within 10 years whereas in others the period for the same is 11 years Similarly the insistence that English should be taught in all these States on a uniform level is also out of place. If for instance a State like Assam may deem it necessary, because of its peculiar local conditions, to teach English for more years than we do in our State, should we also adjust our programme accordingly ? It is needless to state that there would be hardly any sense in doing so. In short today in India there are two major groups with regard to the teaching of English, viz. one group teaching it for 6 years and the other for 5 years or less The first group consists of about 14 crores of people, the latter of about 18 crores We are among the 18 crores Should we take the plan of the minority viz. 14 crores as our ideal and go back on a very important step we have taken ?

Then it is our common experience that as a result of the abolition of English from the lower standards the intellectual efficiency of our students has increased With regard to English the teachers who have taught that subject in schools for a good many years assert that those students who are in the IX Standard today and have learnt English in the new set up of things will, so far as English is concerned, be on par when they reach XI Standard with the standard of English as it exists today in the XI Standard I have found this claim to be highly justifiable after a careful personal investigation and Ahmedabad Headmasters' Association and Secondary Teachers' Association have in joint collaboration thought of undertaking investigation in the matter on a very wide scale. In these circumstances I would very respectfully urge upon the Government to appoint a committee of experts to investigate into the results of the working of the new syllabus on the general development of the students and their attainment in English The Government should entertain no proposal for a change in the *status quo* till it is in possession of the findings of such a committee. I am confident that the findings of such a committee will be almost like our own experience in the matter which compels us to sound a note of warning against any hasty step In this respect it will be worth while drawing the attention of the Government to the fact that the way they revised under external pressure their original decision of abolishing English from the Middle School and permitted it to be taught optionally from the VII Standard has created our present troubles Now to yield further to such a pressure and make still more compromises by permitting English to be taught optionally from the V Standard will be fraught with very grave results and I very earnestly request the Government not to commit the mistake of yielding to such a pressure.

I SAW THE MAHATMA

(*By K S*)

Sunny and bright was the day
The evening was happy and gay
It was ere Independence Day
I went my homage to pay
To the Mahatma — the belov'd father
Of our nation And people did gather
In their thousands to hear the Saint
And in their minds his impression paint

I have in pictures seen him
And guess'd a form tall and dim ;
But now my opinion I reverse
To tell the truth the whole universe

Amid the vast multitude, I saw
The glowing form and stood struck with awe
His colour was that of sandalwood,
As though he had attained childhood
His face was calm and peaceful,
To a child it wasn't fearful.
His lips were always ready with a smile,
The protruding nose deserv'd a look 'while
The loving eyes beneath his determin'd brows
Were seats of *Ahimsa* for pol'tical grouse
The bald head with golden hairs sparse
Ever fill'd with all his people's cares.
There sat he upright on the pulpit high
With his children squatted in silence nigh
He with shrill manly voice began to speak
And everyone did pin-drop silence seek.
Some with eyes fixed at him began to stare,
Some with open mouths seemed to gulp words rare,
And some with'ut faith did begin to adore,
Yet some mischievous tried their tricks no more.

His real voice that was ever stronger
Won't have its magic spell any longer
For he is laid in an eternal couch
By Fate's vile yet inevitable touch.
The whole nation and indeed the whole world wept
The perennial tears swelled and swept
And inundat'd the entire surface of earth
And every mourner strove to 'void his depth.

The cataclysm began to subside
But only by slow degrees died '
For it is fruitless as the saying goes
To cry ov'r spilt milk It was an SOS
Heard from a distant ship in a disturb'd sea
That was wrecked by ocean s rage in glea
Ere the rescue convoy could reach the spot
To save the souls from their fatal lot

India in him has lost a precious jewel
Her countenance, without it, doesn't look wall
Should all global riches the void level,
Nay, it can't so well her beauty refill.

Oh ! like mighty Caesar his life he gave
Moved he not the precious soul to save ,
Or like Jesus who preached people oft
Real path to learn eternal blisses loft.

Endured he great Abraham Lincoln's fats,
As he full wall knew his end ere late '
For the President slain soon after freedom won
Thus the price of peerless freedom given.

HARIJAN

Feb. 14 1953

REGARDING BASIC EDUCATION

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

A valued friend who was present at the UNESCO Regional Conference on Primary Education Bombay, writes as follows in the course of his letter

"I have read with interest through the valuable editorial that you have written in the *Harijan* of January the 10th, under the heading 'Planning for Basic Education' I agree with the good deal of what you have said and, in fact I may venture to point out that the criticism that you have made about the kind of Primary Education in the ordinary schools and the lines on which it can be reconstructed is a matter of common agreement amongst all discerning educationists I would, however take the liberty to point out that the remark made by you regarding the role of the Indian Delegation at the UNESCO Regional Conference is not quite fair and is obviously due to the fact that you have had to rely on the Press reports which are not naturally concerned with or even know very much about the actual educational discussions that go on in the various Committees and Commissions but only pick out whatever appears to have to be of 'sensational' interest. The Indian Delegation did bring very clearly and emphatically the contribution made by Basic Education to the whole idea of Education at this level. In the Curriculum Commission as well as the Commission on Teachers' Training this problem was specifically discussed. In fact, you may perhaps be interested to know that the long resolution which you have quoted with approval at the end of your editorial was actually drawn up and proposed by (an Indian) member of the Curriculum Commission and it was accepted unanimously and almost without any change A good deal of discussion preceded its adoption, because some of the ideas underlying it were new to the delegates who had come from the other countries and they had to be convinced that this was the proper approach. You would however appreciate the fact that we could not very well insist on the term 'Basic Education' being adopted by all the countries of the region concerned and, therefore the only practical and reasonable approach was to incorporate, in the general recommendation, some of the main ideas which underlie the concept of Basic Education and leave room for elasticity and local adjustment which may be found necessary in view of local conditions."

I gladly accept the correction and thank the friend for it However I do not quite agree why a resolution appreciating in a general way the Basic Education Scheme of India could not be considered its proper work by the Seminar Nor do I quite see why India in all humility but with the firmness born of the courage of conviction, did not give a bold and clear report of what she has done and achieved till now in this field and how it proposed to change the entire field of education through the new idea given to her by the Father of the Nation. I also view with very grave concern the steady reaction gaining ground, that is apparent at high level, regarding agreed educational reforms, some of the most important of which are the improvement in the position of English in our educational system, place of Hindi in secondary and higher education, the introduction of handicrafts in schools, and recognition of the social and cultural importance of *regular* manual labour by students This is also telling very adversely upon the progress and development of Basic Education or whatever is being done about it at present If Basic Education is what we swear by as our national policy and programme it is not enough if we are merely interested in it or conversant with what it says We have to implement it and show results and perfect it further so as to march on to reform secondary and higher stages of education as well And if we wish to be forewarned before the surging tide of democratic ideas that are rapidly growing in the countryside and the fast growing impatience of the masses to be in their own and assert themselves and their rightful position in our new democracy — before these overwhelm us one has to be impatient about immediate things that matter here and now Basic Education is one such thing According to Basic Education education is what teaches or should teach the nation how to live well and peacefully by producing and distributing justly our basic needs of food and cloth etc · therein is contained the whole programme of all education worth the name Therefore, all I intended to convey through my previous article was the urgency of action and of progressing further in howsoever small a step but with a firm and convincing one, and not allowing reaction or conservatism and vested interest overpowering it I will be only glad to be assured of this which unhappily the present situation in matters educational does not do

31-1-'53

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NOTES

Hindi and English

The *National Herald*, Lucknow, in its editorial of January 20 1953, regarding 'Hindi and English' says

"In spite of the stonewalling to which many admirers of English — and English cricket — resort, it is increasingly admitted that no mental laziness should further delay active thinking about displacement of English. If the educational system is not to collapse in a confusion of standards Those in charge of education at least must give up unsatisfactory habit of making statements involving them in the illogicalities inherent in ill-thought-out programmes

"The discussions on the language problem converge on two points, that Hindi shall replace English as the official language of the Union of India within the next 15 years and that English shall not continue to be the medium of instruction Any distraction from the theme can only be by way of discussing the time-table.

"The trouble is with regard to the time-table and the reaction following the threat of dislocation of the vested interests."

Will our men "in charge of education" at least heed to the warning and advice contained in the remarks quoted above?

2-2-'53 M P

Clarification Necessary

The following is from a speech of Shri Purushottamdas Tandon while inaugurating at Gorakhpur, January 27 the first session of the Gorakhpur Janapada Sahitya Sammelan

"In certain areas of the country slogans for regional languages or English have been raised. It is very dangerous for the country It was really imperilling the country's freedom by still refraining from changing the working in certain offices from English to Hindi Hindi should be our compulsory language and other languages like Marathi Bengali, Gujarati etc. be taught as second language But in no case English should be our compulsory language' (*The Leader* Allahabad, January 30, 1953)

I hope Shri Tandonji was speaking for U P and other parts where Hindi is a regional language and not the whole country when he said that 'Hindi should be our compulsory language and other languages like Marathi, Bengali, Gujarati etc be taught as second language' The report quoted above creates doubt and cause for fear in the mind of the reader, specially so because Shri Tandonji is against the retention of Urdu as a State language even though it is another regional language of U P He owes to the country to clearly state what, according to him, should be the position of regional languages in regard to their importance as the medium of instruction and administration in their respective regions

2-2 '53 M. P

VILLAGE DEVELOPMENT — A PLANNING MOVEMENT

[This is the first instalment of "The Full Employment Plan for a Village" as stated in the previous issue of 7-2-53 — Planning for Full Employment']

Planning for Economic Freedom

We have reached a stage when village development cannot be attempted by piecemeal or token activities The development programme has now to aim at complete economic freedom for the village masses, providing them with minimum standards of life The first thing for the villages to do to achieve this objective is to take the initiative of shaping their life out of their resources. They will have to control all sources of waste and exploitation which they can do only by pooling resources and by functioning as organized groups In other words village communities will have to set before them the task of planning for the best possible use of their resources for the attainment of higher standards of life

2 Stopping Waste and Exploitation

The village communities can undertake planning as indicated above on the basis of political and economic decentralization. Through political decentralization, Gram Panchayats can be empowered to be self-governing units within certain limits and can mobilize resources within their jurisdiction to the best advantage They can, for example, put a stop to waste which means misuse or non-use or under-use of resources and takes various forms such as (1) waste of man and animal power; (2) waste of water resources, (3) waste of manurial resources, (4) soil erosion; (5) uncultivated lands They can also influence public finance policies which draw funds from rural areas and spend largely on towns and cities Economic decentralization can stop exploitation of rural areas which takes such forms as (1) unremunerative prices of agricultural produce; (2) unfavourable balance of trade arising out of the exchange of low priced raw materials for high priced finished goods and the consequent loss of processing cost to the villages Decentralization, both political and economic, which is a distinguishing feature of Sarvodaya, is capable of building up a prosperous life for the village communities

3 Restating the Proposition

Even though Sarvodaya is thus capable of enriching the life of the village masses, they do not seem to put forth any irresistible demand for its establishment. In political sphere, village communities do appreciate and aspire for the decentralization of power It is in the economic sphere, however, that they have yet to appreciate the benefits of decentralization If the programme of economic decentralization has not so far impressed them, it is not because of its inherent

weakness but because of its unco-ordinated presentation.

In the first place, the masses have been allowed to form an unfortunate impression about the Sarvodaya order of society as promising a hard life full of drudgery, through the non-use of scientific achievements. Secondly, the Sarvodaya Programme could upto now be presented to the people only in the form of token activities which could neither produce any appreciable change for the better in the life and conditions of the people nor could they present a picture of life emerging out of a co-ordinated plan. Unco-ordinated items could only expose their weak points. It is only an integrated approach making for a total programme that can give legitimate places to items which could then contribute to the total prosperity of a group. It is thus a question of restating the proposition of Sarvodaya in a form which can be appreciated by the masses and in which they see their *udaya* — prosperity. The best way to do this is to make the masses realize that Sarvodaya is not a mere pious programme but the only one capable of building up a prosperous life for them in a most orderly manner. To this end, some definite and concrete basis of the programme will have to be defined and the whole edifice built upon it so as to demonstrate the practicability and the utility of such a programme.

4. The Basis of the Programme

The following directive principles of the Constitution can well be made the basis of this programme:

The State shall direct its policy towards securing —

(i) that the citizens, men and women equally, have the right to an adequate means of livelihood;

(ii) that the ownership and control of the material resources of the community are so distributed as best to subserve the common good;

(iii) that the operation of the economic system does not result in the concentration of wealth and means of production to the common detriment; and

(iv) the State shall endeavour to secure, by suitable legislation or economic organization or in any other way, to all workers, agricultural, industrial or otherwise, work, a living wage, conditions of work ensuring a decent standard of life and full enjoyment of leisure and social and cultural opportunities; and in particular the State shall endeavour to promote cottage industries on an individual or co-operative basis in rural areas.

[The following directives also should be included in the programme. It must be noted that the development programme is meant to be for *Samagra Gram Seva*; it should touch the whole life of the village community. Hence the directive principles regarding Prohibition, Basic Education, Go-Seva also must be made the basis of the Plan.]

M. P.]

"GRAMODAYA KHADI SANGH"

(By Krishnadas Gandhi)

[The following decision was taken by the Trustees of the Charkha Sangh in their meeting at Tirupur on the 20th November, 1952.]

Till now the Charkha Sangh was engaged in making individual spinners spin and in purchasing yarn from them. From now onwards steps should be taken for this kind of Khadi work to be carried out by Grama Samitis. Special efforts for maximizing local consumption of Khadi should also be made.

For several years in the past the Charkha Sangh was not only doing production and sale of Khadi but also trying through the same work to spread the message of Khadi among the people by placing before them new programme of work periodically. The above-said resolution is also only one such. This is an indication of the efforts made towards achievement of the ideals of Khadi by the Charkha Sangh.

The Charkha Sangh has taken this decision only after taking stock of the present situation and the general atmosphere. The atmosphere is changing speedily, most unexpectedly and strangely giving rise to new and never known problems before we could think of tackling any of them. On one side poverty and hunger is stalking the length and breadth of the country. On the other side unemployment and under-employment is also increasing every day. Centralized mass production industries are also growing. Due to the competition by the mass production industries the few cottage industries that still remain with the people as their means of livelihood are fast dying out. The same fate is overtaking Khadi work also. The Government, the people and Khadi artisans all are agreed to accept Khadi as a means of giving employment to the masses. But at the same time they want mill cloth also for its cheapness. These two desires are mutually conflicting. This conflict has to be eliminated.

The mutual conflict between the mill and Khadi has not so far been understood clearly by the people. Making the people realize this basic conflict is also one of the fundamental objectives of Khadi work. The people have not so far realized this basic conflict because they have not done any Khadi work themselves. If the villagers and artisans take an increasing share in the management of the Khadi work of their own villages it may be increasingly possible for them to realize the conflict. They may become more and more conscious about their fundamental rights and safeguards for work. They may also think of boycott of mill goods and of taking the pledge of Gramodyoga products in their daily life.

Today there is one school of thought in the country which contends that it is fundamentally wrong to assume that there is a basic conflict between the mill industry and the Khadi industry. They say that the country should be ready to derive the benefits from both the mill and Khadi industries by devising ways and means of co-ordinating them to work as complementary to

each other Now, the question is only how to bring about this co-ordination Even for co-ordinating the mill and the charkha, control over the mills and safeguards for Khadi are of paramount importance The importance of this also will be more keenly appreciated and understood by the people when they themselves do Khadi work

In addition to the above advantages, there may be several other benefits accruing incidentally by inducing the people to take more and more responsibility in Khadi work The village-folk may develop a sense of self-reliance and self-help in themselves and gradually become free from the sense of helplessness and frustration

The Charkha Sangh has decided to get as many of their best workers as possible free from the fetters of routine clerical work and to send them out into the villages to organize such village committees of local people and artisans to take the responsibility to do the Khadi work in their own villages and such committees will be known as "Gramodaya Khadi Sanghs".

This name will stand constantly as a remembrancer for our objective as all round village development, Khadi as the means to attain it, and Co-operative organized effort by working as small sanghs.

MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION FOR UNIVERSITIES

(By Arvindlal L Mazmudar)

In my previous article, 'When Should the Change Be Effected?' (vide *Harijan*, 7-2-'53) I discussed the first of the two questions taken up there. I now take up the next question: What medium should the Universities adopt — Hindi or the regional language?

The supporters of Hindi put forward mainly these two main arguments

(1) Hindi is the language of the Union. In course of time all inter-State communication will be in Hindi The language of the Centre will also be Hindi. It is meet, therefore, that Hindi should be the medium of instruction at the University stage

(2) If regional languages become the media, separatist tendencies and narrow provincialism will grow Hindi, on the contrary, will be a unifying force for the whole nation.

Now let us closely examine these viewpoints It is true that the official language of the Union will be Hindi, inter-State communication too, will be in Hindi But what percentage of University students will be in the Government employ? Thousands of graduates will be working in their own regions where at State level and at the district level language will be the regional language. Thousands of these graduates will have to work with the common man, where in the same region, Hindi will not be at all needed On the contrary, graduates trained in Hindi will create a gulf between themselves, and the masses, just as English did, though to a lesser extent. The use of Hindi will be confined primarily to those in the Government employ, many of whom while writing or speaking within their own State will have to use the regional language Students will have learnt Hindi for about seven years in school and four years in the college — where it is expected to be made compulsory — and they would have got sufficient acquaintance with Hindi. Those who aim at Government employ may take Hindi as special subject [illegible] which should be provided by the [illegible] There seems to be no reason why [illegible] the sake of a few hundreds, thousands [illegible] should be compelled to learn through the H[illegible] medium

That study through regional languages will promote separatism and provincialism is not such a danger as it is made out to be It is not the medium but the content that matters — not the form but the spirit in which education is imparted To quote only one example, students graduated from the Gujarat Vidyapith are perhaps the most non-communal and above sectarianism in their outlook, though they have studied all throughout through the Gujarati medium Similar instances may be quoted from other provinces On the contrary, do we not find such separatism and provincialism among those who have been taught throughout through the common medium of English? The plea, therefore, that students studying through regional languages will develop a narrow outlook does not stand the test of reason or experience

Lastly it is sometimes argued that the translation of books in all the different regional languages will involve a very heavy sum-total of expenditure which will not be the case if the renderings are to be made only in Hindi. Here, too, the expenses of translation are only, as stated above, a passing phase Of course some expenditure *shall* be recurring but with the passage of time the expenditure will naturally dwindle. But even if the expenditure is heavy, that is no reason why for such a reason lakhs of students should be compelled to study only through Hindi. If the expenditure is an evil, it is by far the lesser evil.

So far an attempt has been made to meet the claims of Hindi as a medium. But why all these arguments and counter-arguments? That a child or a student should receive all his education in his own language is the most natural state; and is a principle educationally and psychologically so sound that it needs no support of arguments in its favour In fact, receiving one's education in one's own language is the birth-right of every child and the State cannot tinker with it. Sooner the State appreciates this the better it is for all of us

But what about multi-lingual places like Bombay or Madras? The reply should not be difficult. The Universities there should allow all colleges the option of the medium — Hindi or the regional language — as the Gujarat University has already done. It will be said that this would lead to different colleges teaching in different languages in the same town. Well, where is the harm? In Bombay, for instance, some colleges will teach through Marathi, others through Gujarati and so on. Some colleges naturally will have a Hindi side or a pure Hindi medium — catering the needs of those who have none of the regional languages as their mother-tongue The process of growth and adjustment of such institutions will be governed by the law of demand and supply Again one need not wait for this in Bombay or Madras for the linguistic redistribution of provinces, for Bombay and Madras, whether formed into independent States or parts of bigger redistributed provinces, *shall* remain multi-linguist, and such a provision for colleges with different media will have to be made by any government in authority.

Thus, given will, resoluteness and fixity of purpose, the problem of the change-over of medium, though apparently difficult would soon become easier of solution. It is for the Universities now to make a start, and for the State Governments to see that the Universities are persuaded to make an early start and move with the times.

Bombay,
20-1-'53

KILL THIS NARAKASURA

(By A. V. Barve)

Writing on the *Narakachaturdashi* day, I am naturally reminded of the killing of the mythical demon Narakasura, which is even up till now enacted by crushing under foot, on this day, a bitter fruit called *chiranta Naraka* literally means hell and has come to be associated in the popular mind, with human faeces and urine and this foul-smelling, open and covered Narakasura is stalking the whole of this holy land from the Himalayas to Kanyakumari and from Port Kandla to Calcutta and deserves to be killed and buried in the bowels of the earth, without further delay. In doing this, we shall be 'killing two birds with one stone', as the proverb goes. We shall remove an age-long nuisance and add crores of rupees worth of wealth in the form of organic manure, to the 'hungry' soil of India. How to proceed about it is the question.

Dirt, philosophically speaking, is nothing but matter in a wrong place, and that is quite true about the valuable manure in the form of nightsoil. What is so offensive and foul-smelling when allowed to lie uncovered anywhere, when covered with earth and buried for some months, becomes a valuable poudrette called *sonakhat* or 'gold' manure. The Japanese use this manure in its raw state to manure their fields and orchards. But that gives a most offensive smell. The better way is to bury it for a few months, so as to turn it into an innocent brownish substance, undistinguishable from ordinary earth.

India, with its population of about 35 crores, is wasting about 35 × 6 — 210, two hundred and ten crores of rupees worth of national wealth, at the present price level, in the form of loss of organic manure. Every man, from Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to the petty official of the Agriculture Department, knows this or at least ought to know, but nobody finds time to set about remedying this waste. Says Pandit Nehru in his *Discovery of India*, "But it does seem odd to me, that in their enthusiasm for the artificial product, people should *forget natural manure and even waste it and throw it away*. Only China as a nation has had the good sense to make full use of the natural stuff." (Italics mine)

When Pandit Jawaharlalji wrote this, he had no power to bring his views into action, India being then in bondage. But she has since then achieved independence, with Panditji at the helm of her affairs, as Prime Minister. Panditji's Government has spent crores of rupees, over the construction of the Sindri Factory for producing the 'artificial product' but they have not done anything so far, to prevent the waste of natural manure. I have suggested to the Central Government a remedy for this, but they have paid little attention to it.

The question that naturally arises in this connection is 'Can the people of India, with their proverbial lethargy, be ever induced to give up their age-long dirty habits on a voluntary basis?' The reply is unfortunately in the negative. Gandhiji, Senapati Bapat, Vinoba Bhave, Appa-Saheb Patwardhan, Kakasaheb Barve and their esteemed co-workers have tried their hand at this reform, but small has been their success. At this rate, it may take centuries to change the habits and stop the waste. Then what is the remedy? It is legislation and education and organization of public opinion, through Press and Platform, *pari passu*. An All-India Act should be passed making it compulsory, by stages if necessary, for the Grama Panchayats to be established in every village for this among other purposes, and municipalities and corporations in towns and cities, to construct a sufficient number of public latrines and urinals of the cheapest possible type, suitable to the particular locality.

I have drafted legislation for this purpose and sent it to the Central Government, but they have only circulated it to A & B States. I hope, preparations will be made before the next Diwali, in the form of legislation, to kill demon Narakasura, once for all. A sum of, say, a hundred crores of rupees spent over the construction of the cheapest type of latrines and urinals, as a part of the Five-Year Plan or apart from it, will yield even better results than some items of the Plan.

[The question raised by Shri Barve is not merely economic but sanitational and hygienic and pertains to our good manners as well. It is not good that persons should have to let go privacy for want of latrines in the villages. It is worse if they, by force of habit, have been dead to the need of such privacy. It is also a practical proposition that just as the cities the villages too should be organized through their Panchayats to look after and arrange for their water supply, drainage, conservancy, sanitation etc. It should be a part of the national health programme as well. The C. P. A. of India should try to work out this suggestion and give to Government a workable scheme for carrying it out on a national scale.

20-1-53 M. P.]

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HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)
Editor: MAGANBHAI P. DESAI

VOL XVI No 52 AHMEDABAD—SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 21, 1953 TWO ANNAS

B. C. G. VACCINATION

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

The reader is referred to the article 'B C G Vaccination' of Shri S R Mistri, that appeared in the *Harijan* of November 15, 1952 and to the small note appended to it at the end by me On reading this Dr B Patel, the Honorary Secretary, B C G Vaccination Committee of the Government of Bombay wrote to me, to say as follows

"Leaving aside the efficacy of B C G Vaccination, about which there is no second opinion now I have to state that the questions of morality and ethics do not arise at all in case of B C G Vaccination

'B C G which means Bacilli Calmette Guerin named after two French physicians Calmette and Guerin, is manufactured from Bovine Tuberculous Bacillus which are attenuated after 200 cultures during the period extending to 13 years.

The Bovine Tuberculous Bacillus belong to the Sub-phylum Thallophyte of the Plant Kingdom. The bacilli are not got by killing any animal. Thus it would be seen that there is no cruelty to animals at all. Unfortunately it has been mixed up with other known vaccinations where the origin may be after some alleged cruelty towards animals

Even the media in which the culture is grown do not contain any substance which might lead any body to suggest that there is cruelty towards animals.

"Your reference to the *Harijan* dated 27-2-49 and 27-3 49 as regards the diversity of opinion amongst doctors is outdated because that question arose at the time when B C G Vaccination was introduced newly to India You will further agree with me that controversy about a problem only shows the problem is new vital, and complex and hence it should not be looked upon with a bias as exhibited in your correspondent's letter'

I thank Dr Patel for correcting me on a point of information about cruelty I referred his letter to Shri S R Mistri Bombay, who obliged me by getting what information was necessary in connection with the two points raised by Dr Patel Among the many things that I got it will be enough to quote a letter addressed to me by the Secretary British Union for the Abolition of Vivisection, London The letter runs as follows

"I have been sent a copy of Dr B Patel's letter to you on the subject of vaccination against tuberculosis, and should like to comment on it.

"Dr Patel makes two points The first is that 'there is no second opinion now' as to the efficacy of the B C G Vaccination. Authoritative opinion is, in fact, still divided. Dr Nils Wangensteen, the Norwegian expert, expressed very strong opinions against this vaccine, and these were reported in the *Medical Officer* (the official journal of Medical Officers of Health in Britain) of August 30, 1952. Dr Wangensteen's views may be summarized as follows

1. Some people are naturally resistant, and others naturally susceptible, to tuberculosis.

2. B C.G Vaccination does not increase resistance to the disease This most it can do is to reveal an already existing natural resistance

3 The vaccination is dangerous and weakening to the human organism.

"Dr Wangensteen actually described the vaccine as a poison Commenting on his views in an editorial article the *Medical Officer* said, with reference to the 17,000 000 persons who had been given B C G vaccination under the auspices of the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund

'This stupendous undertaking is all the more remarkable when it is realized that there is no actual proof — no evidence which according to many authorities is strictly scientific — that immunity can be acquired in this way

"Dr Patel's other point is that no suffering to animals is involved in the production of the B C G vaccine Thus is quite true The suffering occurs, not in the making, but in the testing of the vaccine Every batch is tested on animals, usually guinea-pigs. There are tests for toxicity and tests for standardization In addition to these routine tests, there have over the years been countless thousands of experiments on many species of animals respecting B C G All these were fallacious and useless, because no animal reacts in the same way as man to tubercular infection.

"It is not for me to advise parents on the question of having their children vaccinated against tuberculosis All I ask is that both points of view be presented to them. The real answer to that scourge is improved standards of living, not the addition of another burden to an ill-nourished body."

Regarding Dr Patel's contention that there [illegible] second opinion now regarding B C G., I will also draw the attention of the reader to two notes that appeared in the issues of *Harijan* of 22-11-'52 by V G D and of 29-11 '52 from S R Mistri It will show that doctors are divided on the efficacy of B C G and therefore it is proper that parents must have the choice in this matter.

However, the more important question in this matter is what Shri V G D in his 'Witch Doctoring' (November 22 1952) says at the end of his note "Can underfed, underclothed, underhoused India afford to rush in where Britain fears to tread?" This is of prime national importance The same thing has been drawn attention to by the Secretary, British Union for the Abolition of Vivisection, at the end of the letter reproduced above, where he says that 'the real answer to that scourge (tuberculosis) is improved standards of living, not the addition of another burden to an ill-nourished body' Therefore, the question which the Health Ministries in India should give their mind to first is how the *health* of the nation positively improves by securing to the people better standards of food, clothing, housing sanitation and hygiene and not by drugging them at national cost in various ways of doubtful efficacy

9-2-'53

VACCINATION AND CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTION

To

The Editor, Harijan

It was recently reported in our Bombay newspapers that Mr A Bevan, former British Health Minister, will start from London on February 8 1953 to come to India on the invitation of the Government of India to advise Indian leaders and Health Ministers of all Indian Provinces regarding India's health problems I, therefore, through your valued columns of the *Harijan* respectfully and humbly request Mr Bevan to advise authorities in India to abolish compulsory vaccination in India just as Mr Bevan himself completely abolished compulsory vaccination in England in 1946 Forty six years ago in 1907 Mr John Burns who happily for the English people, was not a doctor, as Minister for public health in the British Government inserted a 'conscience' clause in the English Vaccination Act enabling British parents who regarded vaccination to be useless and dangerous to refuse to have their children vaccinated, that is, diseased with filthy pus from a disease of tortured calves There are now in England millions of British children who have never been vaccinated at all. There is no smallpox in England for the last fifty years Smallpox has been abolished in England by cleanliness and sanitation alone. And this abolition of compulsory vaccination in England has greatly benefitted the health of British children [illegible] R Wallace O M, LL D [illegible] our greatest modern man of science says that

> "The abolition of all laws enforcing or encouraging vaccination is of more immediate and vital importance than any party dogma or any political programme The successive Vaccination Acts were passed by means of allegations which were wholly untrue and promises which have all been unfulfilled The practice of vaccination is utterly opposed to the whole teaching of sanitary science and is one of those terrible blunders which in their far-reaching evil consequences, are worse than the greatest crimes ."

I, therefore through *Harijan* appeal to Mr Bevan to ask Indian leaders and Health Ministers to abolish compulsory vaccination in India just as compulsory vaccination has been abolished in England

54, Wodehouse Road, SORABJI R MISTRI
Colaba Bombay-5

[Government should respect conscientious objection against vaccination by suitably amending the Act That some might misuse it can or should be no ground against it This is more so if science as it seems clear is divided on the question. — Ed I

Abolition of Profit Economy

Even if there were no profits, the prices of raw materials as well as technical staff and office requirement will be added to the cost of goods which enhances the prices beyond the reach of labour, reducing purchasing Profit will have to be taken in group, individual and State investment economy *Every exchange will lead to profit taking* It is not motive but necessity which will lead to profit taking owing to separate and money accounting Otherwise there will be deficit and loss upon which production cannot be carried on even by a State, even if all things belong to the State The State expenses and administration will have to be charged upon the goods which provide the authorities and administrators with their living making them a separate parasitic class who are kept by all others at their own expenses, e g out of their earnings, which means by consuming less for the goods are charged more than labour gets

One cannot abolish profit economy by any exchange economic technique The only way it can be done is by putting all goods to common account and using it for the good of all who produce or serve without any charge (money or exchange) Production for social purposes alone *directly*

M P T ACHARYA

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THE CASE FOR VILLAGE INDUSTRIES

[This is the second instalment of 'Full Employment Plan of a Village' The first appeared in the issue of 14-2-53 —Ed.]

The Old Organization

This leads us to the examination of the case for village industries What are the factors responsible for the apathy even of the village masses towards the programme of village industries? The main reason is the breakdown of the village community organizations which functioned like self-sufficient units These organizations were based on mutual exchange of goods and services and made for internal circulation of purchasing power In a sense therefore, the interests of the producers and the consumers were identical and fixation of prices at a higher or a lower level did not matter much because of this mutuality or identity of interests Thus if a potter sells his pots to the Chamar at a higher price and buys shoes from him also at a higher price, neither of them stands to gain or lose That was the relationship between different sets of people within the group and so long as this relationship continued the price of village industries products was not much of a problem The problem has been created since this relationship was disturbed by centralized methods of production and distribution Centralized factories have taken away the shoe-making industry of the village shoe-maker it does not profit him to buy costly pots from the potter from whom he expects no return by way of purchase of shoes from him Centralized factories have thus one by one destroyed the mutual links existing between different sections of the village and have thrived at the cost of them all By taking away the processing industries from the villages factories have reduced their purchasing power to such a low level that even their so-called cheap articles hardly find sufficient market in the rural areas That is why centralized production often provides the spectacle of poverty in the midst of plenty

The New Organization

It follows therefore that village industries can prosper only on the basis of mutual exchange within a group The establishment of this mutual exchange thus becomes the central problem Because of the disturbing factor in the form of centralized production, this problem may not be easy of solution but being basically sound, it should not present insuperable difficulties The village organization can be remodelled to suit the changed conditions of the time. It can hardly function now in the form of a loose organization allowing individuals to work on the basis of *laissez faire* To be able to survive the onslaughts of centralized production and distribution It has to function as one compact unit But how is the unit to enjoy the loyalty of its members? This is the real crux of the whole problem upon the solution of which depends the future of village industries and indeed of village prosperity

To the extent to which processing industries add to the net earnings of a village by retaining the processing cost locally, the village organization as a whole stands to gain The organization will be able to command loyalty of its members to the degree to which it is able to reconcile individual interests with group interests in one form or the other A formula may have to be evolved by which certain services to be rendered by the organization can be availed of by individuals on fulfilment of certain obligations to it It may be envisaged that the village organization will have to create social services from the point of view of increasing amenities in the village and of bringing about divisions of functions so as to relieve certain sections of the community, particularly women of their present drudgery Such services may be conceived as maintaining flour grinding bullock *chakkis* or power *chakkis*, carding machines bullock carts for home delivery of water or for removal of cow-dung and other refuse from individual houses to common manure pits and so on Coupons for getting services in these respects at nominal cost can be issued to those who confine their purchases and sales to the village-co-operative store which acts as a clearing house both for the raw materials as well as the finished goods of the village Through the Labour Bank to which reference is made later, the village organization can also arrange for exchange of goods and services on barter Two classes of people in the village are however likely to prove indifferent to the organization namely the merchant and the other well to-do persons The merchant may be interested in becoming a commission agent of the centralized factories both for raw materials and finished goods Irrespective of the interests of the village as a whole It may become necessary in such cases to socialize the commerce of the village and entrust it to the village co-operative society The well-to-do few of the village who may be fattening themselves at the expense of the poorer sections of the community may have to be cornered through regulating the supply of labour to them through the mechanism of the Labour Bank If confronted with a situation in which they can hire labour on certain conditions, they may find it of advantage to adopt the procedure evolved by the village organization If the village community adopts the objective of full employment and full standard of life for its members the recalcitrants can be made to see that they cannot prosper by following anti-social policies

(Continued)

By J C Kumarappa

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HARIJAN

Feb. 21 1953

A NEW FERMENT — A NEW HOPE

(By Pyarelal)

Manilal Gandhi has had his reward He is a seasoned Satyagrahi Jail going had no terror for him Ever since Gandhiji's demise he had been strenuously preparing for the test which he felt was in store for him But it was with no light heart that he took the plunge

Mr Tom Wardle, who till recently was working with him as a member of the staff of *Indian Opinion* has in a recent issue of the *Peace News* given a vivid account of the inner struggle and what finally led Manilal to burn his boats

The African National Congress and the Indian National Congress in South Africa have for considerable time been dominated by the Communists Their whole conception of the Defiance Campaign originally was to foster hatred against the Whites and to use passive resistance as a cloak for preparation for violence When anti White solidarity was sufficiently established and the resentment against the Whites had accumulated sufficiently " the Communist back-room boys " would organize a general stoppage of work It was presumed that once non-Europeans could be got to down tools for a week the entire South African economy would be paralysed

The danger was obvious Without weekly pay many Blacks would starve and terrible reprisals would follow if there was an outbreak of violence on the part of the passive resisters Manilal insisted that it was not enough merely to exhibit non-violence, it had to be truly felt. "It is not enough to have no hatred in your hands, we must have no hatred in our heart also," he would say At this stage the first agreeable surprise came from Port Elizabeth

> " There Christian African ministers were directing the campaign. It was the practice of groups there to kneel and pray in the streets before going to their act of defiance and then to depart singing hymns
>
> "The very anthem 'N' Kosi Sikelele Afrika' which the resisters sang was a spiritual song — Come Great Spirit over our land — God bless Africa'
>
> "From out of their own history and traditions and experience of life it seems they drew the courage and the inspiration for their task. And it seemed also that the Christians among them were giving life to an understanding of the Christian message which put their White brethren to shame

The Communists had intended non-violence to be used only as an expedient in the early stage of the Defiance Campaign till the people had developed the capacity for violence. The mask of non-violence would then be dropped. But now people were beginning to *believe* in non-violence.

Manilal Gandhi writes Mr Wardle, was astonished at the way the campaign was going " It exceeded all his expectations — the discipline, the tenderness of the African resisters was beyond praise In a short while, he said, he would throw in himself too But there was still the nagging question — are there no White man to prove our point? We say 'Do not hate the White men because they are our brothers, do not harm them because they are not aware of their wrong-doing, by our example we shall win them to our cause But it rings a bit hollow if there is not *one* White man to come out with us'"

The lacuna was filled up when Whites began to come into the struggle The entry of the Europeans into the campaign is an event of great significance in the South African Defiance Campaign It has considerably minimized the danger of its losing its non-violent character or developing into an anti-White crusade based on hatred It has transfigured its whole character. In the last letter that I had from Manilalbhai, he mentioned how they were trying to organize centres to give training in constructive non-violence by going among the natives to stabilize the movement and deepen its foundations

This new spiritual awakening among the Blacks is a portent that needs to be carefully watched If the leaven spreads it will be a big landmark in the history of the African races and light may shine forth into the darkness of the world from a continent miscalled 'Dark'

Valmiki Mandir
New Delhi 9-2-'53

LABOUR IS CAPITAL

(By Gandhiji)

Gandhiji said he had paid a hurried visit to the labour huts which seemed to him too small, too ill-lighted and too low-roofed to be fit for human habitation If the workers only knew what they could do for themselves by training and intelligent combination they would realize that they were no less proprietors of the mines than the managers and shareholders Their labour was better gold than the metal they extracted with their labour from the bowels of the earth He reminded the mine-owners that unless they voluntarily recognized the due status of labour and treated it as they treated themselves time was not far distant when labour would dictate its own terms He told the workers that whilst it was right and proper to assert their rights they ought to do their tasks as if the mines were their personal property He also asked them to shun drink, gambling and other vices

Harijan 13-6-36

Let us see the difference between the mill-owners and the labourers Their strength is their money, your strength is your capacity to work. Capital would be helpless without labour All mills would be at a standstill if you were not

there to work them. It may be that they may coerce you into working for them, but there is no doubt that they are helpless without labour. Labour thus possesses the key.

Harijan, 7-11-'36

If conflict between capital and labour is to be avoided, as I believe it can and must be, labour should have the same status and dignity as capital. Why should a million rupees put together be more than a million men or woman put together? Are they not infinitely more than metal, white or yellow?

Harijan 13-2-'37

What he had been saying for years was that labour was far superior to capital. Without labour gold, silver and copper were a useless burden. He could quite conceive labour existing without metal. Labour was priceless, not gold. He wanted marriage between capital and labour. They could work wonders in co-operation. But that could happen only when labour was intelligent enough to co-operate with itself and then offer co-operation with capital on terms of honourable equality. Capital controlled labour because it knew the art of combination. Drops in separation could only fade away, drops in co-operation made the ocean which carried on its broad bosom ocean greyhounds. Similarly if all the labourers in any part of the world combined together, they could not be tempted by higher wages or helplessly allow themselves to be attracted for say, a pittance. A true and non-violent combination of labour would act like a magnet attracting to it all the needed capital. Capitalists would then exist only as trustees. When that happy day dawned, there would be no difference between capital and labour. Then labour will have ample food, good and sanitary dwellings, all the necessary education for their children, ample leisure for self-education and proper medical assistance.

Harijan 7-9-'47

Pandit Nehru Teaches a Salutary Lesson

The newspapers report that at a certain Congress Camp in Hyderabad Pandit Nehru was offered a cake of foreign soap to wash his hands with, but refused to use it and asked, 'Is there not plenty of Swadeshi soap available?'

This incident has a lesson to teach the Commerce Ministry as well as the people. Plenty of Swadeshi soap being available in the country. It is a criminal waste of precious foreign exchange to permit the import of soap from foreign countries. The principle also applies to French georgettes and other foreign textiles, the import of which is responsible for distress among our spinners and weavers. The people should refuse to buy or use foreign goods and thus follow the noble example set by our beloved leader.

V G D

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NATIONAL PLANNING AND KHADI AND VILLAGE INDUSTRIES

The Prime Minister inaugurated the All-India Khadi and Village Industries Board, at Delhi on 2-2-'53. The Board, the first to be appointed by the Government of India, has been charged with the task of preparing and organizing programmes for the production and development of Khadi and village industries.

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari, Minister for Commerce and Industry welcoming members of the Board first read the following message that had been received from the President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad:

The President's Message

"Hand-spinning and handloom industry were for centuries the miraculous fountain from which flowed the river of gold and silver into our land and enriched the life of our teeming millions in the countryside. It was an evil day for our vast millions when this industry as also other subsidiary village industries were ruined under the political pressure of foreigners. Since that day the progressive impoverishment of our people began and darkness and despair descended into their lives. Mahatma Gandhi the Father of the Nation, had clearly perceived this historic truth and so had made the spinning wheel the main instrument of the revivification of the Indian spirit and the awakening of our people. By doing so he restored the broken link of our history and infused our people with new courage and confidence in their future. Indeed our freedom struggle revolved round it, and we were able to win in the end because the home-spun thread of Khadi had joined the hearts of our village and city people to produce irresistible mass energy. Besides Khadi was a symbol of true democracy in the eyes of Mahatmaji for he was convinced that democracy could exist in human life only when economic and political power were both decentralized.

"I am, therefore, glad to learn that an All-India Khadi and Village Industries Board has been constituted to continue this great work of mass regeneration through the spinning wheel and other village industries. May I send the Board my good wishes for its success in this noble mission."

Commerce Minister's Remarks

Then the Commerce Minister said, "You probably know that during the last five years the Government of India were so preoccupied with the number of difficulties that we have had that we did not have the time to settle down to do what we were charged to do as a Government. The first step has been the report of the Planning Commission in which Khadi, village industries, cottage industries and handicrafts have been given an appropriate place and I am sure that most of you will agree with me that the guidance that they have given and the directions that they

have indicated will be useful to us for building up our economy" He further remarked "This work though it has got a sentimental background to us — for many of you are Congressmen who had worked with the Father of the Nation — to us as a nation, it has a social significance Poverty and unemployment in this country are so rife that we cannot afford to ignore any possible lines on which we can even lighten the burden of those people who suffer, to some extent While we have our original background of self-sufficiency all the time we consider that the work in regard to Khadi and village industries is a means of social regeneration, and therefore you will not be confined merely to the villages but also to urban areas where we have to create a self-respecting individual who has now by adverse circumstances been put lower down in the scale of economic wellbeing, so that he can become a little more self-reliant and probably to some extent self-supporting Speaking personally — I am not voicing any conventional idea or wish — I think Khadi and work in regard to Khadi will have to be there for a long time to come in this country both in the villages and in the urban areas"

Prime Minister's Address

Prime Minister, Shri Nehru, who spoke in Hindi said that such a Board should have been set up four years ago Although the delay had caused him surprise he was glad that a beginning had been made at least now

Gandhiji said Shri Nehru, had laid particular emphasis on charkha, Khadi and village industries Charkha was made by him as an economic and revolutionary symbol for the people It became a weapon in the hands of the struggling Indians to secure economic uplift and stage a political revolution The nation profited by it enormously politically While the political aspect of charkha and Khadi had been fully realized, its economic significance had now been ignored or it had disappeared With the gaining of freedom, Shri Nehru said the political aspect had disappeared and with one of its two pillars thus knocked off, it had to stand only on the bulwark of economic benefits to the people Every effort must therefore be made to strengthen this economic significance of Khadi and village industries

Economic Utility of Khadi

In the final analysis said Shri Nehru, those who were now concerned with the work had to prove — they should work sincerely to prove it — that the economic utility of Khadi and village industries still remained an important factor in the country's wellbeing The Government would of course render necessary assistance, but the need for encouraging and developing its own inherent strength was there All these matters, Shri Nehru said were of course interconnected with the larger issue of the economic policy of the country

Welfare State

In my own mind, said Shri Nehru, an idea is growing daily that the yard stick by which one can measure the economic progress of a country is the extent of employment We have been talking of having a Welfare State A Welfare State is one where every citizen is a partner, sharing its benefits and responsibilities equally The citizen must realize that he is actually a partner in the State People must have full employment. How could there be a Welfare State if people could not get employment? For the unemployed, the Welfare State had no meaning

The biggest problem before the country is, therefore unemployment of youngmen This question has got to be solved It is a social disease and it has to be checked and removed Some people think that this problem would be solved if the country maintains the present rate of progress but I feel we have to place a greater emphasis on the question of solving the unemployment problem Khadi and village industries have a great role to play in this sphere of solving unemployment

Large v Small Industries

I do not foresee any conflict between big industries and village industries If a country wants to maintain its independence it has to develop industries on a large scale The need for big industries is there and those industries *must* be State-owned and State-controlled This need must be co-ordinated with the development of small industries. I think, for a country like India, there is a considerable scope for the expansion of big industries These industries cannot however solve the problem of employment There still remains a big field for the setting up of small-scale industries The small-scale and village industries will help in solving the unemployment problem.

The issue, therefore, is not merely the advancement of the cause of Khadi and village industries In it is involved the advancement of the cause of the nation and the wellbeing of the people This should, therefore be dovetailed into the general planning for the people as a whole

The Chairman's Remarks

Shri V L Mehta, Chairman of the Board in the course of his speech said

"It is hardly necessary for me to trace back the Prime Minister's interest in Khadi as our principal village industry, because quite a number of my colleagues and others present today were associated with him in active work when he used to be connected with the Charkha Sangh in the old United Provinces In the course of his Presidential Address at the 49th Session of the Indian National Congress held at Lucknow in April 1936 he observed 'I believe that Khadi and village industries have a definite place in our present economy They have a social a political and an economic value which is difficult to measure, but which is apparent enough to those who

have studied their effects Addressing the 50th Session of the Congress held at Faizpur at the close of the same year, Shri Jawaharlalji laid special emphasis on the immense value of cottage industries in providing 'work to our scores of millions of unemployed and raising the pitiful standards of our people' Much has happened in India and in the world since then, but the Prime Minister's presence here indicates that Khadi and other village industries still represent to him economic activities which deserve definitely to be aided and even sponsored by the State

"The constructive programme of Gandhiji, to which, I think, I may appropriately draw attention today unfolded itself over a period of nearly a quarter of a century and was ever a dynamic one Political considerations were, as I read it, of the least importance in affecting the transformations that the programme underwent, the paramount factors being economic, sociological and ethical 'Divorce between intelligence and labour' Gandhiji once observed, 'has resulted in criminal negligence of the villages. If we harness labour and intellect together', he added, 'we can find all the necessaries of life in India' Decentralization of production would, he further avarred place us in possession of a power which has not only to provide gainful employment to many but also to take advantage of the services of those who were willing to offer their voluntary labour for the benefit of the community in general.

"The Rural and Cottage Industries Sub-Committee of the National Planning Committee, constituted over a decade and a half back under Shri Jawaharlalji's chairmanhip, had adopted an approach which was not very different from that implicit in Gandhiji's views as cited above Reporting in 1940 the Sub-Committee desired that 'industries connected with the satisfaction of the primary needs of the rural population, e g manufacture of clothing, processing of food articles for the pursuit of which the people are equipped by long tradition, which engage large numbers at present and which are capable of affording employment to much larger numbers should be organized and developed by the State as cottage or rural industries' This view was, later, echoed in the Report of the Economic Programme Sub-Committee appointed by the All-India Congress Committee which was subsequently adopted by the Congress itself at its Jaipur Session.

"It is interesting to recall here that the approach of those who drew up the industrialist's plan, known as the Tata Birla Plan, was somewhat different but the conclusion was the same The process of making India self-sufficient in the matter of certain basic industries involved an outlay of capital which would impose a great strain on our economy It would moreover make large calls on our technically qualified personnel the strength of which [illegible] strictly limited The result would be that neither adequate capital nor a sufficient supply of skilled workers would be available for the expansion of the industries manufacturing different types of consumers' goods in common use Besides it would be highly uneconomic to import machinery from foreign countries to facilitate the extension of these industries. That plan, therefore, favoured the encouragement of the production through cottage industries of as large a quantity as possible of consumers' goods

"All these points of view are reflected, so far as I can see, in the policy enunciated in the First Five Year Plan The main objective that governs the Commission's attitude on this subject is, I believe, the discharging of the State's obligation to provide employment to the growing number of the unemployed and under-employed in villages It is, however, pointed out that village industries will have the best chance of developing on the basis of local demand But, as the Commission notes, a programme of village employment has to be part of a larger employment programme A common production programme for every industry is what is aimed at which necessarily involves the idea of the exercise by Government of control over the organized side of an industry. What forms such control can assume is set forth in general terms by the Commission, but I presume it will be part of the duty of a body like this Board to place before Government from time to time suggestions about the restrictions that may have to be imposed It is not the interest of a section, those engaged in a particular village industry, that should weigh in the determination of policy in this respect, but the broader interest of the national economy as a whole We the members of this Board, propose to approach our task in this broad spirit, but distinctly inspired by a belief in Khadi industries and village industries being accepted necessarily as an integral and essential part of any national planning

"I shall now take the liberty of referring to a few details. In their orders relating to the setting up of this Board it has been laid down that the Board will work in collaboration with the All-India Spinners' Association and will establish contacts with State Governments It will be the duty of the Board, as early as possible, to place itself in communication with State Governments and unofficial bodies operating in their areas It is with their support and, wherever possible, through their agency that the plans that are approved for the development of Khadi and other village industries can be worked out. It would be a travesty of the conception of a decentralized economy if the Board were to attempt to run the production units itself It may, however, have to shoulder direct responsibility in the field of research and, to a certain extent, for the extension of facilities for training in the industries sought to be developed."

"REBUILDING OUR VILLAGES"*

(By Bharatan Kumarappa)

With the launching in various parts of the country of projects for village development and community welfare, it has seemed well to gather together in a concise form Gandhiji's ideas in regard to village reconstruction

As is well known, Gandhiji regarded himself as a villager, settled in a village, founded several institutions to serve the needs of the village, and tried to do all he could to improve the physical, economic, social and moral condition of the village folk He had a very clear picture of what required to be done in the villages and what should not be done In spite of his Western education he was able to bridge the gulf that generally separates the educated in our country from the people of the villages and had the genius to identify himself with villagers and see their problems with their eyes

Besides in accordance with our spiritual traditions he placed very high value on character and spiritual development Today under the stress of other influences we incline to attach value almost entirely to the production of material wealth Gandhiji saw that if the world was heading towards self-destruction it was precisely because of pursuit of material ends divorced from moral and spiritual considerations

Consequently, while his plans for village reconstruction are motivated by a passionate desire to ameliorate hunger and want in the villages they are also prompted by an equally earnest zeal for realizing spiritual ends such as non-violence, peace, social justice and freedom in the sense of self-dependence and self-reliance even for the lowliest and the lost The world is talking of these ideals, but appears to be moving further and further away from them, and drifting towards their opposites, viz violence, war, social injustice, exploitation and suppression of the weak, regimentation, denial of freedom for a large section of the population, and all-powerful State, and totalitarianism. Gandhiji saw with unerring clarity that if we are to achieve the ideals we profess, we must set about to lay the foundations for them in the everyday life of the people The great merit of Gandhiji's views in regard to village reconstruction, therefore, lies just in the fact that while planning for our villages he was not concerned merely with raising their economic standard of living but also with laying the basis for peace, justice and freedom for all. We shall completely fail to understand him or see the significance of his suggestions if we do not keep this fact in mind Much of the criticism levelled against his advocacy of Khadi, for instance, would be avoided if the critic did not use merely his own yard-stick of mere material gain but measured it against Gandhiji's yard-stick of both material and spiritual value

This booklet should be regarded as giving in barest outline what Gandhiji wanted done in the villages Some items of great importance such as Education, Social Reform, Women's Welfare, Diet and Animal Husbandry are either given very briefly or not included here at all. The reason is that separate volumes have been published by the Navajivan Trust, giving in detail Gandhiji's views on most of these topics All that is attempted in this book is to touch on the main items falling under village reconstruction, leaving the interested reader to look up those other volumes for details On the other hand, items such as village sanitation and advice to village workers are given in greater detail here because they are not dealt with elsewhere

"Vanyajati"

There was a time when our ex-rulers had built high hopes of having a strong rear guard of their loyalist army of soldiers and citizens to be recruited from amongst the primitive tribes of our country, whom we could not befriend in those days Under the social and political conditions obtaining under their rule, the Britishers saw in these tribes a good handle for their imperial policy of 'Divide and Rule' Like many other such hopes based on their hold over us, this one vanished with the basis of their rule being knocked out from below, and thus the alien barrier keeping us apart being gone, we are now on our way to befriend these our brothers and sisters living far away from modernity and civilization in their jungle or mountain homes and villages Provided the innate spring of natural sympathy born of common nationhood and brotherliness is not allowed to run dry, we shall surely see that those tribes are helped to live better and more happily in their own God given way and as fellow-Indians It is hoped the *Vanyajati* an illustrated quarterly magazine in English and Hindi published by Shri D Rangaiya for the Bharatiya Adimjati Sevak Sangh, Kingsway, Delhi, (of which the first number is out in the new year — price 0-12-0) will help this work of creating mutual understanding and fellowship between all of us, whether living on the plains or in woods or mountains, and show our young men and women the way to serve our brethren in these tribes

3-2-'53 M P.

* 'Editor's Note' to the book by M K. Gandhi, Published by Navajivan Publishing House Ahmedabad 9 Price Re 1-8-0 Postage etc. As 4

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HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)
Editor MAGANBHAI P DESAI

VOL XVI No 53 AHMEDABAD — SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 28, 1953 TWO ANNAS

INDUSTRIALIZATION IS NOT NECESSARY

(By Gandhiji)

I do not believe that industrialization is necessary in any case for any country It is much less so for India Indeed, I believe that Independent India can only discharge her duty towards a groaning world by adopting a simple but ennobled life by developing her thousands of cottages and living at peace with the world High thinking is inconsistent with complicated material life based on high speed imposed on us by Mammon worship All the graces of life are possible only when we learn the art of living nobly

Whether such plain living is possible for an isolated nation however large geographically and numerically, in the face of a world armed to the teeth and in the midst of pomp and circumstance is a question open to the doubt of a sceptic The answer is straight and simple If plain life is worth living, then the attempt is worth making even though only an individual or a group makes the effort

At the same time I believe that some key industries are necessary I do not believe in armchair or armed socialism I believe in action according to my belief, without waiting for wholesale conversion Hence, without having to enumerate key industries, I would have State ownership where a large number of people have to work together The ownership of the products of their labour, whether skilled or unskilled will vest in them through the State. But as I can conceive such a State only based on non-violence, I would not dispossess moneyed men by force but would invite their co-operation in the process of conversion to State ownership There are no *purihas* of society, whether they are millionaires or paupers The two are sores of the same disease And all are men "for a' thet"

On the train to Delhi, 25-8-'46

Harijan 1-9-46

TOWARDS NON-VIOLENT SOCIALISM

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GANDHIAN TECHNIQUE AND THE WORLD CRISIS *

(By Pyarelal)

In the course of the discussions that have been going on, the question has again and again been asked, how did Gandhiji manage to convey the message of non-violence to such a large number of people and make them practise non violence on such a vast scale ?

The starting point of Gandhiji's technique was that non violence is the strength of the weak Therefore it turns upon insignificant, little things in life, its instruments are also insignificant looking In India there were 400 millions We had the numbers on our side, but numbers can also be a source of weakness. How to convert the numbers into a source of strength — not brute strength but the power of non-violence — that was his problem. His instruments were poor, illiterate, ignorant men, women and even children The question before him was to devise a form of action which these unsophisticated folk could practise, which would evoke the power latent in them and harness it for the freedom struggle All his programme of mass action therefore had that elemental simplicity in them His education for non-violence too consisted of very small things in basic spiritual disciplines as he called them

He created heroes out of clay He could do it because he ceaselessly strove to live the whole truth as he saw it It is not enough to profess truth, it is not enough to proclaim truth, what is necessary is that it must be proclaimed by the deed His method of propaganda was propaganda by the deed He stood sentinel upon himself all the 24 hours He examined each and every one of his actions in the light of the principles of Truth and Ahimsa, whether they satisfied all the implications and corollaries that flowed from the acceptance of these principles It was his theory that when an idea is personified in action in all its purity, its power spreads far and wide. It

* Being the text of the oral statement made by Shri Pyarelal in presenting his paper to the Seminar on the "Contribution of Gandhian Outlook and Technique to the Solution of Tensions between and within Nations" on the 12th January 1953 at New Delhi.

does not then need any material medium for its propagation What however, happens ordinarily is that what we say or what we think is belied by what we do and thus untruth in action chokes the power inherent in unadulterated truth It is not possible for a human being to remove the hiatus completely between thought, word and deed It is not possible for a human being in the flesh to attain the complete ideal of non-violence. But it is possible by constant endeavour and striving to progressively attenuate it Once the critical limit is crossed and the barrier pierced that confines the power of non-violence, an energy will be released which knows no limit and which can fill the entire universe. It was Gandhiji's constant endeavour, by dint of sleepless discipline to attain to that state of unadulterated truth To the extent that he succeeded in this the power of his deed grew and produced the phenomenal results at which the world still marvels.

To make the masses see and feel that he was one of them and belonged to them, he took to the spinning wheel He nursed it with all the passion of the soul that he was capable of No matter how tired he was how heavy the load of work he was labouring under, he never failed to perform the sacrament of his daily spinning

Food and clothing are the basic requirements of man Gandhiji was a materialist enough to believe that our thinking is conditioned by what we do with our hands, particularly the activities related to the satisfaction of our primary needs more than what we are taught or told Spinning wheel was intimately related to a basic requirement of four hundred millions It provided Gandhiji with an instrument of mass education The goal of all education has been defined to be to make right thinking and right action instinctive to us Has not Ruskin said somewhere that the end of all education is to make the love of truth and abhorrence of cruelty natural to man? Spinning wheel was at one time the symbol of India's backwardness, exploitation and slavery Gandhiji made it the symbol of non violence and a means for the cultivation of the discipline and organization of non-violence It enabled him to carry his message even to the humblest cottage, and to establish a living bond of co-operation between them and the workers which made non-violent, corporate action on a nation-wide scale possible

The universality of the spinning wheel, in his eyes, was its greatest asset. Gandhiji's technique of non-violent action rested on his discovery that small, insignificant looking things when performed by millions of people together as part of a consciously directed effort, produce results far greater than any individual can achieve or than the sum total of their individual efforts put together. All of Gandhiji's activities had this thing in common — they were capable of being multiplied to the n th degree

We were discussing yesterday the question what we are to do with nations that do not co operate with the United Nations Organization how we can reach them. It is no use blaming it all on the sinister influence of communism or wirepulling from the Kremlin. I am no admirer of communism or its tactics But let us try to get down to the grass roots What is it that makes people so susceptible to communist propaganda? What it is that makes communism dynamic? It is the oppression and exploitation of the weak and the less advanced people by the strong the backing which reaction has received at the hands of the big powers We were talking of the intransigence of China the other day What is the record of the big powers in China? Opium War, Boxer Rebellion, Extra-Territoriality They have supported corrupt, reactionary regimes in China, Viet Nam Africa and Europe That is what has made people like the Chinese so distrustful of the Western Powers. But for it, China might have been saved to democracy. What should be our attitude towards China today in terms of the Gandhian outlook? The plain answer is to admit her into the United Nations Organization unconditionally and without delay — and this not as strategy or tactics but as a genuine act of belated justice If Gandhiji had an opponent in the Congress he preferred to have him inside the Working Committee than outside He used to say 'I shall be able to act upon him better, if he is inside Outside he will be beyond the direct operation of my non-violence" And let me tell you that his action was justified by results.

A tidal wave of consciousness is sweeping over all the suppressed and oppressed races of the world and it is our great privilege to have Dr Bunche in our midst who can very well speak for these people Has the Gandhian technique any application here? If we can make it possible for these people to resist their exploitation by non violent means, we shall have half won the battle of non-violence all over the world.

I remember, a deputation of Africans from South Africa once came to Gandhiji and asked him "Tell us what we are to do? Is there any hope for us?" His reply was "If there is one thing that can save you, it is the spinning wheel and all that it stands for" He offered to train a dozen of their young men in the various constructive activities and to send them back in their turn to educate and organize their people in the same way It is a suggestion worthy of your serious consideration. You will perhaps smile at the naivete of the suggestion Let me assure you it is no laughing matter

The African native is a freedom-loving creature He hates to slave for anybody But to

induce him to sell his labour he is made to depend on the White settlers for the satisfaction of his essential needs When these are non-existent they are created artificially For instance, there is a by-law that a Zulu or a Bantu must wear a piece of regulation cloth in order to visit a Municipal area, which of course, he must purchase Initiation into the liquor habit and the enforcement of excise regulations is another means of impounding their labour Why should they have to purchase the first by doing forced labour and why should they not be taugbt to abjure liquor altogether ? Nature has blessed them with all the resources to enable them to live a happy, contented, civilized life All that they need is education in the arts of life and civilization and the discipline and organization of non violence to put an end to their exploitation.

In a remarkable passage tha author of *The Martyrdom of Man* has shown the part which the shuttle and the handloom the plough and the call to praver have played In the spread of civilization into the heart of Africa The analogy between that historical process and the Gandhian technique is obvious. You cannot go on preaching sermons to the poor folk for long, they will feel bored Nor can you make the masses stand on moral tiptoe as it were, all the time But if you talk to them in terms of their daily wants and show them bow they can realize their freedom in respect of them through their own effort and by dint of co-operation amongst themselves you create a basis for discipline and organization that rests not upon force but its opposite It will give them a sense of power and cohesion and enable them to resist aggression and exploitation by the power of non violence Arm those people with this technique and you remove nnt only their exploitation and oppression but to a large extent also the challenge of communism which sets out to eradicate exploitation and oppression hut replaces it with something equally bod if not worse

Hindi-Hindustani Examinations

The result of the Hindi-Hindustani Examinations held in February, 1953 will be declared on April 12 1953 The next examinations will be held in September on the following dates

Hindi *Tisari* and Hindi *Vinit* on September 5, 6 and Hindi *Pahli* and Hindi *Dusari* on September 13, 1953

The application forms of all these Hindi Examinations will be filled in the different centres till June 30 1953

The Hindi *Sevak* Examination will be held on July 24 25 26, 1953 and the applications will be accepted by June 15, 1953

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A NATION BUILDER AT WORK
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IS ILLICIT DISTILLATION DUE TO PROHIBITION ?

(By Bharatan Kumarappa)

Anti Prohibition newspapers seem to gloat over the fact that there was a raid on a still here and a still there They appear to want to suggest that people are taking to illicit manufacture of liquor because of Prohibition and that therefore the way to put an end to such malpractices is to scrap Prohibition Quite an easy solution no doubt Make what is now illicit licit and then there will be nothing illicit to worry about ! Law will not be held in disrespect for there will be no Prohibition law any more to violate !

But the matter is not as simple as all that if we may judge from the experience of America In that country we are told that illicit distillation has actually increased since Repeal of Prohibition The liquor manufacturer there finds that he can make enormous profits if he evades the taxes which the man with the licence has to pay, so he manufactures illicitly

Here is evidence in this connection from Mr Squires Research Counsel for the National W C T U of America

> "Bootlegging has apparently reached a new peak of competition with licensed liquor dealers According to a brewery weekly bulletin there are more bootleggers, moonshiners and illicit whisky distilleries in the United States than in Prohibition days According to the *Washington Post*, August 1951, Federal, State and local authorities in 1950 seized 19 614 stills with a daily production of 677 178 gallons According to the I. R. S this compares with legal production in 1950 of 477 986 gallons daily" (*Union Signal* November 1 1952 page 7)

It seems incredible that more liquor was produced in the U S illicitly than licitly, and more incredible still that even the illicit liquor seized by the Police was more than what was legally produced, for it would mean that in addition to what was seized there was much more illicit liquor produced but not detected or seized

If this is the state of affairs in a non-Prohibition country like America, it is obvious that getting rid of Prohibition is no solution to the problem of illicit distillation. Indeed it would seem that the illicit manufacturer of liquor thrives even more where there is no Prohibition, for then he can make huge profits by tax-evasion Let us not, therefore, be deceived by the suggestion that if it were not for Prohibition there would be no illicit distillation

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HARIJAN

Feb. 28 1953

FULL EMPLOYMENT THROUGH VILLAGE INDUSTRIES

(By S N Agarwal)

In India, the main problem today is to provide fuller employment to the millions of unemployed and the under-employed. We have, therefore, to patronize 'labour-absorbing' rather than 'labour-saving' machines for the promotion of decentralized industries Insistence on mere 'mechanical efficiency' will not be very helpful under the existing circumstances, we have to plan for 'economic efficiency' in the larger sense of the term. We are confident that the Khadi and Village Industries Board would devote their energy to this aspect of the problem with an open mind Although it is difficult for village industries to compete with large-scale industries under the existing economic set-up, the difference between the costs of production of the two categories could be considerably reduced if the fruits of scientific research and inventions were more fully utilized by the promoters of village and cottage industries It is the duty of the Government Technical Institutes and Engineering Colleges to concentrate on research for the benefit of small-scale and cottage industries so that such decentralized manufacturing processes may enable the village artisans to become self-sufficient and strong without the need for any artificial props in the form of State subsidies The objective of Khadi and village industries ought to be maximum employment plus maximum production at the cheapest cost Efficiency at the cost of employment would be socially ruinous, whereas mere employment at the cost of efficiency will be economically disastrous We have to balance the advantages of both for the welfare and prosperity of the millions to whom God manifests Himself only in the form of bread or "a bowl of rice"

There is one more aspect of the problem which deserves our serious and rational consideration We often hear from the people that cottage and village industries cannot be patronized because they are costlier than mill-made goods This argument is not only fallacious but also mischievous No country in the world today which claims to be civilized and progressive can afford to allow the unemployed to be on the streets without any provision for food and shelter In the West, the registered unemployed are entitled to receive 'doles' for their maintenance Such allowances are deemed to be absolutely essential for maintaining social, economic and even political equilibrium. In West Germany I found that the employed persons had to pay about 25 per cent 'Unemployment Tax' for the maintenance of their less fortunate brethren This tax is paid by the persons concerned ungrudgingly as a necessary social obligation It is, therefore, not very desirable from the psychological point of view to be paid 'doles' without any regular work. Unemployment is not only an economic evil but also a moral and mental problem It is, therefore, better to provide for work even though with cruder instruments of production rather than to grant 'doles' for no work owing to a craze for mechanical advancement and so-called progress The use of less efficient technology will mean higher cost of production from the standpoint of a pure economist But if we consider the 'social costs' as well, village industries would be ultimately cheaper from an over-all point of view The higher price that is paid for cottage products should be regarded by the consumers as a sort of voluntary 'unemployment tax' which has the merit of elasticity in accordance with the ability of the consumer to pay Such a tax fulfils almost all the canons of taxation, i.e. certainty ability, convenience and equity. By paying a higher price for rural crafts we combine utility with charity. In our country, secret charity (*gupta-dan*) is regarded as a very noble We can, certainly practise this virtue by patronizing the village and small-scale industries, for while we gladly pay for providing employment to our fellow-citizens we have no chance of exhibiting our righteousness before the beneficiaries Viewed from this standpoint, the argument of higher prices in the case of cottage products betrays not only ignorance but also lack of civic sense

Lastly, let us also understand very clearly that a comprehensive programme of development for village industries in India, or for that matter in any country, cannot be carried through without considerably affecting the existing large-scale industries If we desire to revitalize the cottage and small scale industries without in any way touching the corresponding mill manufacturers, we shall be indulging in self deception and economic jugglery While we recognize that there is no inherent conflict between small-scale and large-scale industries, the full development of village industries at this stage of our economic progress would surely come in the way of indiscriminate expansion of Big Business Let there be no mincing of matters, the far reaching implications of the problem of providing full employment through decentralized production must be fared by us boldly and intelligently Large-scale industries in the form of Basic or Key enterprises are essential for every country, although they should be State-owned but large-scale industries producing consumer goods like cloth, oil, polished rice, sugar etc should be prepared to curtail their scope and expansion in the larger interests of the country. Let us hope

that the Khadi and Village Industries Board would study the whole problem scientifically and place before the Government a definite and practical scheme for the speedy but sound development of rural industries in India

BAPU'S DEATH-ANNIVERSARY*

Though my heart is overwhelmed, I will try to speak a few words. It is now five years since Bapu left the mortal body and departed from our midst Every one is fated to leave the body. It is a law which applies equally to the great and the small, to the *avatar* as well as the ordinary man But the great leave something behind them something which is of the essence of their life on earth and which endures Of the great in India, we hear of Rama, Krishna and Buddha and many other names We hear of such illustrious names outside India too names like Zarthustra, and Christ and Muhammad But they all flourished in ages past and we did not see them Some of their contemporaries saw them and made records of their doings and sayings as their sacred bequest to mankind This has come down to us and we cherish it

But in case of Bapu, we have had the opportunity to see him Some of us had the good luck even of associating with him in his work A number of people made changes in their lives by following his path And India obtained its freedom by following his lead. We now observe his anniversary and do something as a mark of respect to his memory We do so not for any good that it may do to him, for he by his own noble deeds has attained the highest state and we cannot hope to help him in any way by our remembrance. We remember him obviously for our own good

So today when we remember him we should ponder what good we have done to ourselves by our remembrance of him over these five years What have we achieved in our individual lives and the collective life and in the life of the nation which has chosen to call him the Father of the Nation ? Have we done anything to improve our life ? How far did we try to tread the path he showed us ? We must reflect over all this and do our utmost to advance further along this road

I was in the Ashram for 32 years before he passed away, and spent my time in meditation and contemplation and in rendering service to the villagers in the way he had pointed out After he passed away, people asked me and I also felt the need to go out among the people and to wander about and see the country First I travelled by rail and surveyed about half of our country I was under the impression that in thus moving about I would be able to do some service But the question haunted me What should be done to implement the fundamental programme of Bapu how are we to achieve the social revolution he envisaged, through Ahimsa ? And finally I came upon the *chintamani* which is now before you in the form of Bhoodan Yajna and Sampattidan Yajna I call it *chintamani* in the full sense of the term, for verily that which is capable of fulfilling all our needs is certainly entitled to be called *chintamani*. Bhoodan Yajna and Sampattidan Yajna together constitute a programme which, if it is carried forward to its full fruition will help all the rest of constructive activities thrive and prosper Failing that I fear they are bound to languish and wither away Therefore I have been devoting myself to this all important work for the last two years And I believe that I am doing just what Bapu would have done after independence I wish that all the workers irrespective of the party or the group they may belong to should forget their separatist labels and devote themselves to this work for a year or two If this is done I am sure we will have the real taste of the freedom we have won Because, though the freedom is come we have not had its taste and flavour Now this cannot be until the poor man is not raised He has reached the lowest rung of the ladder whence there can be no more going down Indeed the depth of poverty and misery he has fallen to is so abysmal that we are finding it difficult to reach down to him and drag him up But while they should be the first charge on our attention, I am sorry efforts are not being made to raise them My submission is that if we direct our efforts to raise them all the rest will rise automatically All the other efforts that are being made at present to raise the country benefit first the upper strata next they benefit the middle ones, and then only the last ones From what we have proposed ourselves to do, the benefit will first go to the last ones

The Charkha the Harijan uplift work, village industries, nature cure, his scheme of Nai Talim, all the various items of constructive activity which Bapu put forward were so devised as to touch these the lowest strata of our society and bring immediate benefit to them Today I find that this approach to the work of nation I reconstruction is being neglected Bhoodan work and Sampattidan work are in line with this fundamental approach Therefore I demand that all parties should sink their differences and join together in a common endeavour to make a success of this work

I also demand that besides the workers the big zamindars and land-holders should also accept this work now as their own Until now I had to go to them Now after two years I think I can ask them that they should voluntarily come forward to donate the land and themselves take up the responsibility for this work Not only should they give, they should also ask others to give I hope they will rise equal to the occasion and take up the task. I hope my voice will reach them and they will see that what I am asking them to do

* Vinoba's Speech on the 30th January

will bring m[illegible] to the poor It will give rise to S[illegible] Good of All

I am glad that [illegible] have already taken to this work They are only a few at present but the number will increase Bapu wanted the rich to convert themselves into trustees for the people This is now time when they should act on his advice and prove themselves worthy of the trust of the people by working for the poor While there are some as I said, who are doing so, I am sorry there are others who are still evicting the tenants from their lands I request them with folded hands Brothers, do not do so This will displease God, which can only lead to all-round misery We are a people wedded to faith in God and do not give ourselves to the quibblings of reason We believe in what our Rishis have taught us I have a feeling that the present-day famines and other calamities are all due to our sins Let us then give up the sin and pledge ourselves to living a nobler life on this day Let us give up the petty desire to aggrandize ourselves at the cost of others And along with this, I want that as long as the land problem remains unsolved, we should continue to devote all our time and energy to this task and should give up attraction for other activities Let us pledge ourselves completely to work out the solution of this problem and plunge into the work I have already taken the pledge and I continue to repeat it Today I again repeat it in your presence and in the presence of God and Bapu I want that my friends should do the same And then we will witness the rich fruitage which will blossom forth in our noble land out of such noble endeavour I have no manner of doubt that it will bring about before long an unrivalled revolution in our country

We have been doing this work only for the past two years For a year, I was almost alone Next year I had helpers and Sarva Seva Sangh also decided to take it up The Congress, the Praja Socialist Party and the Jan Sangh expressed their sympathy for it, though they have yet to translate this sympathy into action In spite of the limited nature of the effort we have been able to collect five lakh acres Calculating at the rate of two hundred rupees per acre, we have made over at least ten crore rupees worth of property to the poor And if we continue the effort these ten crores can be multiplied a hundredfold But calculation in terms of rupees does not give the true worth of what has been done Because money runs out sooner or later, while land lasts If so much has been achieved with so little of effort it is obvious that if all of us apply ourselves to this momentous task we can bring about the economic revolution we have been striving for, quite easily, peacefully and in an atmosphere of love and goodwill May God give us and our co-workers the inspiration and the devotion to do our duty

(Translated from Hindi)

LABOUR BANK

[If labour is capital it must be pooled well If full employment is our aim In this instalment of "Full Employment Plan of a Village" is discussed the technique of executing it through a Labour Bank for a village — Ed]

Assessment of Resources

The technique of execution lies in adopting an educative process by which village people come to understand an overall picture of their resources in man and material, and the way in which the manpower can be equated with the material resources so as to achieve the objective of full employment and full standard of life For this purpose, a survey will have to be carried out for the preparation of a production plan laying down physical targets The final achievement of these targets may be possible when the full co-operation of the Government is also available; but what is to be emphasized is to bring into bold relief the impediments either of the villagers' making or otherwise coming in the way of fulfilment of these targets

Labour Bank

The Labour Bank idea is very vital to the future development of the country Planning for the Labour Bank will be in the same category as planning done by our social leaders in regard to the artisan's relationship with the agriculturists in the villages By capitalizing manpower it opens up vast potentialities for increasing production It will build up a system of utilizing the surplus manpower for production purposes or public utilities The very idea of a bank suggests that utilization of manpower will be made in a businesslike manner Here people can deposit their labour in terms of so many hours or can also borrow in a similar way The bank will have to provide incentives to people to put in their spare labour through it in a suitable manner It must be capable of utilizing all such labour offered to it In fact the bank should make yearly budgets of the surplus manpower on the credit side and projects on the debit side

Thus the bank will establish two things

(i) It will enable the execution of plans for increasing wealth production mainly through the utilization of the surplus manpower without much depending on finances

(ii) It will evolve a method of utilization of manpower in a most advantageous way As noted above, manpower is to be equated with the material resources for which assessment of both is necessary Every able-bodied person in a village should work for 2 400 hours a year at the rate of 8 hours a day for 300 working days From an intensive survey of each family in the village, the total man hours available and utilized will have to be ascertained and development programmes formulated, indicating the extent to which surplus manpower will be absorbed in each item

Programme for a Labour Bank

Three categories of programmes will have to be conceived

(i) Public utility programmes which are non-productive such as roads, drinking water wells recreation grounds, public buildings etc

(ii) Public programmes which are productive such as irrigation tanks, cow-dung gas plant etc

(iii) Programmes of individual interests

If these development programmes are to be carried out on the strength of surplus manpower in the villages without much dependence on finances, payment of wages will have to be split up into two parts Part of the wage covering food for the working day will have to be immediately paid in the form of cooked food or grains, preferably the former The balance of the wage will be credited to the accounts of persons depositing labour to be paid at the convenience of the borrower Provision of enough food to cover non-productive public utility programmes which will be expected to provide only foed part of the wage will have to be pre-arranged The survey should work out details along these lines.

While formulating the programme for the Labour Bank, the following considerations may be kept in view

1 While there should be full provision of work for the whole working population, no section of the population should be overworked This may mean a redistribution of some activities and lightening of the burden and drudgery of the women who may be over-worked today The employment plan should provide enough leisure for cultural development.

2 The aptitude and capacity of individuals having spare time at their disposal must be taken into account and a regular plan of work kept ready to utilize this extra labour

3 To start with the prevailing standards of values should be followed in regard to the payment of wages to different classes of workers An attempt may be made to introduce a sort of Labour Currency and exchange values between goods and services may be fixed

4 The employment plan may be formulated on the basis of rationalization of agriculture which will throw out surplus population from agriculture

5 In addition to the present demands and requirements of the rural population new demands will have to be created in the light of the new social and cultural values

6 A class of public workers will have to be created for village development programmes.

7 The enquiry should not merely be fact-finding but should be educative and suggestive The following is a list of such suggestive activities

A. FOR WOMEN

(i) *Education* (a) Balawadi and (b) classes for women for subjects such as dietetics, cooking, washing [illegible] ration etc

(ii) *Ind[illegible]s* knitting tailoring food prepar[illegible]king, ovens flour grinding, paddy husking, spinning and weaving bakery confectionary and canteen (This unit will be very necessary for meeting demands created by the development programmes)

B FOR CHILDREN

(i) *Public Utilities* such as tree plantation, preparation and maintenance of play-grounds and gardens etc

(ii) *Industries* Spinning weaving, pottery works house building etc

C FOR MEN

I *Public Workers*

(a) *Public Works* such as roads and building construction, drainage and small irrigation works, well digging etc

(b) *Management of Public Institutions* Labour Bank, village godowns, village shop, village hospital, night classes maintenance of farm and village accounts and statistics and managing crop and property protection society etc

II. *Kisans* Land development pasture land development, manure making, dairy development, and spare-time occupations

III *Artisans* House building processing industries such as oil pressing, paddy husking, flour grinding etc Soap, paint and varnish making, weaving, dyeing and printing, cutlery, flaying dead cattle, tanning and leather works, cloth production button making furniture utensils and tools, umbrella, painting and frame making, door curtains floor coverings mattings cart making pottery, match and paper making

The importance of the Labour Bank will be realized if the implications of the plans for increasing wealth production conceived in terms of financial resources are understood We can illustrate here one or two of them

(1) *Production sacrificed* The Five-Year Plan put forth by the Planning Commission provides for an expenditure of Rs 1,800 crores, which comes to Rs 10 per head per year for a population of 36 crores At the wage rate of a rupee a day, it comes to the utilization of 10 man-days in a year for the whole population of *20 man-days in a year for the working population* On the other hand, if the plan is labour-intensive, man-days can be utilized many times that utilized under the capital intensive plan That way, production will also be considerably increased Thus on the face of it, the capital-intensive plan sacrifices production To say that maximum production and full employment are competing objectives is but a travesty of facts

(2) *Less scope for village industries* When plans are capital-intensive capital formation on a very big scale becomes central. Capital formation envisages savings. That is to say, at a given purchasing power the cost of consumption should be the lowest Thus has significance with

1628

reference to village industries Because village industries products are costlier than mill products the argument runs, they are likely to reduce savings and therefore, adversely affect capital formation The argument however, is totally misconceived In the conditions of our country labour-intensive plans will produce more goods than capital-intensive ones, and, therefore reduce the real prices of goods or in other words promote more savings

(Continued)

NOTES

Cost of Smokes

The *Industrial Worker* Chicago of December 5 1952, gives the cost of smokes in U S A. as follows

> The average cigarette smoker in the United States spends $90 56 a year on his smokes, according to the National Association of Tobacco Distributors The total number of cigarettes smoked each year runs to the fantastic figure of 378,380 000 000 The cost? More than $4 051 000 000 Cigarettes represent more than 16 per cent of all expenditures for non-durable goods in the U S

Will some industrious statistician or economist find out average cost of smokes in India? Government can well institute a propaganda drive for national saving from this avoidable bad habit even as a part of their capital formation programme under the F Y Plan It would also release badly needed acreage from tobacco for growing more food

22 2 '53 M P

Gandhiji's Prophecy Fulfilled in Europe

Page 49 of *A Gandhi Anthology*,* Book I reads as follows

> 'There is no room for any violence—even for guarding the honour of precious ones that may be in your charge After all that would be a poor defence of the honour *Ahimsa* tells us that we may guard the honour of those who are in our charge by delivering ourselves into the hands of the man who would commit the sacrilege And that requires far greater physical and mental courage than the delivering of blows You may have some degree of physical power,—I do not say courage,—and you may use that power But after that is expended what happens? The other man is filled with wrath and you have made him more angry by matching your violence against his, and when he has done you to death rest of this violence is delivered against your charge But if you do not retaliate but stand your ground between your charge and the opponent simply receiving the blows without retaliating, what happens? *I give you my promise that the whole of the violence will be expended on you and your charge will be left unscathed*'

The best possible commentary on this passage is furnished by the following story taken from a letter to the Editor of *Peace News* (January 2 1953 page 3) from Mr Michael J Randle

The beatification of Mgr Ahor, Bishop of Gyor in Hungary has been under consideration at the Vatican

When Allied troops entered Gyor in 1945, many women sought shelter in the Bishop's residence

> 'A number of soldiers demanded entry Mgr Ahor stood guard and refused to move. Several shots were fired and the Bishop was killed on the spot The soldiers then went away
>
> If Mgr Ahor had tried to defend these women by physical violence he could not possibly have saved them As it was he sacrificed his life for them and the soldiers were so moved by this that they left the women unharmed

V G D

'Sage of Sevagram'

This little book of 183 pages is a new publication on Gandhiji by Shri Ratilal Chhira Desai It is published by Bharat Prakashan 4 Pilha Cross Lane Bombay-1 and priced at Rs 1/ Shrimati Hansa Mehta in the course of her Foreword writes

> This was an essay on Gandhiji for an essay competition organized by the Mahadevbhai Trust Committee The writer has tried to condense the life and teaching of Gandhiji in hundred typed pages It is a good achievement since the writer has not missed a single important event from Gandhiji's life The first part deals with a sketch of his life and the second part tries to analyse his personality and teachings This little brochure written in simple style will, I am sure, not be a superfluous addition to this growing literature on Mahatma Gandhi"

H

After the War

[The following is taken from the *Industrial Worker*, Chicago of December 6, 1952, which number a friend kindly sent me No comments are necessary Ed]

> After the war is over
> After the slaughter is done
> After the people are ruined
> After the victory's won,
> Labour will go on drudging,
> Wondering what it was for
> Paying for generations,
> After the War

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